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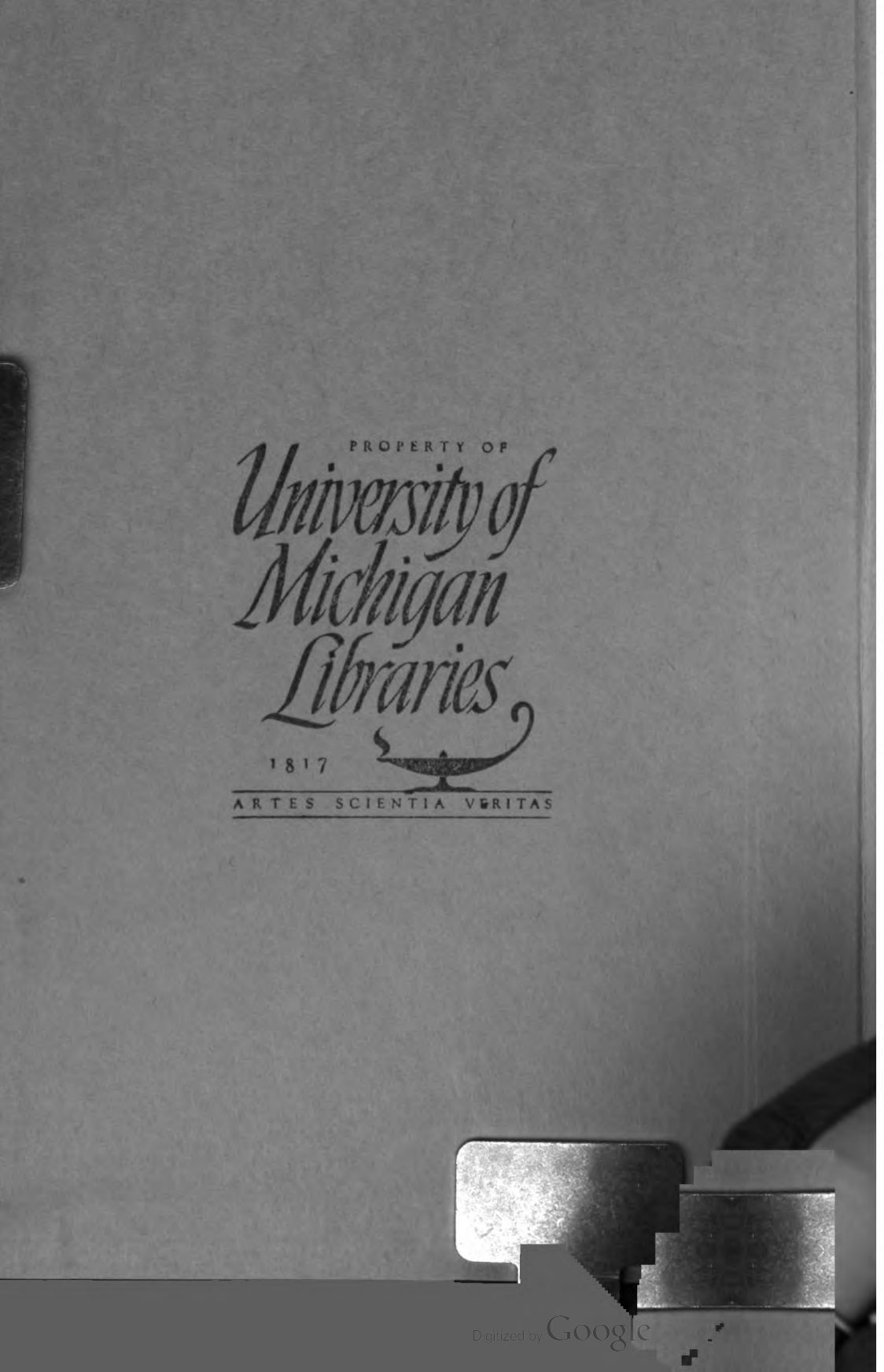

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CONCEPTIONS OF THE SOUL AMONG NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS

A Study in Religious Ethnology

BY

ÅKE HULTKRANTZ

STOCKHOLM 1953

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"... we regard the soul as the greatest and most incomprehensible of all".

The Iglulik Eskimo
(Rasmussen 1929, 61)

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CONCEPTIONS OF THE SOUL AMONG NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS

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FOREWORD

The thesis on the soul-beliefs of the North American Indians presented here constitutes a part of the author's investigations of the Indians' eschatological conceptions and therewith connected beliefs. It was originally the author's intention to publish these investigations all at once in an unabridged form. Circumstances have rendered this plan impossible. Since for reasons which I have adduced in § 1 the enquiry into the soul-belief seemed of the most immediate importance, I have published this first—in the hope that it may be followed up soon by my main investigations on Indian eschatology.

Several researchers have facilitated the appearance of this work with help on various planes. In the first place I wish to mention my teacher in the history of religion, Professor Ernst Arbman, who has given me his encouragement and support from the outset. Professor Arbman's own excellent investigations in the field of primitive soul-belief have in a high degree stimulated my interest in the pursuance of such studies in a regionally delimited field.

Professor Gerhard Lindblom, my teacher in general and comparative ethnography, has in many ways helped me to ventilate my viewpoints. He has also facilitated my access to literary sources, and, not least, kindly included this work in the publication-series of the Ethnographic Museum.

To my teacher in history, Professor Nils Ahnlund, who has inspired my endeavours in the critical study of sources and in historical method, I also wish to extend my thanks in this connection. I am indebted, too, to Professor Sigurd Erixon, who has given me opportunities of ventilating Americanistic problems of method at ethnological meetings in Stockholm.

The discussions I have had with an older colleague in the field of research on Indian religion, Dr. Gösta Kock, have been in a high degree fruitful. Two foreign researchers, Professor Ralph Linton and

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Professor Paul Radin, have also shown great interest in exchanging viewpoints with me, and their suggestions have been of great value for the presentation of my thesis.

Of the Swedish and foreign scientists who have helped me with my studies I wish further to mention especially Docent Nils Forsberg, Dr. A. H. Gayton, Dr. Greta Hedenström, Docent K. G. Izikowitz, Dr. E. Juel, Docent Sture Lagercrantz, Docent S. Linné, Professor R. H. Lowie, Dr. K. Malmsten, Docent G. Montell, Dr. I. Paulson, Dr. A. Runeberg, Dr. J. Söderström and Docent H. Tegnaeus.

The field-work in North America that partly lies behind this thesis was sponsored by the Swedish-American Foundation and the Swedish Society for Anthropology and Geography, to both of which societies I extend my sincere thanks.

Finally, I will express my gratitude to the many museum and library officials who have frequently been at great pains to supply me with the necessary literature, to the Humanistic Foundation, which has helped to meet the cost of translating this thesis, to Mr. Donald Burton, who has skilfully rendered my Swedish text in English, and to my parents, who—last but not least—have effectively supported and encouraged my scientific endeavours.

Stockholm, October 1952

Åke Hultkrantz

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Note.

The orthography of Indian terms occurring in the source-material has in certain cases been simplified. The spelling of Indian tribal names follows rather closely that used by Kroeber (1939), Murdock (1941) et al. However, I have coined *Shoshone* as a designation for the Shoshonean stock in general and *Shoshoni* as a designation for that Shoshonean division which has in later times partly occupied the western Great Plains. The culture-areas which have been named after cardinal points have been spelled according to American usage, i.e. without hyphens (e.g.: the Southwest). In the foot-notes, the name of an author followed by a date refers to an item in the bibliography at the end of the volume, while the paragraph-sign followed by a number refers to one of the sections into which every chapter is divided. The reader is referred to the following maps of the Indian tribes of North America: Kroeber 1939, map 1 a; Murdock 1941, pocket-map.

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ÅKE HULTKRANTZ

Conceptions of the Soul among North American Indians

(In the following list I have not included some minor errors in the punctuation of the footnotes)

Page 38, line 3 from the foot of the page: societes. *Read* societies

Page 66, line 6: Ghost. *Read* Ghosts

Page 76, note 26: 163. *Read* 164

Page 89, line 20: Earthmaker. *Read* Earthmaker,

Page 91, note 44, line 2: this. *Read* next

Page 130, line 5: remind. *Read* reminds

Page 144, lines 3, 11: Shoshoni. *Read* Shoshone

Page 156, note 41, line 1: lo.cit. *Read* loc.cit.

Page 162, line 8 from the foot of the page: dom. *Read* from

Page 171, note 140, line 3: possobly. *Read* possibly

Page 199, last line: regligious. *Read* religious

Page 204, line 8: theistic. *Read* pantheistic

Page 230, line 9: *Read* In the foregoing we have indicated time and again that the ego-soul

Page 241, line 8 from the foot of the page: is. *Read* it

Page 248, line 11 from the foot of the page: is is. *Read* it is

Page 263, line 7: to bold. *Read* too bold

Page 268, note 202, line 3: 244. *Read* 264

Page 270, line 2 from the foot of the page: sleepper. *Read* sleeper

Page 278, note 254, last line: 000. *Read* 281

Page 307, line 8: is. *Read* it

Page 356, line 9 from the foot of the page: -going. *Read* going

Page 357, note 18: 208. *Read* 308

Page 401, note 24, line 2: *Read* Cf. also J. B. Dunbar, The Pawnee Indians, Magazine of American History (8), New York 1882, 735 sqq.

Page 402, line 10: especielly. *Read* especially

Page 408, note 88, line 1: Parson's. *Read* Parsons's

Page 476, line 13: All the. *Read* Many of the

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. *Problem and method*

The present investigation constitutes a regional study of primitive conceptions of the soul. It gives an account of the notions held by the North American Indians concerning the soul and its functions during the life-time of the individual.[1] The ethnographical material which sheds light on these conceptions has been carefully sifted and analysed. As it is here presented it has been interpreted and classified according to viewpoints which in the author's opinion best combine the contrasting tendencies of primitive conceptions of the soul to diversity and uniformity.

The investigation aims at meeting three scientific requirements.

In the first place it fills a gap in our general knowledge of the religious conceptions of the North American Indians. Apart from some shorter and not very informative papers on Indian conceptions of the soul in general[2] and a few accounts of the ideas concerning the soul held by special larger native groups, among which last-mentioned works the accounts by Conard, Hewitt and Thalbitzer are particularly deserving of attention,[3] there is no comprehensive survey of the conceptions of the soul held by these peoples. Thus for North America there is no counterpart of Ankermann's account of African and Wilken's or Kruijt's account of Indonesian conceptions of the soul. My work, based upon a careful study of a comprehensive material, aims at supplying this need.

The concept of the soul is to be found, as far as we know, among all the peoples of the earth, and this seems to show that it is a very ancient and above all universal phenomenon.[4] A study of concepts and

[1] In a coming work (see preface) the author intends to publish the conceptions in North American Indian popular belief concerning the fate of the individual after death.

[2] E.g. James 1927; Dorsey 1893.

[3] Conard 1900; Hewitt 1895; Thalbitzer 1930 a and b.

[4] Cf. e.g. Lowie 1934, 306.

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notions of the soul within a regionally delimited field like North America has therefore a general psychological value, even if our attention must often be concentrated upon local historical lines of development. The religious psychologist finds phenomenological forms of expression and functional connections which may throw light upon problems concerning the conception of the soul outside of North America.

Finally, the investigation of the popular notions of the soul or of souls has a wider value over and above the knowledge of the nature and content of these notions that the analysis may in the first place give, inasmuch as it affords a clue to the popular belief as to the fate of the soul after death.[5] The belief in several realms of the dead, in the etherial existence of spirits, in the simultaneity of the dead person as graveyard ghost, shadowy ghost, inhabitant of the realm of the dead and reincarnated individual emerges in a clearer light and is psychologically more understandable if one has first studied the current conceptions of the soul. In an account of Indian eschatology it is difficult to get past the problems connected with the Indian conceptions of the soul.[6]

These considerations have convinced me of the desirability of avoiding a statistical or all too summary treatment of the material in favour of a fuller documentation of data, where possible with direct quotations.[7] The difficulty of collecting the necessary first-hand material in Sweden has to a certain extent, though by no means decisively, obstructed my work. In spite of this the Indian territory north of the Rio Grande has been treated relatively exhaustively. The geographical southern boundary for my enquiry has been drawn approximately along the twenty-fifth latitude. In the north the more detailed sifting of the material has been carried out up to the Eskimo border. It should, however, be pointed out that also Eskimo conceptions of the soul have to a large extent been included; especially has this been the case in the preliminary survey of the data studied (§5). In this way the survey has been naturally rounded off in the north. At the same time the reader is given an opportunity of becoming acquainted with an extremely interesting and richly developed conception of the soul.[8]

[5] Lönborg 1910, 142.
[6] This study was undertaken as a preliminary to my investigation of the eschatology of the North American Indians.
[7] Examples of "summary" accounts: Clements 1932, Olson 1933.
[8] Preuss 1929, 212.

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The methodological procedure in the present study may best be defined as a psychological analysis of particular data and a psychological, functional, and historical synthesis of coordinated or consonant data.

We shall first consider the interpretation of particular data.

One may agree at once with E. O. James when he points out that there is in North America "an abundance of material concerning the idea of the soul"[9]. The material adduced by James in his little study of the North American idea of the soul is, however, inadequate and misleading: concepts like *orenda* and *wakan* are taken as the basis of his account. The actual concept of the soul, on the other hand, plays a subordinate rôle in James's article. We have here an illustration of the difficulty of subjecting the primitive conception of the soul to a detailed analysis: the game eludes the hunter, who thrusts his lance into bushes and foliage.[10] Partly this is connected with the difficult nature of the material itself, in part it is due to the investigator's inability to enter imaginatively into the beliefs in question. Nor, perhaps, is it easy to find a platform from which to survey the riotous jungle of conceptions and ideas.

The ethnographical material concerning the conceptions of the soul is unequal and scarcely calculated to inspire scientific analysis. The investigator soon becomes aware of the snares presented by a recalcitrant material, which not only contains vague and contradictory notions, but is also perhaps merely representative for what a certain fraction of the community—a particular clan, the medicine-men, a secret society—considers and believes.[11] On being confronted with such a material the comparative investigator must proceed with caution and form his judgements from case to case.

The deficiencies of the material are in large part due to the Indian informants and to the conditions obtaining in the Indian community (§3). But it should not be denied that the field-researchers themselves bear much of the responsibility for the disposition of the material and the preliminary interpretation put upon it.[12] Thus one frequently finds that for linguistic and ideological reasons the primitive concept-

[9] James 1927, 338.

[10] Some researchers abstain from a comparative treatment of data, as the difficulties are too great. Devereux, who has studied the conceptions of the soul among the Mohave, declares in the introduction to his investigation: "References to other tribes are omitted because the data on the Mohave themselves are contradictory enough to make comparisons with other tribes undesirable" (Devereux 1937, 417).

[11] Cf. Arbman 1927, 92, note 1; Bouteiller 1950, 104.

[12] The writer refers here also to his own experiences in the field.

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ions of the soul have not been understood by the person who has noted them down. The field-worker may have a fair knowledge of the Indian language, but more than this is needed for a successful analysis of the often difficult and abstruse conceptions of the soul. In many cases he has had as his point of departure his own conception of the soul, formed by occidental tradition, and has therefore misunderstood, or entirely failed to understand, the natives' system of belief. Such misunderstandings may have two consequences. Either they prompt the field-worker to simplify and reduce, as when he formulates a unitary concept of the soul where in reality a multiple concept is in question. Or else they are responsible for the presentation of a shapeless mass of disconnected and mutually incompatible data.[13] For an investigator applying the comparative method this latter consequence is perhaps the lesser evil: here he is at all events supplied with a material upon which he can work in the light of the experience gained from the analysis of more adequately presented facts.

The praiseworthy respect for facts characterizing North American ethnological research has given many writers the notion that the field-researcher's results must not be modified unless fresh investigations on the spot give reason for this.[14] This rule is, in itself, sound enough; but it must not be followed slavishly. As regards the conceptions of the soul, for example, a comparative study may contribute to their right interpretation and thus justify a revision of the conclusions drawn from the field-work. The material concerning conceptions of the soul collected from several quarters within the same regional area gives sure indications of the psychological uniformity behind the multiplicity of concepts and therewith a reliable criterion in doubtful cases. The interpretation renewed in this way aims not only as far as possible to eliminate the weaknesses in the ethnographical account that may be due to one or other of the above-mentioned factors. It is also intended to prepare the material for a presentation undertaken along similar lines. I shall revert later to the principles that will be followed in this connection (§2).

Of course it may happen that the comparative investigator's treatment of the material is jeopardized by the same weaknesses as those just laid at the door of the field-researcher. A thesis may frequently be the cloak for a preconceived opinion, a too hasty conclusion may

[13] Cf. herewith Arbman, op.cit., 88 sqq., Hultkrantz 1951, 43.

[14] Wissler warns his readers against the mania for interpretation in comparative investigations, "for such commitments always throw a kind of smoke screen over the data" (Wissler 1926, 131).

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force the material into a groove to which it is by no means adapted. Only the careful, comprehensive examination of a large material can yield solid hypotheses.

The greatest difficulties for one engaged upon comparative religious research are linguistic. He cannot be expected to master or understand all the languages represented in the area covered by his investigation; not, in any case, when it is as vast and divers as North America.[15]

The interpretation of data is followed by the combination of data.

With Boas we may speak of "the general socio-psychological basis" upon which the concept of the soul has arisen and developed.[16] In its most primitive, dualistic form the notion of the soul constitutes a direct, unreflected double concept formed from everyday experiences.[17] Even if its complete independence of the conceptual mode conditioned by culture-patterns is only an abstraction, the uniformity of the material all over the world indicates the existence of common fundamental tendencies in the primary development of the concept of the soul. Independently of historical contacts, aspects and characteristics of the soul of different orders of significance show an essential uniformity which permits of their psychological and functional classification.[18]

At the same time, with Boas, we must assert that an historical view best teaches us to understand many of the diverging forms taken by the belief in the existence of the soul. In this connection Boas writes that "the historical relations between groups of tribes must be considered, not only of those that are at present in close contact, but also of those which belong to larger cultural areas in which intertribal cultural influences may belong to early periods".[19] The last-mentioned is not the least essential (cf. §11). To the diffusionistic viewpoint and the archaeological deep-perspective may also, at least theoretically, be added the philological method, although this tells us more concerning the form than the content.

That the historical method has its limitations in the comparative

[15] In 1940 Wissler estimated the number of spoken languages and dialects among the aborigines of North America as 250 (Wissler 1940, 301); and Stirling mentions "approximately two hundred Indian languages that are mutually unintelligible" (Lindquist 1944, 12). Reference may be made, for the rest, to existing classifications of North American Indian languages (Powell 1891; Goddard 1915; Sapir 1929) and to Mr. and Mrs. Voegelin's great chart (1945).

[16] Boas 1940 b, 607.

[17] See below, pp. 23 sqq.

[18] In this classification we are informed of the phenomenology of the souls (§§ 13—25) and of their dynamic interrelations (§§ 4, 16, 30—31).

[19] Boas, op.cit., loc.cit.

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[19] Boas, op.cit., loc.cit.

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analysis of conceptions of the soul held by different peoples has already been stressed by me.[20] It is only too easy for the historian to go too far in his reconstructions, e.g. when he deduces a belief in the soul from prehistoric data.[21] Especially am I forced to dissociate myself from the ethnological doctrines which have fixed a presumed generally valid chronology of the conception of the soul from—as it appears to me—arbitrary or uncertain premisses.

Older evolutionistic theory required that the conception of the etherial soul should have been preceded by a crasser belief in physically bound soul-agencies or by no belief in the soul at all. Such trains of thought have lingered on for a long time, chiefly among European ethnologists and students of religion. Bertholet is of the opinion that the notion of the living corpse is the primary conception concerning the dead person, against which the dream-image of the deceased appears as a secondary conceptual product.[22] Briem gives expression to a similar view when he declares that no notions or only weakly developed notions of the soul exist "at the lowest primitive stage".[23] And so forth. To the views of the above-mentioned writers it may be briefly objected that the revelatory states release experiences of various kinds, whose occurrence cannot be chronologically graded; and further, that notions of the soul have been found everywhere in North America, even among the very primitive—I am tempted to add: not least there.

The culture-historical school in Austria and Switzerland, which has had Graebner and W. Schmidt as its central figures, finds the concept of the soul represented among the so-called "Urkulturvölker".[24] But even this school of thought postulates an evolutionary dogma for the concept of the soul. Walk turns Bertholet's thesis upside down when he asserts that "die ältesten Stämmen" believed less in the living corpse than in the continued life of the breath-soul after death.[25] This, however, is hard to prove, at least in North America. The belief in ghosts flourishes here perhaps more among the "primeval peoples"—North

[20] Hultkrantz, op.cit., 42 sqq.

[21] Krause's assumption that the South Californian custom of burning gifts for the dead on great mourning occasions is "eine Massnahme, die auf recht entwickelten Seelenglauben schliessen lässt" (Krause 1921, 90 sq.) must be entirely repudiated. It is impossible to get any idea of the nature of a conception of the soul in such indirect ways. Cf. also Brinton 1868, 234 sq.

[22] Bertholet 1931, 1189 sq.

[23] Briem 1933, 31; Briem 1948, 124 sq. It is strange to find the same train of thought recurring in Tor Andrae, who refers the origin of the concept of the soul to the primitive agricultural religions (Andrae 1934, 75).

[24] Schmidt 1930, 82.

[25] Walk 1938, 189, 191.

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Central Californians, Plateau-Salish, Eskimo and Algonquin groups —than among the more "advanced" Pueblo peoples.

Still other such attempts to establish a generally valid "chronology" for the evolution of the concepts of the soul and the dead have been made.[26] But they have all proved to be constructive hypotheses without a solid foundation in reality. Perhaps it is correct that animism chiefly originates in the agricultural or farming cultures, above all in the region of the tropics, but then it is here less the actual belief in the soul, "pneumatology", than the belief in extra-physical beings in general, "polydaemonism".[27] Without doubt, the dualistic conception of the soul so common among primitive peoples may be traced back to older stages in the history of cultural development, a view which is supported by historical and psychological facts. In the last analysis, detailed historical investigations in more restricted geographical areas must decide one's judgement in these and similar questions.

It must not be overlooked that an exposé of the conceptions of the soul found among some North American Indian tribes, written according to historical viewpoints, already exists, since in his work on the origin of the belief in God Schmidt, the chief living representative of the Vienna school, has also tried to trace the historical "layering" of the ideas of the soul in native North America.[28] He constates that in the oldest North American-Arctic religion there existed only one soul, the breath-soul (Hauchseele), which at death returns to the Creator in heaven.[29] Only for the Algonquin does Schmidt find the priority of the breath-soul uncertain.[30] The shadow-soul, again, belongs to later matrilinear cultures; in contradistinction to the breath, the shadow goes to the underworld after death.[31] The dichotomy of the soul thus belongs to a younger religious stratum.

Schmidt's enquiry proceeds on the assumption that a »primeval culture», of which a number of Californians, Salish and Algonquin were the bearers, really did exist. I cannot, however, find any reasons that might be adduced in support of the assumption of such a primeval culture in North America, and I cannot see why richly differentiated

[26] E.g. by Elliot Smith, who postulates that the concept of the soul was introduced in North America with the "archaic" civilization.

[27] The first-mentioned term is sometimes used in American original texts in the sense here indicated. Concerning the last-mentioned term, see Nilsson 1934, 89; Leach 1949 I, 62.

[28] Schmidt 1935, 77 sqq.

[29] Schmidt, op.cit., 409.

[30] Schmidt, op.cit., 415 sq.

[31] Schmidt, op.cit., 79.

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Algonquin cultures should be included in the postulated primeval culture. Since there are instances of dualistic conceptions of the soul in many places in which the "primeval culture" was supposed to have existed, there is no reason to regard Schmidt's conclusions as binding.

If one wishes to gain a full insight into the conceptions of the soul subscribed to by the North American Indians, one must, in the author's opinion, put the investigation on a broader basis and follow the working principles indicated above as expedient and suitable.

2. The primitive conception of the soul: an outline in the light of the current scientific discussion

If one is to study the conceptions of the soul held by the North American Indians it is necessary to arrange the material according to uniform principles, to facilitate comparison and collocation. Terms suitable for a classification of the conceptions in question must be chosen, and in the light of the knowledge acquired from the investigation of the material one must endeavour to get a coherent picture of the psychological grounds for the soul-belief and of the functions and mutual relations of the conceptions of the soul included therein. An attempt to satisfy the above-formulated requirements in a summary form will be given in the following.

The view of the content and essential nature of the primitive conceptions of the soul at which I have arrived is not, however, based exclusively upon a study of the material collected. I have of course been stimulated in a high degree by my personal experiences during my studies in the field.[1] But above all: no investigator in the sphere of primitive religion can free himself from the tradition of research whose last link he is himself. The material collected by me from every corner of North America (including my own field-material) has been allowed to test the value of earlier theories as to the nature of the primitive conception of the soul. It is to this comparative work that I chiefly owe my integral view of the subject as a whole, and it will therefore be as well to give my viewpoints in their relation to the theories of older and more recent research. In the following account

[1] Hultkrantz 1951.

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of the history of research on primitive conceptions of the soul they form the "unbroken thread".[2]

As a suitable point of departure we may take Tylor's theories of the soul, seen from three different points of view.[3]

In the first place, Tylor's view as to the origin of the conception of the soul seems to be psychologically well-founded.[4] According to Tylor, belief in the soul may be traced to on the one hand observations of the difference between fully active individuals and dead, seriously ill or sleeping persons, and on the other hand experiences during twilight states of various kinds.[5] In the former case reflection leads the observer to a belief in the soul as a vital principle and a principle of consciousness; in the latter case the individual's own experiences lead him to believe in the soul as a transient, shadowy being. The material shows that the greatest importance should be ascribed to such experiences and observations for the development of ideas of the soul.[6]

Objections have, it is true, been raised against Tylor's hypothesis. But they are unable to refute it; at the most they may enrich it with fresh viewpoints. We shall here give brief mention to the criticism and the attempts at explanation by Schmidt, Nieuwenhuis, Crawley and—later on in greater detail—by Wundt.[7]

Father Schmidt considers that in the beginning the soul was not conceived as breath, as image and so forth, but that the primitive peoples metaphorically *likened* it to the breath or to the image. Following the opinion adduced in H. Schell's "Apologie des Christentums", Schmidt formulates his view of the origin of the belief in the soul thus: "Das unmittelbar, Tag für Tag, oft und oft sich vollziehende Erfassen der Regungen des eigenen Innenlebens, das ist der wirkliche Ausgangspunkt des Seelenbegriffs".[8] But in the light of the actual ethnographical material there is much better and more reliable evidence in support of Tylor's than of Schmidt's hypothesis.

It is also difficult for me to follow Nieuwenhuis when he says: "The

[2] The more or less classical theories adduced in the following are thus quoted only to provide the frame for my own viewpoints; it has been no part of my intention to give a presentation or criticism of otherwise interesting opinions and hypotheses which are beside the main line I am trying to follow (e.g. Durkheim's theories).

[3] Tylor 1871, chap. XI.

[4] Cf. also Ankermann 1918, 129 sq.

[5] Tylor, op.cit., I, 387 sqq.

[6] Cf. below, p. 52.

[7] See also Lowie's criticism of Durkheim's remarks against Tylor's theory (Lowie 1925 b, 108 sqq.).

[8] Schmidt 1926, 122.

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Algonquin cultures should be included in the postulated primeval culture. Since there are instances of dualistic conceptions of the soul in many places in which the "primeval culture" was supposed to have existed, there is no reason to regard Schmidt's conclusions as binding.

If one wishes to gain a full insight into the conceptions of the soul subscribed to by the North American Indians, one must, in the author's opinion, put the investigation on a broader basis and follow the working principles indicated above as expedient and suitable.

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Tylor's view of the nature of the primitive conception of the soul has, as is known, for a long time exercised a decisive influence on soul-research, both as regards the direct taking of notes in the field (and the arrangement of these) and as regards the systematic comparative studies. Among many North American tribes writers have believed they could find a more or less complicated unitary soul of the kind sketched by Tylor. Certainly, there does sometimes appear in the original texts an unitary soul with a primitive structure that quite convincingly supports the assumption of its genuineness. But, as Arbman has pointed out, it is frequently the case that the unitary soul described by scholars becomes "in ihrer verführerischen Einfachheit weit mehr ein Reflex des unter den abendländischen Völkern ererbten Seelenbegriffes".[19] In these cases it comes suspiciously close to our personality-soul—the last-mentioned conception being understood as the soul identical with self-consciousness, comprehending all the qualities of the person.

Such a conception of the soul has probably existed only very seldom among the Indians of North America.

The Klamath, for instance, seem to have believed in the existence of a single soul in man, comprehending »soul, breath, and life». But Spier, who has noted down the conception, remarks that it expresses "the quickening of life rather than spiritual personality".[20] The unitary soul of the Cherokee expresses such subjective states as thinking and feeling, but it is open to doubt whether it is for this reason a real personality-soul.[21]

On the other hand it would appear that the Navajo have, by the side of the ordinary conception of the soul, a concept, *xaya'* or *xayá*, which comprehends the entire personal equipment of a man.[22] It is possible that this covers our qualitative principle of the personality, though this is not quite certain.[23] It is in any case significant that it has not been possible to exploit this concept as the equivalent of the Christian conception of the soul. Instead, the Christian mission has coined a new concept of the soul which has been made to replace earlier pluralistic notions.[24] The conception of the personality found

[19] Arbman 1927, 87. Cf. Pascher 1929, 55 sqq.
[20] Spier 1930, 101. Cf. below, p. 137.
[21] Mooney and Olbrechts 1932, 141. Cf. below, pp. 132 sq.
[22] Reichard 1950 I, 34 sq.
[23] It is possible that we have here only a designation for the free-soul (cf. below, p. 105). However this may be, Reichard has wished to dissociate herself from any interpretation of a concept like "individuality, an extension of the personality" into Navajo dogma (Reichard 1944, 32).
[24] Reichard 1950 I, 32 sq. Cf. below, p. 46.

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soul-conception is due to the causal-logical thought that 'something does not become nothing', on death, when life disappears".[9] Rather, one would imagine, is it the belief in a life after death that is strongly supported by such a reflection.

On the other hand, it is probable that memories and impressions of both living and deceased persons have been decisive factors in the crystallizing out of the conception of the so-called free-soul,[10] a point which Tylor only indirectly brings out.[11] Crawley ascribes to these mental images in the store-house of memory the greatest importance for the origin of the entire soul-conception; the soul is in his opinion "a mental repetition of sensation".[12] He discounts the importance of the dream-image,[13] and he regards the conception of a life-soul as a late outgrowth on the tree of soul-ideas.[14] Crawley's theory suffers from onesidedness, for which the explanation is perhaps to seek in his enthusiasm at finding a grain that Tylor failed to pick up.

In Wundt's opinion, Tylor has only explained the origin of the conception of the free-soul, and not that of the body-soul.[15] The objection is not justified, even if, like Wundt, one holds the view that the breath is identical with the free-soul.[16] By referring to man's reaction to the difference between the lifeless and the living individual (see above), and by drawing attention to the rôle played by the heart and the respiration for the soul's function of life-giving being,[17] Tylor has, certainly, indicated the psychological origin of the soul bound to the body. Other factors have also, of course, stimulated its emergence.[18] The individual's experiences of his own physical or mental disturbances —e.g. paralysis or motor automatisms—have presumably contributed to the development of the conception of the body-soul. These points do not controvert Tylor's theory of explanation, they only supplement it.

We come now to our second viewpoint regarding Tylor's investigations of the soul.

[9] Nieuwenhuis 1924, 126, 139; cf. Nieuwenhuis 1917, 59. Frazer, too, goes in for a similar rationalistic interpretation in his "Golden Bough" (Frazer 1927, 26).
[10] We shall revert below, pp. 23 sqq., to the terms "free-soul" and "body-soul".
[11] The memory, of course, forms the figures appearing in dreams (Tylor, op.cit., 397 sqq.) and visions (Tylor, op.cit., 402 sqq.).
[12] Crawley 1909, 75 sq.
[13] Crawley, op.cit., 216, 279.
[14] Crawley, op.cit., 16 sq., 224.
[15] Wundt 1910, 24.
[16] Wundt, op.cit., 125. Cf. below, p. 23.
[17] Tylor, op.cit., 389 sq.
[18] Cf. below, p. 149 (life-soul) and p. 208 (ego-soul).

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of the soul afford proof of manifestations of two souls, not one, and both are probably equally primitive—Wundt had opined that the psyche-soul represented a later growth.[35] Arbman has further asserted, as against Wundt's view, that the body-soul does not reveal the personality of the human being, and that its activity cannot be compared with that of *mana*, the supernatural power. The breath-soul, finally, is shown by Arbman to be rather etherial body-soul than psyche-soul.

The hypothesis of the dualistic conception of the soul which Arbman has advanced and clearly expounded in his excellent study on primitive conceptions of the soul[36] has gained an increasingly wider acceptance in the field of comparative religion. Straubinger gives what appears to be an account of it in "Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche"; for him the dualism represents the fixed line in the conception of the soul held by primitive peoples, which is otherwise "recht unklar, verworren und widerspruchsvoll".[37] In the second edition of his "Primitive Religion" Lowie has unreservedly endorsed Arbman's dualistic theory.[38] And so forth. Material from all parts of the world seems to guarantee the correctness of the theory, and not least the North American material.[39] It may therefore be as well to dwell somewhat on this hypothesis, which in the main also expresses my own standpoint.

Arbman distinguishes between on the one hand the idea of the free psyche, which represents the human being, the individual himself in an extra-physical form, and on the other hand the life-giving soul, the life-principle in man. These conceptions are based upon entirely different psychic experiences: on the one hand the memory-image, the total impression of a person as one remembers him or experiences him in dreams, for instance; on the other hand the observations of

[35] Wundt, op.cit., 79, 127. In 1882 Bahnson declared that the soul of the body and the soul that was liberated from the body were mutually completely independent; but he referred the origin of these souls to the double conception of the dead person. This theory of origins is discussed below, pp. 30 sq.

[36] Arbman 1927, 85 sqq.

[37] Straubinger 1937, 406.

[38] Lowie 1948, 348.

[39] Conard doubts the primitive character of dualism among the Algonquin Indians, and expresses the opinion that it first made its appearance in the interpretations of the Christian missionaries (Conard 1900, 244). It would seem, however, that this is to do violence to the material; several Algonquin tribes have without doubt had a dualistic conception of the soul (see § 7). Wherever dualism is found, it is certainly primitive. This we confidently assert against the Vienna school (see above, p. 17). For the conceptions of the soul held by some peoples regarded as being very primitive, see Arbman 1927, 99, note 3.

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the person's total physical—and psychical!—vital functions.[40] This way of regarding the matter is, as will be seen, both natural and psychologically given. Other interpretations of the dualism of the soul have, certainly, been advanced, but they seem to have missed the mark.[41]

Of course, the memory-image of a person must frequently be the image of a dead person.[42] It is thus natural that the psyche-soul and "the dead man" should tend to merge into one—it is of course, as Arbman has rightly pointed out, the human being himself who is realized in both the conceptions.[43] But our view of dualism must not be simplified to the point of being understood as the antithesis between the soul of the living and that of the dead.[44] This gives an erroneous and meaningless content to dualism. Unfortunately, Miss Conard appears to have misunderstood her material in this way;[45] and like his teacher, Dr. Rivers, James distinguishes between the individual's soul-stuff (life-soul with free-soul tendencies, since, even during the subject's life-time, it may be active outside the body) and his ghost, "the second soul".[46] It is, however, obvious that dualism refers to different functions of the soul in the *living* person. In the main, no account of the ideas concerning the dead person will be given in this investigation, which aims only at a treatment of the souls of the living individual; but a concluding chapter will be partly devoted to the relation of these souls to the dead person (§32). It may already be observed that,

[40] Arbman 1927, 97 sqq., 166 sqq. Cf. our discussion above, pp. 19 sq. Cf. also Boas: "We may recognize the objectivation of life and of the memory-image as the principal sources from which the manifold forms of soul concepts spring" (Boas 1940 b, 600).

[41] Dr. Per Meurling has suggested to the author that the dualistic conception of the soul may be traceable to a dualistic sociological orientation (tribal moieties), a brighter soul belonging to heaven, a darker soul to the earth. But the dualistic conception of the soul is common far beyond the area of distribution of the dual social organization. This notwithstanding, the fate of the souls after death may imply that the free-soul goes to the realm of the dead (often heaven!), while the body-soul, again, lives on with the corpse buried in the earth. It is in virtue of their functions during the life-time of the owner that the souls get this fate after death, and not in consequence of their associations to a social schema or to a prevailing ideology concerning the ultimate creative principles (the heavenly father, the earth-mother). Meurling's theory is closely akin to Perry's (Perry 1927, 269).

[42] A Pomo Indian "became convinced of the actuality of the dream soul by seeing in a dream the ghost of a dead man haunting his familiar place" (Loeb 1926, 290).

[43] Arbman, op.cit., 97, 100.

[44] Unfortunately, Arbman has in one place (op.cit., 92) expressed dualism in such a way that it might be understood as the belief in the different souls of the living and the dead (cf. Nilsson 1930, 95; Nilsson 1934, 39).

[45] Conard, op.cit., 232 sq.; cf. above, p. 24 note 39.

[46] James 1927, 338 sq. Cf., however, op.cit., 356, where James speaks of "the dual form of belief in the presence of the ghost among the living".

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even if in the majority of cases the free-soul—i.e. the human being himself, from the psychological point of view—begins to play the rôle of the dead person after his decease, this general rule is nevertheless not without many and striking exceptions.

The free-soul, "the separable soul", "the disembodied soul", the shadow soul, the image-soul, "the double" and the dream-soul are all well known terms for the notion of psyche.[47] Taken together, they express what is most characteristic of this conception of the soul: its etherial, hazy structure, its capacity to appear outside the body, apart from the latter. The free-soul—I shall in the sequel use this designation in preference to psyche—has many other characteristics with which we shall become acquainted when going through the material in the following (see especially §16). Among the more prominent of these are its Proteus-like changes of shape, its tendency to appear when the subject is in a twilight state. The free-soul has, however, precisely through its peculiar nature, become a notion that oscillates between innate soul, personal consort and guardian spirit acting independently (a number of American ethnologists refer to it also as spirit or spirit-soul). On the whole, and in the light of what I have gleaned from the North American material, I am more inclined than Arbman to stress the tendency shown by the conception of the free-soul to approximate towards the conception of the guardian spirit.[48]

In my definite opinion (gained by a detailed analysis of the material) the conception of the free-soul leads to the conception of the breath-soul.[49] It is the immaterial nature of the free-soul, concretized as an evanescent, fine, airy material, which approximates it to the breath, and therewith to an originally physical function-soul. The breath-soul thus becomes a common point of association for two widely diverging conceptual lines, and therewith a conceivable basis for the development towards a homogeneous conception of the soul (see below §14). It must be borne in mind that the rôle of the breath-soul as a transitional soul is, from the psychological point of view, secondary. It is a form-

[47] In Leach's "Dictionary of folklore" the term "separable soul" is used exclusively concerning the soul concealed outside the body, often e.g. in a tree or an egg (Leach 1950 II, 996). But this is not a real free-soul, but a phenomenon which participates in the individual and therefore has a decisive influence over his well-being (cf. below § 21).

[48] See also Hultkrantz, op.cit., 32 sqq. But Arbman, too, is quite clear on the subject of this objectivation of the free-soul (Arbman, op.cit., 139, note 1). He is, and rightly, of the opinion that the independence of the free-soul in relation to the individual has stimulated this special development.

[49] Cf. Hultkrantz, op.cit., 28 sq.

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ation which already presupposes the two dominating soul-concepts, free-soul and body-soul.[50]

In contrast to the free-soul Arbman adduces the souls which endow man with life and consciousness, and which on account of their functions and permanent connection with the body and its organs he refers to as functional souls or body-souls.[51] It is characteristic of the difference that whereas the idea of the free-soul is as a rule one and undivided, the idea of the body-soul may easily be split up into a number of functional souls bound to different organs whose vital principles they are. By the side of the separate life-souls the great, all-embracing body-soul can exist as a general expression for the total life in the organism; no contradiction is felt in this.[52] Among the different body-souls the breath takes a prominent place. Also of importance are the souls giving expression to the ego-consciousness; Arbman calls them ego-souls (Ichseelen).

The characteristic feature of the dualism of the soul lies in the fact that the body-souls manifest the life of the waking individual, whereas the free-soul is the spiritual principle which is active while the body is in a passive state. This does not mean to say that the life-souls are in complete abeyance during the psychic absence of the individual; but they are perceived only faintly as active potencies. On the other hand the conscious soul—which for practical reasons I shall in the sequel refer to a category of its own, in contradistinction to the vital principles—functions only in exceptional cases when the free-soul is active. For when the body is sleeping the free-soul has more or less completely taken over the rôle of the ego-soul: it is sometimes in the shape of the free-soul that the sleeping individual has his dream-experiences.[53] This in itself is sufficient to explain the association of the ego-consciousness with the free-soul, and this association becomes stronger when it is combined with the observation that there is a connection between the absence of the free-soul and the individual's unconscious hours. Thus there sometimes arises an extended concept-

[50] Widengren has drawn attention to the problem as to whether the breath in man corresponds to the cosmic breath, the wind (Widengren 1945, 309 sqq., 312, 319); concerning this question, see below, § 14.

[51] Arbman, op.cit., 166. Ankermann rejects the use of the term "soul" for the vital principle (Ankermann 1918, 89 sqq., Ankermann 1925, 138). The terminology is, however, probably rather a matter of indifference. Neither free-soul nor body-soul expresses what we mean by soul, although both together cover the field occupied by our modern conception of the soul. See further below, p. 292.

[52] On this subject, see below, p. 157. Cf. Mauss 1947, 201.

[53] Sometimes, however, the dreamer experiences the free-soul as a being distinct from the ego, as a detached object. See § 16.

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ion of the free-soul, which in the individual's waking state is manifested through the ego-consciousness, the "mind".[54] Thus, by associations to the breath and the mind the free-soul becomes in a certain way connected with the body. It is, moreover, during its passive period often conceived as residing in the body. And conversely, the ego-soul may through its connection with the free-soul expand into a comprehensive soul-concept.

But it is not always that our data can be fitted into the dualistic schema in this simple way. Sometimes, instead of a well-ordered dualism we are confronted with a pluralism which seems to defy the trains of thought advanced above. It sometimes seems as if the extra-physical soul had been replaced by a number of extra-physical souls, now completely independent, now loosely bound to the individual; perhaps the strict dualism has given place to, as it appears, an alternation between two conceptions of the free-soul or of the body-soul. Here, of course, the field is free for guesses at misunderstandings, erroneous interpretations and incomplete communications. But in many cases this pluralism is a reality which the investigator is unable to avoid.

Arbman has here rightly pointed out that it is necessary to distinguish between what constitute "participations" of the individual or of his being—e. g. the name, the shadow, the image or "the external soul", in so far as they do not represent the free-soul—and manifestations of the free-soul.[55] The former exist only as parts of the individual, constitute a sort of extension of the concept of the individual. Lévy-Bruhl's *loi de participation* may here be applied, if one eliminates its (theoretical) presupposition, the collective conceptions.[56] The French sociologist writes, inter alia, that "dans les représentations des primitifs, comme on l'a remarqué souvent, l'individualité de chacun ne s'arrête pas à la périphérie de sa personne. Les frontières en sont indécises, mal déterminées, et même variables selon que les individus possèdent plus ou moins de force mystique ou de *mana*".[57] Everything

[54] Hultkrantz, op.cit., 41. The fusion may also take place in other ways; see §§ 15—16.

[55] Arbman, op.cit., 131 sq.

[56] Lévy-Bruhl 1922, passim; Lévy-Bruhl 1927, passim. With Lowie one may here point out that "it is not easy to define this law (of participation) because the author himself nowhere furnishes a clear-cut definition" (Lowie 1937, 218).

[57] Lévy-Bruhl here brings in the notion of the supernatural power *(mana)* in an unfortunate way. The stronger is a person's position in his group, the more *mana* he has, and the stronger his individuality will be; "l'individu n'est appréhendé qu'à titre d'élément du groupe dont il fait partie, qui seul est une véritable unité" (Lévy-Bruhl 1927, 129). A rather too facile construction!

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proceeding from the individual, "les secrétions et les excrétions", is included in the concept of the individual under the designation "appartenances".[58] The personality covers them over and is in return supported by them.[59] Summarizing, Lévy-Bruhl says that "elles sont des parties intégrantes de la personne, et se confondent avec elle".[60] This is a true observation. But we may add that Lévy-Bruhl's arguments do not only apply to the so-called primitive peoples; they are almost universally applicable.[61]

But does not Lévy-Bruhl's theory imply that also the free-soul is understood as an "extension de l'individualité"? Yes; for he writes: "Les 'appartenances' dans certains cas, sont regardées comme le double de l'individu, et ce double est l'individu lui-même dont il peut tenir la place".[62] Lévy-Bruhl also says of the soul—which he conceives as a homogeneous "principe vital", though distinct from our modern conception of the soul[63]—that it is "toujours une 'appartenance' essentielle de l'individu".[64] But this is obviously a gross simplification of facts: the free-soul is originally the person himself, not a part of him.[65] Apparently Lévy-Bruhl confuses two separate ideas, that of the "appartenance" and that of the total personality.

Now in many cases it proves that a number of conceptions of the free-soul have occurred side by side in the same tribe, often in the same social group, in the same individual. From different points of departure investigators have tried to attack this problem. Radin writes: "Much of the confusion in customary discussions on the nature of the soul . . . can be attributed to the lack of realization on the part of the theorists that the folkloristic conception of the soul is one thing, the priest-thinker's another".[66] This draws attention to an essential aspect of the problem. It is, for instance, clear from Walker's description of the conceptions of the soul held by the Oglala that he is giving an account of the systematized conceptions of the medicine-men; this also explains why several conceptions of an originally heterogenous nature have been brought together as "equivalent" souls.[67] One fre-

[58] Lévy-Bruhl 1927, 133 sq., 129.
[59] Lévy-Bruhl, op.cit., 146 sqq.
[60] Lévy-Bruhl, op.cit., 149 sq., 185 sq.
[61] "What Lévy-Bruhl describes as the 'law of participation' is the common foible of all humanity, not the peculiarity of primitive minds" (Lowie, op.cit., 221).
[62] Lévy-Bruhl, op.cit., 150.
[63] Lévy-Bruhl, op.cit., 128 sqq., 155, 161.
[64] Lévy-Bruhl, op.cit., 159.
[65] Arbman, op.cit., 132.
[66] Radin 1937, 279.
[67] Walker 1917, 86 sqq.

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quently finds that the number of souls is determined by the mystical number of the tribe, and it appears likely that the influence of a pondering shaman-speculation is to be traced in this circumstance.[68]

James is of the opinion that the conceptions of the soul in North America have tended to "undergo modification where the fusion of cultures has produced several afterworlds, as among the tribes of the Plains, where each person frequently had four souls, each with its particular function and destination".[69] James appears in the first place to be referring to the Dakota.[70] But a more careful study of his survey, taken from J. O. Dorsey, shows quite clearly a differentiation between a body-soul, a grave-ghost, a free-soul (or rather: the spirit of the dead person) and a representation of the individual, bound to a lock of his hair.[71] Thus four completely different conceptions, of which only two justify the use of the term soul, and these can easily be explained in the light of their dualistic functions.

This does not mean that James's hypothesis cannot to a limited extent (see further below) prove valid in other cases. An instance is afforded by the Wintu belief. A Wintu Indian said: "When you walk in the sun sometimes you see two shadows—a dark one and a light one. The dark one is heavier and stays on earth when you die. The other one goes up above. The dark one is the bad one, the one which makes all the trouble. The light one stays with the body three days after a person dies. That is why you should wait three days before burying people. The dark one leaves the body a month before a person dies".[72] It is of course not out of the question that in the last analysis an optic phenomenon lies behind the belief in the two shadow-souls. However this may be, the physical shadow has as a dark soul been incorporated with the soul-ideology, and one has the impression that this was done so that it might be possible to duplicate one and the same soul-conception. *Points de repère* have thus been gained for the notion of the dead person in the realm of the dead (the white shadow), and for the notion of the ghost upon earth (the black

[68] Lowie 1925 b, 105 sq. Cf. below, §§ 3, 11.

[69] James 1927, 356. Cf., concerning the Dakota, the Dakota missionary, S. W. Pond (Pond 1908, 426 sq.).

[70] James, op.cit., 348. His Hidatsa instance contradicts the theory, and his instance from the Mandan is wrongly reproduced (op.cit., 348 sq.).

[71] Dorsey 1894, 484 (after Lynd). My interpretation agrees in rough outline with Arbman's (Arbman, op.cit., 151 sqq.). An analysis of Walker's material leads one to similar conclusions.

[72] Du Bois 1935, 78.

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shadow).[73] The two-fold conception of the soul appears here to be a reflex of the dual conception of the dead person.[74]

But it is not a matter of a self-evident, psychologically conditioned division. One discerns the influence of ordered thinking, of a pondering speculation which has sought causality and connection. It is this speculation which establishes a definite transition from the soul to the deceased. And this may happen in such a way that the term for the dead person is transferred to the soul,[75] or that the conceptions of the deceased are also associated with the soul,[76] or that even the forms of the conception of the dead are projected to the ideas of the soul, as in the above-mentioned Wintu case.

However, it is clear that the assumption of a transition from the soul of the living person to the form of manifestation taken by the dead person may very well be made by proceeding from the possibilities of development offered by the conceptions of the soul in their dualistic form.[77] Thus the body-soul, for example, may become the grave-ghost, the free-soul, on the other hand, may become the spirit that betakes itself to the realm of the dead. The dualism between the souls must probably be presumed to be the primary factor in the great majority of cases in which a correspondence has been established between the souls of the living person and the deceased. And so much is at all events certain, that the soul-conception is not immediately—or outside of religious speculation—formed after the forms of existence of "the other life".

In the form in which James has advanced his hypothesis and with the tendency implicit therein it can not be accepted. For one asks oneself: the individual divided up among several dwellings in the realm of the dead—does not this conflict with the essence of the belief in con-

[73] Note, however, that the Wintu are not unfamiliar with dualistic conceptions of the soul in the strict sense (cf. below, pp. 98 sq.); it is the free-soul that has here been duplicated.

[74] Even Bahnson asserted that the contrasting ideas: the dead person living in the grave—the dead person living in the realm of the dead, directly stimulated the appearance of several souls. "Possibly the notion of the many souls in the body and their separate fates arose from the attempt to reconcile the two ideas and to explain how it could come about that the soul left the body and the latter nevertheless remained alive" (Bahnson 1882, 214; see also the instances from America, op.cit., 170, 213).

[75] Cf. e.g. below, pp. 89, 113. Cf. § 32.

[76] It should, however, be borne in mind that as the memory-image of a deceased person the free-soul often coincides naturally with the image one has of the deceased person in his new surroundings. Conventional reasons may, however, sometimes counteract such an identification: e.g. the dead person appears in the shape of an animal.

[77] Cf. Boas 1940 b, 604: the soul-aspects promote the manifold nature of post-mortal forms of existence.

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among the Navajo Indians is, as far as I know, without counterparts among other North American peoples.

Tylor's theory of the soul must now be considered from a third point of view. As is known, Tylor has tried to show, that the belief in spirits has grown up on the basis of the belief in the soul, for the most part by pure analogy. In his essay "Tinneh Animism" J. W. Chapman carries on this train of thought and illustrates it with Athapascan material. In this connection he follows chiefly the basic view developed by Warneck in his well-known work on the religion of the Indonesian Batak:[25] animism is taken as the key to an understanding of the nature of pagan religion.[26] In this connection Chapman also tries to prove that Warneck's thesis of the soul as an emanation of a general life-stuff also has its application among the Tinneh, i.e. Ingalik; "it furnishes a working hypothesis which appears to harmonize everything so far discovered, and to contradict nothing".[27] But at the same time Chapman admits the occurrence of both body-soul and shadow-soul —and with this distinction the whole argument of course falls to the ground!

It is precisely the lack of uniformity and clear contours characterizing the primitive notions of the soul that upsets the old animistic hypothesis of evolution. Nieuwenhuis has made an enquiry into the differences obtaining in the Indian mind between the concepts of soul and spirit. He observes, amongst other things: "The conception of soul as the whole of the life-phenomena of the individuals of the organized world is split up into a larger number of soul-conceptions, which together relate the life of a human being, sometimes of an animal and plant. This splitting up does not occur with the spirit-conception".[28] This makes it clear that the belief in spirits has scarcely been developed from any soul-belief of the type Tylor had in mind. The free-soul and the spirit of the dead person, as we shall find, give a better basis for animistic evolution (see § 33).

Radin has even ventured to reverse the problem. He rejects the assumption of the soul-conception as "the basic ingredient of religion" and says, inter alia: "The concept of the soul takes on its specific 'spiritual' physiognomy from that of the supernatural beings, and not the contrary, just as it takes on its specific form from human beings

[25] Warneck 1909.
[26] Chapman 1921, 298.
[27] Chapman, op.cit., 301.
[28] Nieuwenhuis 1924, 125, 139. Unfortunately, Nieuwenhuis illustrates his thesis in a rather inapposite way (op.cit., 127).

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and the organic world around man . . ."[29] But is it not more correct to assume that the "spirituality" of both the spirit and the soul are traceable to similar experiences—similar in the sense that "the other world" is an existence of another order, whereby these phenomena tend to appear as imperceptible to the senses and half immaterial?

Tylor's evolutionistic hypothesis thus falls by the unhomogeneous structure of the primitive conception of the soul. He himself was by no means blind to the fact that some peoples might have generally two, often still more, souls — he mentions some instances from North America: Greenlanders, Algonquin, Dakota and Salish; indeed, he seems to consider the circumstance characteristic for the North American Indians.[30] But the consequences for the idea of animistic evolution that one expects are not forthcoming, for Tylor assumes that the two souls are aspects of one and the same conception of the soul.

Tylor's great successor in the field of soul-research was W. Wundt. In his "Völkerpsychologie"—one of the most difficult books to read in the whole literature of ethnology—Wundt tried to give a closer definition of the dualism of souls among primitive peoples that had already been observed by Tylor. His distinction between body-soul and psyche is, it is true, unclear and incomplete, but it has had its significance for later research: the body-soul is the soul that is bound to the body, the psyche the breath and shadow soul.[31] As in Tylor, however, it is a question of different forms of the spiritual life, of two forms of manifestation, distinct by their functions yet nevertheless connected in the most varied ways with each other.[32]

Several of Wundt's viewpoints are to be found in Boas, who introduced the study of Wundt in North America.[33] We shall revert to Boas later, and continue here with the "European" line in the history of the research carried out on the primitive soul.

Wundt's theories have been thoroughly criticized and revised by Arbman.[34] The latter regards the dualism of the soul as a fundamental and primitive phenomenon; thus he asserts that the dual functions

[29] Radin 1937, 268, 276.
[30] Tylor, op.cit., 390, 392, 394, 399.
[31] Wundt 1910, 78 sqq. Cf. op.cit., 71 sqq., 125.
[32] In these two distinct conceptual lines Bertholet has seen expressions for dynamism (manifested by the more automatically acting body-soul) and personalism (manifested by the more independently operating psyche-doubleganger) in the way of conceiving the soul (Bertholet 1930, 60 sq.).
[33] Kroeber 1943, 7; Kroeber 1946, 8, note 20.
[34] Arbman 1931, 310 sqq., 371 sqq.

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tinuity? And is not the deceased always one and the same—the memory-image of a once living person? One imagines that for genuine belief the notion of the individual's simultaneous sojourn in several worlds is impossible; there must be an either—or.

The objection is fully justified. The dead person cannot be conceived or imagined to belong to several realms of the dead, at least, not in practical faith.[78] Where the belief in several realms of the dead is held, we have to do with split lines of tradition, each of which forms a separate unity in the popular belief—either the one or the other is believed in—, or else they are subscribed to by different social classes. Only unrealistic speculation which has lost contact with living faith can divide up the individual between different realms of the dead.[79]

It is quite another matter that one and the same individual may hold a simultaneous belief in the grave-ghost—spook-ghost and in the deceased person in the realm of the dead. Here it is not a question of "culture-fusion", but of practical, unreflecting experiences. A later rationalizing tendency may combine these views or make them still more remote from each other. If the distinction between them becomes conscious, the personality is as a rule identified only with the one notion. But it is generally not conscious, even if the mind harbours such assumptions as that the life-soul becomes a ghost, the free-soul goes to the realm of the dead, etc. Two circumstances should here be borne in mind. Firstly, that the grave-ghost of course represents a different conceptual line than the deceased person in the realm of the dead, and that his opposition to the latter is therefore scarcely per-

[78] The great exception is provided by the Bella Coola eschatology, according to which the deceased sojourns in heaven and also in the underworld. According to Boas, the dead person passes successively from one of these two worlds to the other, and is thus one and the same (Boas 1898 a, 27 sq., 38); but according to McIlwraith it is different soul-entities that after death go to heaven and the underworld (McIlwraith 1948 I, 495 sqq.). Goddard reckons with "three separate entities"; but the third of these, the conception of the deceased as the owl, is a spook-ghost conception without any connection with the eschatological main line of thought (Goddard 1945, 133). It appears to me that the Bella Coola's double eschatological pattern is a doctrine only half-heartedly embraced, a consequence of the fusion between two lines of tradition; it is in this connection not without significance that the belief in the heavenly existence of the dead person has been so vaguely and uncertainly conceived (McIlwraith, op.cit., 495 sq.).

[79] An, as far as I can see, evident miracle-belief is revealed in the idea of the shaman's fate after death among the White Mountain Apache: "Shamans with high lightning or snake power are said to go in part both to the land of their power and to the land of the dead" (Goodwin 1938, 36). The shaman's miraculous capacity has repercussions upon his personal development after death; the simultaneous sojourning in two different places is itself a magical accomplishment. One may also say that the shaman participates in the nature of his guardian spirit. Cf. also the conception of the dead among the Jicarilla Apache, below, p. 104.

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ceived. And secondly, that the two notions are never actualized at one and the same time.

Exactly the same applies to the many extra-physical souls of the living person. They are simply forms in which the free-soul is represented, interacting with each other. "Zwei Beobachtungen sind hier von Belang", writes Arbman: "teils dass diese 'Seelen' jede für sich mit der Person selbst identisch sind, teils dass sie kaum gleichzeitig auftreten".[80] Here, in the majority of cases, we have the key to an understanding of pluralism of free-souls as this occurs outside of shaman speculation.[81]

We have already mentioned the Protean nature of the free-soul.[82] Perhaps it would be more correct to say that the free-soul takes the shape that best corresponds to its rôle in a given situation. It is the multiplicity of different situations that gives rise to the experience of the multiform free-soul. James rightly points out that "it may have been in this way, by trying to distinguish between the different aspects of the soul, that the notion of the ghost and the multiple soul emerged".[83] In the modern, degenerated Ojibway belief the pluralism of the soul seems to have arisen from the number of forms in which the free-soul is manifested.[84] Whether there has been such a development in other quarters, where the old conception of the soul has been kept more intact, it is not easy to say. But it is conceivable, in the measure in which the psychologically given transformation of the free-soul hardens and the many forms in which it is manifested lose their mutual relation.

The pronouncement by James referred to above has, however, a wider application. Strictly speaking, the associative tendency lies behind all changes or divisions of the primitive conception of the soul. "Ein wirklicher Begriff von der Seele existiert nicht bei den Primiti-

[80] Arbman, op.cit., 143. This identity with the person is not to be understood to mean that the extra-physical soul—often an animal—reveals the psycho-physical individual in a transformed shape. Sometimes, however, the conceptions are nevertheless contaminated, as in the narrative of the Ojibway Indian who made a physical appearance in the shape of the animal he had dreamed about—and which contained his form of being in an earlier existence (Densmore 1929, 79; cf. § 24).

[81] It is perhaps difficult to speak here of pluralism: the many souls are not an expression for a theoretical view of the nature of the souls, but the consequences of practical experiences in concrete situations. In a word: aspects of the polymorphous nature of the free-soul. These forms of manifestation may be multiplied by means of culture-contacts (see below, p. 38).

[82] Cf. above, p. 26.

[83] James, op.cit., 349.

[84] See below, p. 77.

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ven", says M. P. Nilsson, and this is, certainly, correct if one is arguing from the point of departure of the occidental conception of the soul. "Was existiert, ist ein Bündel von Assoziationen, die an einem gegebenen Punkt ansetzen und dadurch bestimmt werden... Es existiert ferner nicht nur ein Assoziationsbündel, sondern eine Vielheit von solchen, weil es eine Vielheit von Ausgangspunkten gibt".[85]

This standpoint, which is diametrically opposed to Tylor's "monistic" attitude, is also taken up by Boas. Multiplicity, not uniformity, is the basic theme for the primitive conceptions of the soul, he asserts.[86] It may be as well to conclude this survey of the primitive soul-conception in the light of research with a brief résumé of Boas's viewpoints. In the first place because he provides, in the manner indicated above, a complete contrast to Tylor, with whom we began our account; and in the second place because he has based his theses upon a material taken chiefly from North America and collected by himself.

Boas accepts (as we have also done here) Tylor's individual-psychological method; but he wishes also to "take into consideration the effects of secondary rationalization and the historical facts that may have influenced the ways by which simple ideas grew into complex dogma".[87] In this way one also gives attention to "the multifarious mental conditions" leading up to the concept of the soul. Like Arbman, Boas finds that among primitive peoples "many manifestations of life take concrete forms as an effect of the tendency to conceive certain classes of attributes as substances... Particularly the states and functions of physical and mental life do not appear to primitive man as qualities, conditions or actions, but as definite concepts which tend to take on concrete form".[88] This gradually frees the quality from its object, in proportion as it becomes concretized. The soul-conceptions, however, belong to the less differentiated qualities, for they are intimately connected with the individual, whose very life depends upon their presence.[89]

This dynamic viewpoint is reasonable if one looks to the unity in multiplicity; the conceptions of the soul and of power are placed together on a scale where the distance from the point of departure de-

[85] Nilsson 1930, 97.
[86] Boas 1940 b, 597. The essay by Boas referred to here was published for the first time in E. H. Sneath, Religion and the Future Life, New York 1922. Boas had, however, already given expression to these trains of thought in 1910, in his article "Soul" in Handbook of American Indians.
[87] Boas, op.cit., loc. cit.
[88] Boas, op.cit., 598.
[89] Boas, op.cit., 599.

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cides the nature of the conception. "The distinction between a spiritual helper or a protecting object and the 'soul' shows . . . very clearly that the former is thought of as existing apart from the body, while the latter is closely associated with it".[90]

Boas's need for inner coherence may also be seen in his definition of "soul": "The soul represents the objectivated qualities which constitute either the ideal human being or the individual personality".[91] But behind this conceptual uniformity we find multiplicity and disorder and division between image-soul, ego-soul (power to act, will-power)[92] and body-soul, developed by processes with which we have already become acquainted.

Dominating concepts are, according to Boas, free-soul and life-soul, concerning whose activities he writes: "As the life-soul may vary in form, so the memory-image soul may take varying forms according to the particular aspect of the personality that predominates. These two concepts of the soul do not remain isolated, but the one always influences the other".[93] The last-mentioned circumstance is not surprising. "We must remember", points out Boas, "that concepts originating from different principles of unconscious classification must overlap, and that for this reason, if for no other, the same concept may belong to conflicting categories. Only when conscious rationalization sets in and a standardization of beliefs develops may some of these conflicting or even contradictory views be harmonized".[94] As an instance of a "mixed concept" Boas mentions a case in which the body-soul also has the capacity to leave its owner as the free-soul and appear in his shape, though much diminished.[95] Whether such combinations as Boas has in mind have really contributed to the phenomenon of multiple souls is a question that should, I think, be left open.

The foregoing orientation should now have given the reader, against the background of earlier theories in research on the soul, a general

[90] Boas, op.cit., 604.
[91] Boas, op.cit., 599. But the definition is too narrow to do justice to the concept of the body-soul.
[92] Boas's indications of the existence of an ego-soul are obscure, but he seems to understand it as a reality closely associated with both body-soul and free-soul (Boas, op.cit., 600). In this, if I have here rightly understood his meaning, he is correct. Cf. also the account in Boas 1910 b, 617, where the expression "power of acting" (cf. above) is connected with the life-soul, while in obscure (not to say incomprehensible) terms the ego-soul is associated with the guardian spirit.
[93] Boas, op.cit., 600.
[94] Boas, op.cit., 604.
[95] Boas, op.cit., 605. Cf. Hultkrantz 1951, 24. Cf. also below, pp. 152, 264, and § 16.

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notion of the author's views concerning the primitive conceptions of the soul in their functions and reciprocal relations.

Before going on to a more detailed account, based upon the material itself, of the conceptions of the soul held by the North American Indians, we shall discuss certain peculiarities in the Indian habits of thought concerning the soul, and in connection herewith test the correctness of a number of reports to the effect that there have been North American Indian peoples without any soul-conceptions.

3. *Introductory remarks on the soul-conceptions of the North American Indians*

In the first section (§1) it was mentioned that the North American material was as regards the native conceptions of the soul very extensive. That this is so is probably due not least to the intensive work of schooled ethnologists. For it is no exaggeration to assert that the Indians themselves very seldom speak of their conceptions of the soul. Boas, who acquired such a thorough and detailed knowledge of the ethnography of the Kwakiutl Indians, assures us that among these Indians "the soul of man is rarely mentioned".[1] This pronouncement is not based upon any misunderstanding of the nature of the primitive conception of the soul—Boas had a good knowledge of this.[2] Nor can the silence in this case be due to the Indians' usual reserve towards strangers, since Boas's assistant among the Kwakiutl was one of themselves, George Hunt.[3] We are here obviously confronted with the fact that the soul-conception is seldom put into words—whether on account of its self-evidence, its abstruseness, its indefinable and peculiar nature or its character of tabooed concept, all this from the Indian point of view of course.

When it does happen that the Indian silence on this point is broken, one is often presented with a confusing, contradictory collection of data concerning the soul instead of, as some may perhaps expect, a strictly thought out complex of belief. Among the Coyukon, for instance, the conceptions of the soul "do not form a body of doctrine

[1] Boas 1935, 124.
[2] Boas 1940 b; cf. above pp. 34 sq.
[3] See Boas 1930 I, IX.

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taught in schools, nor even a coherent system orally transmitted, but are preserved in loose shreds, scattered here and there in the superstitious customs of which they form the substratum".[4] But there is no occasion for surprise. Even modern occidentals may find difficulty in defining what they mean by "soul", and their attempts in this direction are frequently surprisingly primitive.[5] We are therefore not justified in putting Indian thought into a special category if the Indian conception of the soul seems at first glance both diffuse and inconsistent.[6]

It is a well-known fact that the incompleteness of our first-hand information is often due to the natives' reserve towards outsiders and to their respect for social and religious taboos.[7] That it is not least the misunderstandings and misinterpretations of the field-worker that have contributed to the obscuration of the primitive soul-conception has already been pointed out.[8] But the lack of clarity and the logical deficiencies referred to above are not necessary traceable to the more immediately obstructing circumstances connected with the noting down of these beliefs.

There is no doubt that the vagueness and the inconsistencies of the religious conceptions are largely due to the nature of the tradition itself: sometimes it has been noted down at a time when the older notions have already been abandoned; sometimes different lines of tradition have run side by side; and sometimes different individuals have consciously carried on different traditions.[9] But still more frequently the discrepancies are due to the individual's inability to concretize the subtler notions, either because these notions in themselves are not susceptible of concretion, or because the person supplying the information is lacking in interest or intelligence, or is simply ignorant.

We shall now develop these viewpoints—all of them relevant for a right understanding of Indian (and primitive) conceptions of the soul —in somewhat greater detail.

As has already been remarked, the tradition may be moribund or in process of distortion. Olbrechts observes that the soul-conceptions of the Cherokee Indians are now so difficult to grasp because they have been in large part forgotten, so that our material concerning their

[4] Jetté 1911, 706.
[5] Durkheim 1912, 344 sq.; Pratt 1945, 224 note 2.
[6] Cf. Bahnson 1882, 128; Straubinger 1937, 406.
[7] Cf. e.g. Boas 1921 I, 715 sqq.
[8] Cf. above, pp. 13 sq.
[9] Cf. Erixon on the ethnological dimensions (Erixon 1951, 15)

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ideas of the soul is unfortunately decadent and confused.[10] The Bear River shaman Nora Coonskin "called all souls, ghosts, and spirits by the name of spirit, but contradicted herself when she gave the different Bear River words for each". It turned out that she had forgotten a large part of her old language.[11]

Also of importance in this connection is the splitting of the tradition. Professor Linton, as is well-known one of the most prominent men in the field of research on acculturation, has had an opportunity of observing the rôle played in the development of the soul-concept by cultural and traditional contacts. According to Dr. Linton's view, conveyed orally to the author, soul-pluralism may be due to the occurrence of different legends concerning the soul, which are gradually merged to form an uniform doctrine. And there can be no doubt but that the forms in which the free-soul is manifested have often been stimulated by cultural contact. The Sinkaietk, for instance, have got a newly formed free-soul through Christianity.[12]

Before the different lines of tradition have been merged, they may be carried on by different individuals within the same community. The Wind River Shoshoni, for example, have representatives both for the more conservative belief in two alternating souls and for the younger, Christian belief in one soul. The synthesis between these diverging views is represented by the moderate but speculatively inclined persons who assume the existence of one soul with two designations.[13] It seems to me that the tendency to uniformity always operates after a cultural contact splitting the old tradition.

It is well-known that a splitting of the tradition may occur through an internal development, as when the shamans isolate themselves from the majority of the people and the shaman tradition becomes a secret doctrine.[14] In such cases a gulf may arise between the popular religion and the shamanistic religion. There is reason to believe that the conceptions of the soul have undergone a differentiation in the general soul-belief and the belief held by the initiated among some of the peoples who have had secret societes, though it is difficult to show a splitting of the tradition in this special case.[15]

The effects of internal or external changes in the tradition may thus

[10] Mooney & Olbrechts 1932, 140.
[11] Nomland 1938, 93. Cf. Kelly 1939, 153 (the Southern Paiute).
[12] See below, p. 45.
[13] Hultkrantz Ms.
[14] See below, pp. 40 sq.
[15] See below, § 11, especially pp. 125 sq.

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have a prejudicial influence upon the view of Indian conceptions of the soul held by an outsider. But such changes by no means constitute the deeper causes of the frequent obscuring of our understanding of these conceptions. There is, as I pointed out above, another circumstance that signifies much more in this respect, viz. the difficulty experienced by the natives in finding words and verbal expressions with which to formulate and give shape to the content of their beliefs concerning the soul. Both the difficult and abstruse nature of the conceptions in question and the greater or lesser ability of the natives to concretize must here be taken into consideration.

From § 2 it should have emerged that the psychologically given soul-pluralism in itself constitutes a completely natural cause of the unharmonious contrasts between primitive concepts of the soul. As Boas points out: different aspects of human manifestations of life give rise to different soul-conceptions, and as primitive peoples generally have no consistent systems of belief, the various conceptions overlap.[16] In his practical immediate beliefs concerning the soul the primitive individual does not perceive the difficulties implicit in the lack of definition characterizing his soul-concepts. But when he comes to make clear to himself and to express their content he becomes aware of the difficulty. "In our ordinary everyday life we do not think much about all these things", an Iglulik Eskimo informed Knud Rasmussen; "and it is only now you ask that so many thoughts arise in my head of long-known things; old thoughts, but as it were becoming altogether new when one has to put them into words".[17]

The contradictions manifested in the primitive concept of the soul naturally draw our attention to certain weaknesses in Indian thinking. We may here devote a very cursory and general discussion to this mode of thinking in the measure in which it throws light upon our special problem. It is inevitable that the idea of the soul should have assumed a much sharper definition in the minds of a few philosophically and religiously gifted individuals than in the minds of the great mass of believers. But all, the speculatively inclined and the less speculatively disposed alike, have been limited in their thinking by the narrow lines fixed by the cultural tradition.

That the Indians' conceptions of the soul were neither complete nor particularly profound, according to European standards, was pointed out by the Jesuits. Thus Brébeuf writes of the Hurons: "... to

[16] Boas 1940 b, 604. Cf. below, p. 42.
[17] Rasmussen 1929, 61.

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ficial. And from the point of view of the researcher this is just as well, for otherwise the psychological relations would not be so clearly traceable as is now actually the case.

There is especially one peculiarity of Indian—and primitive—thought which is here of importance. This is the disinclination to follow what we refer to as the law of contradiction. Or perhaps it may be more correct, with Mauss, to express the matter thus: "là où nous, occidentaux, nous voyons des contradictions, les autres n'en voient pas—c'est tout".[28] The Indians in New France accepted the ideas of the Church, as it appeared; but at the same time they stuck stubbornly to their old paganism.[29] Such tendencies help us better to realize why the soul-concept has been so inadequately developed: the primitive individual has not the inclination to cultivate and refine theoretical problems. One might expect, says Arbman, that the primitive mind would reach the conclusion that the animating principle of the human being and his free-soul were one and the same being. But: "Die Tatsachen zeigen, dass diese Schlussfolgerung sich in der Regel *nicht* einstellt, ja, dass man nicht einmal danach fragt, wie diese beiden Wesenheiten sich eigentlich zueinander verhalten".[30]

One must of course not generalize this viewpoint, as if contradictions were never perceived by the Indians.[31] And above all one should beware of underestimating the intellectual capacity of the Indian. There is no lack of examples of the way in which, in both older and more modern times, Indian thinkers have created new soul-concepts. A Sauk Indian living more than a hundred years ago, Keokuk, is said to have distinguished between five individual-social basic conceptions: the heart, the flesh, the life, the name and the family.[32] One of Frachtenberg's informants among the Quileute made a terminological distinction between the free-soul guardian spirit during the individual's lifetime and the same soul after death; this was his own invention.[33] A Cahuilla Indian whom Hooper met also gave evidence of creative imagination. Through his own ponderings he had arrived at the belief "that our breath is our spirit, for it leaves us when we die. Breath is

[28] Mauss 1947, 165.
[29] Hallowell 1946, 209 sq.
[30] Arbman 1927, 200.
[31] A couple of Drucker's informants among the Kwakiutl "were puzzled by the inconsistency of two concepts: that of reincarnation and that of a land of the dead . . ." (Drucker 1950, 291).
[32] Alexander 1920, 728.
[33] Frachtenberg 1920, 334.

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knowledge of the mysteries pertaining to the life of the soul.[24] Often enough he owes his authority in this respect to an extraordinary religious visionary capacity. Among many North American peoples it is thus commonly found that only the shaman is able to see the soul or any of the souls when awake.[25] It does not immediately follow from this that knowledge of the soul is exclusively reserved to the shaman. But he becomes undeniably a better authority in the sphere of soul-belief than most other persons. In the long run, the exclusivity of the shamanistic experience may stimulate the development of a dogma of the initiated. And in suitable historical conditions an esoteric shamanistic tradition is developed which is based less upon the visionary experience than upon the secret knowledge handed down by tradition.

Although the medicine-men constitute for the most part the "intelligentsia" in a primitive Indian community, one should not build too much on any presumed resemblance between their way of thinking about the soul and our schooled occidental thought on the subject. The difference between the mode of thought of the primitive individual and that of the modern occidental lies of course chiefly in "the difference of character of the traditional material with which the new perception associates itself".[26] Even the secretly initiated medicine-man reasons like his fellow-tribesmen in general, even though he may be more of an introvert and have a greater inclination and natural gift than they for dealing with supersensuous matters. Where the esoteric shaman tradition flourishes a firmer grasp of the problem is probably to be observed; but all too often the shamanistic thinking loses itself in shallow attempts at classification, as among the Oglala.[27] It is incontestable that the esoteric shaman tradition is characterized less by the peculiarity of its thought than by its isolated, privileged position.

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[25] See § 26. As a rule it is the free-soul which is referred to. Thus the remarkable thing is, as Dr. Linton has pointed out to the author, that "the double" (the free-soul) is not, except to shamans and the religiously inspired, manifested outside the dream experienced by all individuals.

[26] Boas 1938, 221.

[27] Walker 1917, 78 sqq.

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ficial. And from the point of view of the researcher this is just as well, for otherwise the psychological relations would not be so clearly traceable as is now actually the case.

There is especially one peculiarity of Indian—and primitive—thought which is here of importance. This is the disinclination to follow what we refer to as the law of contradiction. Or perhaps it may be more correct, with Mauss, to express the matter thus: "là où nous, occidentaux, nous voyons des contradictions, les autres n'en voient pas—c'est tout".[28] The Indians in New France accepted the ideas of the Church, as it appeared; but at the same time they stuck stubbornly to their old paganism.[29] Such tendencies help us better to realize why the soul-concept has been so inadequately developed: the primitive individual has not the inclination to cultivate and refine theoretical problems. One might expect, says Arbman, that the primitive mind would reach the conclusion that the animating principle of the human being and his free-soul were one and the same being. But: "Die Tatsachen zeigen, dass diese Schlussfolgerung sich in der Regel *nicht* einstellt, ja, dass man nicht einmal danach fragt, wie diese beiden Wesenheiten sich eigentlich zueinander verhalten".[30]

One must of course not generalize this viewpoint, as if contradictions were never perceived by the Indians.[31] And above all one should beware of underestimating the intellectual capacity of the Indian. There is no lack of examples of the way in which, in both older and more modern times, Indian thinkers have created new soul-concepts. A Sauk Indian living more than a hundred years ago, Keokuk, is said to have distinguished between five individual-social basic conceptions: the heart, the flesh, the life, the name and the family.[32] One of Frachtenberg's informants among the Quileute made a terminological distinction between the free-soul guardian spirit during the individual's lifetime and the same soul after death; this was his own invention.[33] A Cahuilla Indian whom Hooper met also gave evidence of creative imagination. Through his own ponderings he had arrived at the belief "that our breath is our spirit, for it leaves us when we die. Breath is

[28] Mauss 1947, 165.
[29] Hallowell 1946, 209 sq.
[30] Arbman 1927, 200.
[31] A couple of Drucker's informants among the Kwakiutl "were puzzled by the inconsistency of two concepts: that of reincarnation and that of a land of the dead . . ." (Drucker 1950, 291).
[32] Alexander 1920, 728.
[33] Frachtenberg 1920, 334.

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just like wind, so the winds which we hear at night are the spirits of the dead".[34]

The polymorphous, diffuse Indian conception of the soul is, however, more the result of experience than of speculation, and it is perhaps herein that it best shows its remoteness from our own philosophically fine-polished conception. Our "soul" is not a self-evident concept for the Indians. When through Christian impulses the body-soul *mugua* was among the Wind River Shoshoni transformed into something supposed to correspond to an occidental personality-soul, the change remained abortive: they cannot do without *navujieip*, the dream-soul.[35] The divergence between our notion of the soul and that of the Indians may be radical. "My informants", says Teit of his assistants among the Coeur d'Alène, "said that long ago the Indians had no knowledge of what the whites call the 'soul' ".[36] Dr. Reichard emphasizes the fact that there is a great gulf between the soul-concept of the Navajo Indians and our own.[37]

It is perhaps in this divergence between the concepts that we have to seek one of the main causes of the denial, by many of our writers on Indian sources, of the occurrence of a soul in the religious belief of several North American Indian peoples. A very careful study is sometimes necessary before one discovers "the soul" among the mass of terms and concepts with which the Indian expresses the individual and the individuality. When in the summer of 1948 my excellent Arapaho informant wished to give me the Arapaho Indian equivalent of what we call the soul, he adduced the heart, the brain, the breath, etc., *as well as* the peculiar term *betänäyaha*, "the mysterious force of human structure", literally: "your body moulded as a living man". It is not easy from such data to get a concise idea of what constitutes the "soul" among the Arapaho![38]

In connection with what has been said above it may be as well, finally, to try the correctness of the reports now and then appearing in the literature concerning Indian tribes without a belief in the soul. We may formulate the problem thus: have there existed in North America any tribes or groups that have been altogether without the belief in any of the ideas which constitute the primitive soul-concept?

[34] Hooper 1920, 342.
[35] Hultkrantz 1951, 42. Cf. below, p. 93.
[36] Teit 1930, 183.
[37] Reichard 1950 I, 45.
[38] Cf. below, p. 131.

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We find that there are reports of such tribes from widely separated parts of North America.

John McLean, who spent several years during the first half of the nineteenth century among the Carrier, declares that their language "has not a term in it to express the name of Deity, spirit, or soul".[39] But Morice retorts that "for the human mind" the Carrier "have one word; for spirit in general, at least one; and for the soul, three".[40] McLean's statements are obviously incorrect, despite his long stay among the Carrier.

Cooper's material from the Cree at James Bay seems to indicate that even among the older Cree Indians the old, traditional belief is a thing of the past. "There was no belief in a soul"; "there was no thought of any one having a soul or spirit", declared some of the older Cree.[41] It would of course be over-hasty to draw any conclusions concerning an earlier absence of a belief in the soul from such degenerate material. My own field-studies among the Shoshoni and the Arapaho showed that Indians who had been converted to Christianity or the Peyote religion very often denied that the "heathen" religion had contained even elementary eschatological concepts. A consistent dissociation of themselves from the religious values of the older belief has led them to adopt this attitude. As regards the Cree, however, Richardson mentions at least one designation for the soul, *atchak* or *akhchak*.[42] It is probable that this term stands for the free-soul, or the shadow-soul.[43]

A number of reports from the Plateau-peoples may give rise to the false notion that no conception of the soul existed before the introduction of the Christian soul-concept. Thus Brinton states that the Lower Pend d'Oreilles (Kalispel) had, according to a report from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1854, "no word for soul, spiritual existence, or vital principle". The missionaries are said to have made the Christian idea of the soul understandable by comparing it with "a gut which never rotted".[44] These statements should be taken with reserve. The soul-concept of the Pend d'Oreilles was presumably so different from the occidental Christian notion that it was not understood for what it was.

[39] McLean 1849 I, 165.
[40] Morice 1910, 230. Cf. Jenness 1943, 535.
[41] Cooper 1933 b, 54, 57.
[42] Richardson 1851, 387 sq.
[43] Cf. below, p. 82.
[44] Brinton 1868, 233 sq.

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cides the nature of the conception. "The distinction between a spiritual helper or a protecting object and the 'soul' shows . . . very clearly that the former is thought of as existing apart from the body, while the latter is closely associated with it".[90]

Boas's need for inner coherence may also be seen in his definition of "soul": "The soul represents the objectivated qualities which constitute either the ideal human being or the individual personality".[91] But behind this conceptual uniformity we find multiplicity and disorder and division between image-soul, ego-soul (power to act, will-power)[92] and body-soul, developed by processes with which we have already become acquainted.

Dominating concepts are, according to Boas, free-soul and life-soul, concerning whose activities he writes: "As the life-soul may vary in form, so the memory-image soul may take varying forms according to the particular aspect of the personality that predominates. These two concepts of the soul do not remain isolated, but the one always influences the other".[93] The last-mentioned circumstance is not surprising. "We must remember", points out Boas, "that concepts originating from different principles of unconscious classification must overlap, and that for this reason, if for no other, the same concept may belong to conflicting categories. Only when conscious rationalization sets in and a standardization of beliefs develops may some of these conflicting or even contradictory views be harmonized".[94] As an instance of a "mixed concept" Boas mentions a case in which the body-soul also has the capacity to leave its owner as the free-soul and appear in his shape, though much diminished.[95] Whether such combinations as Boas has in mind have really contributed to the phenomenon of multiple souls is a question that should, I think, be left open.

The foregoing orientation should now have given the reader, against the background of earlier theories in research on the soul, a general

[90] Boas, op.cit., 604.

[91] Boas, op.cit., 599. But the definition is too narrow to do justice to the concept of the body-soul.

[92] Boas's indications of the existence of an ego-soul are obscure, but he seems to understand it as a reality closely associated with both body-soul and free-soul (Boas, op.cit., 600). In this, if I have here rightly understood his meaning, he is correct. Cf. also the account in Boas 1910 b, 617, where the expression "power of acting" (cf. above) is connected with the life-soul, while in obscure (not to say incomprehensible) terms the ego-soul is associated with the guardian spirit.

[93] Boas, op.cit., 600.

[94] Boas, op.cit., 604.

[95] Boas, op.cit., 605. Cf. Hultkrantz 1951, 24. Cf. also below, pp. 152, 264, and § 16.

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notion of the author's views concerning the primitive conceptions of the soul in their functions and reciprocal relations.

Before going on to a more detailed account, based upon the material itself, of the conceptions of the soul held by the North American Indians, we shall discuss certain peculiarities in the Indian habits of thought concerning the soul, and in connection herewith test the correctness of a number of reports to the effect that there have been North American Indian peoples without any soul-conceptions.

3. Introductory remarks on the soul-conceptions of the North American Indians

In the first section (§1) it was mentioned that the North American material was as regards the native conceptions of the soul very extensive. That this is so is probably due not least to the intensive work of schooled ethnologists. For it is no exaggeration to assert that the Indians themselves very seldom speak of their conceptions of the soul. Boas, who acquired such a thorough and detailed knowledge of the ethnography of the Kwakiutl Indians, assures us that among these Indians "the soul of man is rarely mentioned".[1] This pronouncement is not based upon any misunderstanding of the nature of the primitive conception of the soul—Boas had a good knowledge of this.[2] Nor can the silence in this case be due to the Indians' usual reserve towards strangers, since Boas's assistant among the Kwakiutl was one of themselves, George Hunt.[3] We are here obviously confronted with the fact that the soul-conception is seldom put into words—whether on account of its self-evidence, its abstruseness, its indefinable and peculiar nature or its character of tabooed concept, all this from the Indian point of view of course.

When it does happen that the Indian silence on this point is broken, one is often presented with a confusing, contradictory collection of data concerning the soul instead of, as some may perhaps expect, a strictly thought out complex of belief. Among the Coyukon, for instance, the conceptions of the soul "do not form a body of doctrine

[1] Boas 1935, 124.
[2] Boas 1940 b; cf. above pp. 34 sq.
[3] See Boas 1930 I, IX.

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our investigation area, whereas the Cora fall outside this. As, however, the problem of the Cora's conceptions of the soul is of great theoretical value for our discussion of other data adduced here, I have extended our study in this connection to include also the Cora.

"The Kiliwa", says Meigs, "do not use the term 'soul' or 'spirit'. They simply say 'los muertos' (the dead people), which are thought of more as ghosts than as souls. Living people were not thought of as having souls, but after a person had died and been cremated, he continued to exist".[57] It is not possible to get anything like a firm grasp of the Kiliwa belief from these scanty notes. Presumably, however, the problem must be solved along the same lines as in another, similar, case, viz. that of the Cora Indians.

Preuss's statement to the effect that the Cora Indians have no term for the soul in their language is frequently quoted and commented upon.[58] But, assuming that Preuss's statement is correct, we ask ourselves: does this imply that the conception of the soul is also lacking? Preuss himself says that "die Seele, die sich beim Tode vom Leichnam ablöst, heisst *muitšix*, d.h. 'der Tote'. . .".[59] Söderblom makes the following comment: "There is thus nevertheless a connection between man and his existence after death. Is it possible to conceive this connection without a being which already exists in man while he is alive, and then appears in another shape?"[60] As we know, the free-soul generally appears in this rôle. Now Arbman points out that there are signs indicating that this soul also exists. When a Cora mother has fetched her child from its play on the shore and is already on the way home with the child, it sometimes happens that she calls it by name and urges it to come—although it is walking safely at her side.[61] It is obviously the "double" of the little one that is being addressed. That the free-soul, even during the life-time of the individual and in the most lucid state of consciousness, may be conceived to go off by itself we shall later find exemplified (§ 23).

There is clearly strong evidence in favour of the view that the Cora nevertheless had the idea of a free-soul, which after death probably became the dead person.[62] It is, of course, possible that it was without a name, but it may also have been designated with the same term as

[57] Meigs 1939, 60.
[58] Preuss 1912, LIII.
[59] Preuss 1923, 18.
[60] Söderblom 1914, 12 sq. Cf. Söderblom 1926, 12.
[61] Preuss, op.cit., 10 sq.
[62] Arbman, op.cit., 110 sqq.

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the deceased. In a way, Preuss's statement concerning the namelessness of the soul is not correct, for there is an ego-soul whose name is known: *muatsi'ra.*

A survey of the material adduced above seems to show that the statements of certain writers to the effect that there have been North American Indian peoples without a soul-belief would be very difficult to confirm. There are, it is true, a couple of doubtful cases, chiefly the Kiliwa, which owing to the scantiness of the available information we have not been able to clear up completely. But future investigations of a more detailed character may perhaps be able to answer the questions that still remain. So much, however, seems certain, that we cannot definitely point to a single case in which conceptions of the soul have been altogether absent. It is, moreover, self-evident that belief in the soul must be universal if the psychological argument developed earlier (§ 2) is to hold good.

Belief in the soul is thus probably universal. This implies that people everywhere believe in souls in human beings; but it does not necessarily imply that all human beings are conceived as having souls. It may happen, for instance, that certain categories of individuals—especially members of a social out-group—are according to the soul-system of the in-group denied any form of soul.[63] Here we may trace definite speculative tendencies, not immediate reflections. A typical instance is the following from the Ingalik, related by Chapman: "The Tinneh freely admits that his medicine has no power over the white man. His explanation of this is that white men have no souls. Viewed in the light of his belief that white men are deceased Indians, this is not, perhaps, so irrational after all. It is difficult to tell what kind of medicine ought to be prescribed for a ghost".[64]

Like the dead person, also a still-born infant may be without a soul. The Menomini consider that a still-born child lacks a soul and therefore has no life after death.[65] Since every idea of the soul is associated with life and existence, this view is not so remarkable. Sometimes, however, there is said to be a special soul which the still-born infant lacks. Thus among the Wind River Shoshoni it is believed that a still-

[63] As is known, Africa and Polynesia show numerous instances of the belief that women and low-caste persons are without souls (cf. Alexander, op.cit., loc.cit.).

[64] Chapman 1921, 305. On the other hand, there are positive instances from other Indian groups of white men being conceived as having exactly the same types of soul (the complete set) as the red men; cf. e.g. Speck 1935 a, 46 (the Naskapi).

[65] Skinner 1913, 86. One might perhaps rather express the matter thus: that the child has no life in this world, and therefore not in the world to come either.

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have a prejudicial influence upon the view of Indian conceptions of the soul held by an outsider. But such changes by no means constitute the deeper causes of the frequent obscuring of our understanding of these conceptions. There is, as I pointed out above, another circumstance that signifies much more in this respect, viz. the difficulty experienced by the natives in finding words and verbal expressions with which to formulate and give shape to the content of their beliefs concerning the soul. Both the difficult and abstruse nature of the conceptions in question and the greater or lesser ability of the natives to concretize must here be taken into consideration.

From § 2 it should have emerged that the psychologically given soul-pluralism in itself constitutes a completely natural cause of the unharmonious contrasts between primitive concepts of the soul. As Boas points out: different aspects of human manifestations of life give rise to different soul-conceptions, and as primitive peoples generally have no consistent systems of belief, the various conceptions overlap.[16] In his practical immediate beliefs concerning the soul the primitive individual does not perceive the difficulties implicit in the lack of definition characterizing his soul-concepts. But when he comes to make clear to himself and to express their content he becomes aware of the difficulty. "In our ordinary everyday life we do not think much about all these things", an Iglulik Eskimo informed Knud Rasmussen; "and it is only now you ask that so many thoughts arise in my head of long-known things; old thoughts, but as it were becoming altogether new when one has to put them into words".[17]

The contradictions manifested in the primitive concept of the soul naturally draw our attention to certain weaknesses in Indian thinking. We may here devote a very cursory and general discussion to this mode of thinking in the measure in which it throws light upon our special problem. It is inevitable that the idea of the soul should have assumed a much sharper definition in the minds of a few philosophically and religiously gifted individuals than in the minds of the great mass of believers. But all, the speculatively inclined and the less speculatively disposed alike, have been limited in their thinking by the narrow lines fixed by the cultural tradition.

That the Indians' conceptions of the soul were neither complete nor particularly profound, according to European standards, was pointed out by the Jesuits. Thus Brébeuf writes of the Hurons: ". . . to

[16] Boas 1940 b, 604. Cf. below, p. 42.
[17] Rasmussen 1929, 61.

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Since then various instances of dualistic soul-belief among North American Indians have in the course of the years appeared in the ethnographical literature. But they have evidently not appeared convincing to some comparative researchers. James is of the opinion that "the dual conception of the soul has become confused in North America".[7] Does he mean that it once existed in a purer form—or is he only thinking of the dualism between the soul of the living and of the dead?[8]

There is no doubt but that genuine dualism between souls has existed in North America. Before entering into a more detailed discussion of its general occurrence and shifting forms, two very typical cases may be adduced. The one example is psychologically demonstrative, as it indicates how natural a dualistic view appeared to the Indian; the other is phenomenologically demonstrative, and shows the mutual relations and functions of the dual souls—an interesting field, which in a later chapter we shall have occasion to consider more closely.

Speaking of the Ojibway Indian burial customs, Schoolcraft writes: "Over the top of the grave a roof-shaped covering of cedar-bark is built, to shed the rain. A small aperture is cut through the bark at the head of the grave. On asking a Chippewa why this was done, he replied—'To allow the soul to pass out and in'. 'I thought', I replied, 'that you believed that the soul went up from the body at the time of death, to a land of happiness. How then can it remain in the body?' 'There are two souls', replied the Indian philosopher. 'How can this be?' I responded. 'It is easily explained', said he. 'You know that in dreams we pass over wide countries, and see hills and lakes and mountains, and many scenes, which pass before our eyes and affect us. Yet, at the same time, our bodies do not stir; and there is a soul left with the body, else it would be dead. So, you perceive, it must be another soul that accompanies us' ".[9]

The second instance is taken from the Kwakiutl Indians. I will give here a brief account of the narrative. Lebid, a Kwakiutl Indian, has been sick for a long time when he finally dies on a midwinter day. His corpse, wrapped in blankets, is left on a rock just outside the village. Towards nightfall there is a snow-storm, and many wolves are howling around the spot where the dead man is lying. At daybreak Lebid is heard to sing a sacred song among the howling wolves, and

[7] James 1927, 354.
[8] See above, p. 25.
[9] Schoolcraft 1860 V, 79. Another version of the same conversation is given in Schoolcraft 1860 VI, 665.

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knowledge of the mysteries pertaining to the life of the soul.[24] Often enough he owes his authority in this respect to an extraordinary religious visionary capacity. Among many North American peoples it is thus commonly found that only the shaman is able to see the soul or any of the souls when awake.[25] It does not immediately follow from this that knowledge of the soul is exclusively reserved to the shaman. But he becomes undeniably a better authority in the sphere of soul-belief than most other persons. In the long run, the exclusivity of the shamanistic experience may stimulate the development of a dogma of the initiated. And in suitable historical conditions an esoteric shamanistic tradition is developed which is based less upon the visionary experience than upon the secret knowledge handed down by tradition.

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the Indians understand now that he has become a shaman. Soon, together with the wolves, he disappears into the forest; his corpse is gone, but his footsteps are visible in the snow. After the lapse of two days he appears again, singing his sacred song. He is "really naked, only hemlock was wound around his head and hemlock was wound around his neck".

After a number of ceremonies connected with Lebid's return as a shaman, he relates what he has experienced. He had been very ill. But a man had come up to him and asked him to get up and follow him. Lebid did as he was asked, but at the same time he made a strange observation: "I saw that my body was still lying here groaning".[10] Together with the stranger, Lebid entered a house in the forest. Here lived, amongst others, a man named Naualakume. The latter declared that he intended to make Lebid a great shaman and to give him his own name. Whereupon Naualakume departed. "It was not long before he came back. He spoke and said, 'Now his body is dead on the ground, for I am holding his breath, which is the owner of the soul of our friend. Now I shall give him my shamanistic power', said he and he vomited a quartz crystal. Then all the men beat fast time on the boards. He sang his sacred song as he threw the quartz crystal into the lower part of my sternum, and now I had become a shaman after this as it was getting daylight". Towards evening, "the wolves" were once more assembled in the mysterious house. They donned their wolfmasks, and Lebid walked back in their train to the spot where his lifeless body lay. Naualakume came with Lebid's body-breath, "for only his soul had been taken by the wolves".[10] When they reached the corpse, they removed the shroud. Naualakume called Lebid, told him to sit by his side, and blew the breath into Lebid's body. The wolves were now instructed to lick the body. "Now my soul was sitting on the ground and was just watching the wolves as they were licking the body. They had not been licking it long when it began to breathe". Naualakume now pressed both hands over the head of the soul, and the soul shrank until it was finally no bigger than a large fly. Naualakume then seized it, placed it on the crown of Lebid's head and blew it into him. After this Lebid stood up immediately and sang his sacred song.[11]

[10] Note that the individual, the ego, is represented by the free-soul as long as the body is without consciousness; whether the breath (the body-soul) is present in the body or not is of less importance.

[11] Boas 1930 II, 46—50.

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The legend of Lebid is an extraordinarily clear account of the Kwakiutl Indians' belief concerning the soul: there is reference to the free-soul, the "ego" of the individual in the state of absence, to the breath or the body-soul, which gives the body life, to the body, which has life when it contains the breath-soul, and consciousness when the free-soul stops wandering about on its own outside the body, and finally, to *mana,* the supernatural power which is separated from both the body-soul and the free-soul and which invests the individual with shamanistic accomplishments.

We thus see that a well-developed soul-dualism has existed in North America. It remains to see how general this has been. It must not be expected to have presented everywhere the same clear picture as among the Ojibway and Kwakiutl. It frequently happens that only a careful analysis shows that we have to do with a dualistic soul-belief.

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But we must not give up. When no circumstances in other respects (e.g. considerations arising from a criticism of sources) contradict it, our hypothesis formulated in §2—and verified by the mass of data—may also be applied to less clear cases. To this procedure it may be objected that it is not empirical in the stricter sense of the term. But a certain element of construction is, as has already been pointed out, inevitable in a comparative study of soul-conceptions. And we nevertheless venture to believe that the results of our investigation are based upon a solid foundation.

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[13] An instance: the Wind River Shoshoni have long been considered to have held a belief in a single soul. My field-investigations made it obvious, however, that they have known of several souls and had body-soul and free-soul in dualistic alternation (Hultkrantz 1951, 41 sq.).

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According to Curtis, the missionaries introduced and coined the Kootenay-Indians' term for the soul.[45] But the very significance of the term—roughly: "twofold human flesh"—reminds one of the free-soul; and Curtis does nevertheless admit that before the arrival of the missionaries the Kootenay had a vague soul-belief. To this may be added that according to Turney-High the belief in a life to come was not unknown: "they say they knew about such things before the priests came".[46] But what survives, if not the memory-image of the deceased, i. e. his soul? Chamberlain's notes from the Kootenay indicate, for the rest, that the structure of their soul-belief was dualistic, and therefore probably also original.[47]

Other instances from the Plateau Indians and others show that Christianity has rather transformed than ousted the native conceptions of the soul. Cline lists, among the five souls of the Sinkaietk, an "immortal soul derived from Christianity".[48] From his data it seems to emerge that the Catholic priests presumably adopted old notions of the free-soul and transferred them to a new, "christianized" soul-concept.[49] Among the Delaware Indians the process is the reverse: a heathen term for the soul has been given a new content by the mission.[50]

One may wonder, for the rest, whether the Indians have not often exaggerated the Christian influence upon their soul-belief. Motives like those adduced above from the Shoshoni and Arapaho may have entered. Lowie has shown that the statements occurring among the Wind River Shoshoni concerning a foreign origin for their soul-concept *mugua* cannot be correct. Of *mugua* he writes: "Though this idea was said to have been derived from Mormon teaching, the concept and term were obtained among the Lemhi and its occurrence among the Paviotso in practically the same form establishes its antiquity".[51] The occurrence of the term among other Shoshone peoples thus constitutes evidence in favour of its native derivation. On the other hand, the significance of the term has obviously been changed by Christian influence, so that the original body-soul *mugua* has been transformed

[45] Curtis 1911 VII, 127.
[46] Turney-High 1941, 120; cf. Curtis: "... the Kutenai deny its very existence" (Curtis, op.cit., 127).
[47] See below, pp. 72 sq.
[48] Spier 1938, 168.
[49] Spier, op.cit., 168 sq.
[50] See below, pp. 75 sq.
[51] Lowie 1924 a, 296; cf. op.cit., 294 (the Paviotso).

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belief if one takes the "soul" as a covering name for a multifarious complex. On East Greenland there has existed, as also on West Greenland, more than one soul. Holm quotes the catechist Joh. Hansen (Hansêrâk), who writes in his diary: "A man has many souls. The biggest of them live in the larynx and in the man's left side, and are tiny manikins of the size of sparrows. The other souls live in all the other members of the body and are about the size of a finger-joint.—Now, when an angakok removes one of them, that part of the man which has lost its soul falls ill. If another angakok on examination finds the soul removed and then fetches it back and replaces it, the man becomes well again; but, if it is found impossible to get the soul back, the man dies and the soul wanders about to the dismay and terror of all around".[7] It is of course impossible to state exactly which these souls are. To judge from the available evidence, the majority of them were specialized body-souls.

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It may be readily admitted that this material from Greenland does not lend itself easily to a classification in a dualistic schema. It must be supplemented by Thalbitzer's material from various eastern Eskimo peoples, and by the viewpoints of a philological and psychological nature that Thalbitzer applies in his study of the Eskimo soul-belief.

[7] Holm 1914, 81; Holm 1888, 112 note 1.
[8] Rasmussen 1921, 12.
[9] Kroeber, op.cit., loc.cit.
[10] Rasmussen 1925, 15.

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our investigation area, whereas the Cora fall outside this. As, however, the problem of the Cora's conceptions of the soul is of great theoretical value for our discussion of other data adduced here, I have extended our study in this connection to include also the Cora.

"The Kiliwa", says Meigs, "do not use the term 'soul' or 'spirit'. They simply say 'los muertos' (the dead people), which are thought of more as ghosts than as souls. Living people were not thought of as having souls, but after a person had died and been cremated, he continued to exist".[57] It is not possible to get anything like a firm grasp of the Kiliwa belief from these scanty notes. Presumably, however, the problem must be solved along the same lines as in another, similar, case, viz. that of the Cora Indians.

Preuss's statement to the effect that the Cora Indians have no term for the soul in their language is frequently quoted and commented upon.[58] But, assuming that Preuss's statement is correct, we ask ourselves: does this imply that the conception of the soul is also lacking? Preuss himself says that "die Seele, die sich beim Tode vom Leichnam ablöst, heisst *muitšix*, d.h. 'der Tote'...".[59] Söderblom makes the following comment: "There is thus nevertheless a connection between man and his existence after death. Is it possible to conceive this connection without a being which already exists in man while he is alive, and then appears in another shape?"[60] As we know, the free-soul generally appears in this rôle. Now Arbman points out that there are signs indicating that this soul also exists. When a Cora mother has fetched her child from its play on the shore and is already on the way home with the child, it sometimes happens that she calls it by name and urges it to come—although it is walking safely at her side.[61] It is obviously the "double" of the little one that is being addressed. That the free-soul, even during the life-time of the individual and in the most lucid state of consciousness, may be conceived to go off by itself we shall later find exemplified (§ 23).

There is clearly strong evidence in favour of the view that the Cora nevertheless had the idea of a free-soul, which after death probably became the dead person.[62] It is, of course, possible that it was without a name, but it may also have been designated with the same term as

[57] Meigs 1939, 60.
[58] Preuss 1912, LIII.
[59] Preuss 1923, 18.
[60] Söderblom 1914, 12 sq. Cf. Söderblom 1926, 12.
[61] Preuss, op.cit., 10 sq.
[62] Arbman, op.cit., 110 sqq.

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the deceased. In a way, Preuss's statement concerning the namelessness of the soul is not correct, for there is an ego-soul whose name is known: *muatsi'ra.*

A survey of the material adduced above seems to show that the statements of certain writers to the effect that there have been North American Indian peoples without a soul-belief would be very difficult to confirm. There are, it is true, a couple of doubtful cases, chiefly the Kiliwa, which owing to the scantiness of the available information we have not been able to clear up completely. But future investigations of a more detailed character may perhaps be able to answer the questions that still remain. So much, however, seems certain, that we cannot definitely point to a single case in which conceptions of the soul have been altogether absent. It is, moreover, self-evident that belief in the soul must be universal if the psychological argument developed earlier (§ 2) is to hold good.

Belief in the soul is thus probably universal. This implies that people everywhere believe in souls in human beings; but it does not necessarily imply that all human beings are conceived as having souls. It may happen, for instance, that certain categories of individuals—especially members of a social out-group—are according to the soul-system of the in-group denied any form of soul.[63] Here we may trace definite speculative tendencies, not immediate reflections. A typical instance is the following from the Ingalik, related by Chapman: "The Tinneh freely admits that his medicine has no power over the white man. His explanation of this is that white men have no souls. Viewed in the light of his belief that white men are deceased Indians, this is not, perhaps, so irrational after all. It is difficult to tell what kind of medicine ought to be prescribed for a ghost".[64]

Like the dead person, also a still-born infant may be without a soul. The Menomini consider that a still-born child lacks a soul and therefore has no life after death.[65] Since every idea of the soul is associated with life and existence, this view is not so remarkable. Sometimes, however, there is said to be a special soul which the still-born infant lacks. Thus among the Wind River Shoshoni it is believed that a still-

[63] As is known, Africa and Polynesia show numerous instances of the belief that women and low-caste persons are without souls (cf. Alexander, op.cit., loc.cit.).

[64] Chapman 1921, 305. On the other hand, there are positive instances from other Indian groups of white men being conceived as having exactly the same types of soul (the complete set) as the red men; cf. e.g. Speck 1935 a, 46 (the Naskapi).

[65] Skinner 1913, 86. One might perhaps rather express the matter thus: that the child has no life in this world, and therefore not in the world to come either.

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born child has possessed, but has lost, its body-soul.[66] Presumably it has not possessed any other soul.

Otherwise it is not so often that a human being is represented as being altogether without a soul. Unfortunately, however, the data available in our ethnographical sources are not always of such a kind that it is possible to decide out of hand whether the soulless individuals are conceived as being entirely or only partially without souls.

This applies to, inter alia, the data concerning children without souls. Surprisingly enough, the Payne-manuscript states that Cherokee children are without souls.[67] Ray reports that among the Tenino embryos and babies have no souls, whereas among other Plateau-peoples, on the other hand, adults, children and embryos have souls.[68] It is not easy to interpret this information rightly, especially as it is so scanty and does not particularize concerning the actual import of the word "soul". Assuming that both the Cherokee and the Tenino earlier possessed a dualistic soul-belief—which is by no means provable, but in our opinion very probable—, a reasonable explanation immediately presents itself. Presumably it was in both the cases mentioned here originally the free-soul that was lacking; the idea appears to have been that a little child is far too undeveloped to be able to manifest itself through the free-soul.[69] The Eskimo at the Mackenzie River are even forced to assume the existence of a provisional vital principle in the child before it has been named. It seems to be identical with the spirit of a deceased ancestor.[70]

One can in cases like these only guess at the nature of the absent soul. When a soul that has been received earlier is lost, the sources generally give more satisfactory information, or else one soon finds out from the context which soul is referred to. If, for example, an Indian asserts that he has lost his soul because an artist has made a portrait of him, it is of course the free-soul (the image-soul) he is thinking of.

A soul can not only disappear, it may also return to its owner. In this way the latter may have a different number of souls on different occasions. Iroquois belief provided people "with one or more reasonable or intelligent souls or psychic entities, some persons being reputed at times to have four or five of the latter class at one and the same

[66] Hultkrantz, op.cit., 23.
[67] Gilbert 1943, 398.
[68] Ray 1942, 232.
[69] Cf. § 28.
[70] Cf. below, p. 59, and § 28. The notion is possibly connected with the Eskimo belief in the soul's loose association with the individual; see below § 29.

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period, while at other times the same persons may not have one of this class of souls", writes Hewitt.[71] The free-soul character of the intellect-soul has obviously inspired this peculiar state of affairs.[72]

We have found that even if in consequence of more or less speculative tendencies there is in some quarters a certain inclination to deny that some living individuals possess souls, as a general rule it holds that every person, according to the current soul-ideology, has one or more souls. We shall find later that not only man possesses a soul, but that the belief in the soul has been extended to include also other living beings, indeed, even inanimate objects (§ 33).

Only a careful examination of the elementary formal patterns of the Indian conceptions of the soul mentioned in the literature can give us certainty as to the nature of the soul-belief in question. We shall therefore begin our study of the soul-conceptions by considering the general features of the soul-belief among the different Indian tribes and groups (§§ 4—12).

[71] Hewitt 1895, 108. The denomination "intelligence soul" ought to be replaced with the denomination "intellect soul" (see § 15).

[72] See below, pp. 84 sqq.

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II. THE BASIC DUALISM

4. The dualistic type-schema in North America

As we have already seen, the primitive soul-concept is characterized by a fundamental cleavage into two aspects. What we call "soul" finds, among primitive peoples, its approximate counterpart in two conceptual categories: first, man's *alter ego*, experienced in states of trance and also identified with the memory-image of the living individual; and second, the conceptions, arising from observations and inner sensations, of more or less independent factors in man which give expression to his psychic and physical vital activity. Our immediate task will be to ascertain where this dualistic conception of the soul occurs in North America and how common it is. It is naturally at the same time desirable to find out *which* ideas of the soul constitute the dualism and bring out the contrast between the individual *in toto* and the life-giving potencies. The free-soul is manifested in many forms, which have sometimes been dogmatically distinguished by many generations of shaman speculation; and the body-soul may also assume several shapes, etc.

Even a hundred years ago Schoolcraft could write: "It has been found that the Indians of the United States believe in the duality of the soul".[1] "A very ancient notion", he declares, is "the soul's *duality*. It would seem that they (= the Indians) believed in a sensual and local soul, as distinguished from an ambient and absent spirit".[2] However, Schoolcraft hastens to add that he does not know exactly how general dualism is in North American soul-belief.[3] He refers to its occurrence among the Algonquin peoples,[4] or to "some of the Algonquin tribes".[5] He might have restricted his field of vision still more: his only instance comes from the Ojibway.[6]

[1] Schoolcraft 1851 I, 33; cf. op.cit., 83. Cf. also Charlevoix 1744, 351, 353.
[2] Schoolcraft 1853 III, 60.
[3] Schoolcraft 1860 VI, 664.
[4] Schoolcraft 1851 I, 33, 38, 39, 83.
[5] Schoolcraft 1860 IV, 665.
[6] See below, p. 52.

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Since then various instances of dualistic soul-belief among North American Indians have in the course of the years appeared in the ethnographical literature. But they have evidently not appeared convincing to some comparative researchers. James is of the opinion that "the dual conception of the soul has become confused in North America".[7] Does he mean that it once existed in a purer form—or is he only thinking of the dualism between the soul of the living and of the dead?[8]

There is no doubt but that genuine dualism between souls has existed in North America. Before entering into a more detailed discussion of its general occurrence and shifting forms, two very typical cases may be adduced. The one example is psychologically demonstrative, as it indicates how natural a dualistic view appeared to the Indian; the other is phenomenologically demonstrative, and shows the mutual relations and functions of the dual souls—an interesting field, which in a later chapter we shall have occasion to consider more closely.

Speaking of the Ojibway Indian burial customs, Schoolcraft writes: "Over the top of the grave a roof-shaped covering of cedar-bark is built, to shed the rain. A small aperture is cut through the bark at the head of the grave. On asking a Chippewa why this was done, he replied—'To allow the soul to pass out and in'. 'I thought', I replied, 'that you believed that the soul went up from the body at the time of death, to a land of happiness. How then can it remain in the body?' 'There are two souls', replied the Indian philosopher. 'How can this be?' I responded. 'It is easily explained', said he. 'You know that in dreams we pass over wide countries, and see hills and lakes and mountains, and many scenes, which pass before our eyes and affect us. Yet, at the same time, our bodies do not stir; and there is a soul left with the body, else it would be dead. So, you perceive, it must be another soul that accompanies us' ".[9]

The second instance is taken from the Kwakiutl Indians. I will give here a brief account of the narrative. Lebid, a Kwakiutl Indian, has been sick for a long time when he finally dies on a midwinter day. His corpse, wrapped in blankets, is left on a rock just outside the village. Towards nightfall there is a snow-storm, and many wolves are howling around the spot where the dead man is lying. At daybreak Lebid is heard to sing a sacred song among the howling wolves, and

[7] James 1927, 354.
[8] See above, p. 25.
[9] Schoolcraft 1860 V, 79. Another version of the same conversation is given in Schoolcraft 1860 VI, 665.

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For the rest, Morice mentions that the Carrier have one word for the mind and three words for the soul.[18] This agrees with Jenness's observations from the Carrier at Bulkley River. "They believed", he writes, "that every human being possessed three parts besides his corporeal body: a mind or intelligence (*bini*, 'his mind'); warmth (*bizil*, 'his warmth'); and a third part, called while he was living his shadow (*bitsen*, 'reflection in water, shadow cast by the sun or moon, ghost or apparition of a living person'), and after death his shade (*bizul*)".[19] In contrast to the free-soul there were thus an ego-soul and a life-soul.

Of the real Northwest Coast tribes, the Tlingit and Haida, besides the Eyak, belong to the Nadéné family. The soul-belief of these peoples has not yet been fully expounded, but it probably contained dualistic conceptions.

Swanton reports from the Tlingit two designations for the soul of the living and three designations for the dead.[20] Of the former, the one means "what feels", since "when a person's feeling is gone he is dead"; we have here definitely a conception of the ego-soul. One of the designations for the soul after death is rendered by "shadow", and coincides with the word for image. Is it too bold to see the free-soul in this? The notion of a "double" has by no means been unknown to the Tlingit Indians. Boas tells, for example, the story of a Tlingit who was brought back to earth from the realm of the dead. He "heard a child crying that had just been born. He himself was the child . . ."[21] Here the man's ego represents the extra-physical soul, the individual himself outside his body.

Also the soul-belief of the Haida Indians has been described by Swanton.[22] "There are", writes Swanton, "three words for 'soul', or 'spirit', in Haida. Two of these are applied to the soul in the living body, and one to the soul after its separation". The two first-mentioned seem to express the vitality, the life-soul, and are taken as more or less synonymous — "the Haida denied that there are two souls".[23] It is the body-

[18] Morice 1910, 230.
[19] Jenness 1943, 535.
[20] Swanton 1908, 460.
[21] Boas 1890, 844 sq.
[22] Swanton 1905 b, 34.
[23] Nieuwenhuis, however, who gives a detailed analysis of the Haida conceptions of the soul on the basis of Swanton's material, sees in the two designations of the body-soul an indication of a "splitting up of the conception of life in contradistinction to the material body" (Nieuwenhuis 1924, 127). James is of the opinion that the double names of the life-soul may derive from the distinction between the life-soul of the living person and the form assumed by the life-soul after death (James 1927, 349).

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The legend of Lebid is an extraordinarily clear account of the Kwakiutl Indians' belief concerning the soul: there is reference to the free-soul, the "ego" of the individual in the state of absence, to the breath or the body-soul, which gives the body life, to the body, which has life when it contains the breath-soul, and consciousness when the free-soul stops wandering about on its own outside the body, and finally, to *mana*, the supernatural power which is separated from both the body-soul and the free-soul and which invests the individual with shamanistic accomplishments.

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by Sapir, the last-mentioned by Drucker. Sapir writes: "The soul or living essence of a human being is conceived of as a wee mannikin, a shadowy doublet, which can be held in the palm of a shaman. It may leave the body through the crown of the head, but may either return of its own accord or be brought back through the ministrations of a shaman. — Distinct from the soul is the *hlimaksti*, often translated 'heart'. This is not the anatomical heart, but the mind or 'soul' in its psychological, not theological, sense. It is the seat or principle of intelligence characteristic of human beings alone, and is generally localized in the heart or breast".[28] Drucker declares that the life-principle, *titítcu*, is distinct from the free-soul, that it has its place of abode in the heart, and that it acts through the heart.[29]

These accounts, whose correctness there is not the slightest cause to doubt, contrast sharply with Sproat's description of an unitary soul principle among the Nootka. This soul, according to Sproat, has the emancipation and independence of the free-soul outside the body, but exists normally in the heart and the head.[30] A similar view of the Nootka's soul-belief is represented by Boas in his second report on the Indians in British Columbia.[31] We see here how two recent sources may be far more reliable than two much older sources.

The source-material concerning the soul-conceptions among the numerous Salish tribes on the coast and inland, especially the latter, is very unequal. Teit's scanty reports from the more well-known Plateau Salish tribes are in contrast with the detailed descriptions from a less well-known group, the Sinkaietk. Unfortunately, Teit's data do not throw as much light upon the soul-beliefs of the Salish peoples as might be desired. It would seem, however, that in Teit's opinion the Shuswap, Lillooet, Thompson River Indians and Okanagon believed in an unitary soul.[32]

Sometimes Teit's formulations give the misleading impression that he wishes to describe a dualism of souls: "Each soul has a shadow; and when a person dies, it remains behind in this world. It is the ghost of the departed . . ."[33] But a more careful examination of Teit's interpretations shows that he blithely equates the soul of the living person with the forms in which the dead person is manifested. Teit uses two terms,

[28] Sapir 1921, 594.
[29] Drucker 1951, 156.
[30] Sproat 1868, 173 sq., 213 sq.
[31] Boas 1891 b, 596.
[32] Teit 1909, 611 (the Shuswap); Teit 1906, 286 (the Lillooet); Teit 1900, 357 sq. (the Thompson); Teit 1930, 292 (the Okanagon). Cf. also Boas 1906, 223.
[33] Teit 1900, 358.

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[8] Rasmussen 1921, 12.
[9] Kroeber, op.cit., loc.cit.
[10] Rasmussen 1925, 15.

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As Thalbitzer has shown, the commonest Greenlandic word for soul is *tarnik*. The many organic function-souls in man about which the East Greenlanders speak he calls *tarnik*.[11] But in addition to this there is another word, *tarrak*, which stands for image and shadow and also the free-soul, "l'ombre détachée, un revenant, un fantôme".[12] It is presumably this *tarrak*, mentioned already by Hans Egede, which has been referred to by Cranz as the shadow-soul. But judging from the available evidence the last-mentioned concept has, at least in more recent times, played a very modest rôle.

Of greater importance is the *tarnik* reported by Birket-Smith from large parts of the central and eastern Eskimo area.[13] It is presumably incorrect to restrict the import of the term to life-soul(s). By *tarnik* should be understood a soul-conception which now often refers chiefly to the body-soul, but which was earlier in all likelihood used to refer mainly to the free-soul, as appears evident both from shamanistic practice and the etymology of the language.[14] To the *tarnik* connected with the body belong undoubtedly the souls connected with the breath on West Greenland, in Angmagsalik and among the Polar Eskimo. On West Greenland and among the Polar Eskimo the life-soul is rendered with the word for "breath". Curiously enough, however, Thalbitzer asserts that "les Esquimaux ne traduisent pas 'âme' ou 'esprit' par souffle".[15]

But where, then, is the free-soul?

On West Greenland it was probably the above-mentioned *tarrak*, the shadow. On East Greenland the matter is more complicated. According to Hanserâk, the Eskimo here believe that our body contains several localized life-souls as well as two chief-souls. Thalbitzer adds that it is the loss of the larger soul situated in the larynx that causes death.[16] Here, in my opinion, one may glimpse a last remainder of the conception of the free-soul. Among the Polar Eskimo, again, the life-soul and the free-soul seem to have merged—unless the ideas of the soul noted down by Kroeber and Rasmussen represent different souls.

The explanation of the dying out of the free-soul among the Eskimo on Greenland is probably to seek in the circumstance that the body-

[11] Thalbitzer 1930 b, 88.
[12] Thalbitzer, op.cit., 89.
[13] Birket-Smith 1928, 41.
[14] Thalbitzer, op.cit., 88, 96 sq.
[15] Thalbitzer, op.cit., 98; cf. Thalbitzer 1930 a, 138.
[16] Thalbiter 1930 b, 88, 92.

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souls have acquired a marked independence of the body, and that—as Thalbitzer points out—man's chief *tarnik* has become identical with the "name-soul".[17]

If we move from Greenland to the American continent, the Eskimo conceptions of the soul show the same main features, even if in certain quarters the dualism appears in a more definite shape.

The Polar Eskimo live in the immediate vicinity of the Central Eskimo.[18] Concerning the Eskimo of Labrador, we learn that they "distinguish between a man's body and his spirit. There is also another soul which corresponds to the vitality of the body, as exemplified in the breath and warmth of the same. This soul leaves a man at death, but the spirit lingers around the village for three days before taking his final departure to the other world".[19] Here the dualism is clearly pronounced.[20]

From Baffin Land and Hudson Bay Boas reports that the Eskimo believe man to possess two souls, one which remains with the body, and which may temporarily take up its abode in a child that has been given the dead person's name; and another, which goes to one of the spirit-lands.[21] It would appear that here, too, dualism exists.

Concerning the soul-belief of the Iglulik, Rasmussen gives *tarnina* (=*tarnik*) and *inu·sia* as names of the soul. This soul is conceived as an image of man on a diminished scale. To judge from the text, this applies at all events to *tarnina*, while *inu·sia* is said to signify "appearance as a human being", and is stated to have its abode in an air-bubble in the groin. "From it proceed appearance, thoughts, strength and life".[22] To this account, however, Thalbitzer objects: "Je suppose que *inûsia* n'est autre chose qu'une explication supplémentaire de l'idée de tarnik: le mot signifie plutôt vitalité (l'activité vitale) que la forme extérieure de l'âme". He calls this soul "le nerf ou le principe de la vie».[23] It would thus seem that we have here to do with a regular dualism between free-soul and life-soul, although Rasmussen has endeavoured to merge them in one conception.

[17] Thalbitzer, op.cit., 93.
[18] See Boas 1888, 470.
[19] Hawkes 1916, 136 sq.
[20] According to Tanner, the Labrador Eskimo believe in an unitary soul which is bound to the body during life but lives on independently after death (Tanner 1944, 545). The whole passage indicates, however, that Tanner knew these (as he calls them) "children of nature" very superficially, at least as far as their religious horizons are concerned.
[21] Boas 1901—07, 130. Cf. Boas 1900.
[22] Rasmussen 1929, 58.
[23] Thalbitzer 1930 b, 97 sq.

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Unfortunately, Rasmussen's instances of soul-belief among some more westerly Central Eskimo groups show the same unitary tendency. Among the Netsilik, he declares, "the soul is that which gives man life; it has its place somewhere or other in the body, streams through the whole of man's body and being, will and faculties, as long as he breathes".[24] This is of course a body-soul. But in addition to this he mentions that "the soul is the being and appearance of the living", and that it appears as an *alter ego* outside the body.[25] It is also stated that it has two names, *tarneq* and *ino'seq*.[26] It appears probable that here, too, Rasmussen has merged two separate ideas in the same form.

Concerning the Caribou Eskimo, Rasmussen writes that "the soul of a man is the same as a man's life force: *o·mawfia:* or the seat of breathing".[27] Here the life-soul is noted; but the brief account of the soul-belief makes it difficult to judge whether the life-soul stands alone or not. According to Thalbitzer, the above-mentioned term covers the concept "vie", but not the concept "âme".[28]

Nor is there any satisfactory account of the soul-belief of the Copper Eskimo. Jenness declares that "the soul is the mainspring of a man's vital strength".[29] It is not probable, however, that this life-soul is the only soul. Jenness has a pronouncement which may be interpreted in another direction. He says: "The soul, *nappan*, apparently ceases to exist altogether (at death), but the shade, *tarrak*, is believed to linger for a time round the place where the body was laid".[30] This looks undeniably like dualism. The glimpse one gets is scarcely confused by Jenness's remark that it is *nappan* that in case of illness leaves the body.[31] Thalbitzer, who has also turned his attention to the soul-belief of the Copper and Mackenzie Eskimo, seems inclined to designate *tarrak* as the soul proper, obviously the free-soul ("l'expression du reflet d'un homme").[32] Concerning *nappan*, he says: "Sa place dans tout le système me semble obscure; d'après l'étymologie du mot sa signification pouvait être: le moyen ou la puissance par lequel on est capable de se tenir debout".[33] Probably *nappan* is a body-soul with certain functions of the free-soul; but it is not possible to arrive at a definite decision.

[24] Rasmussen 1931, 214.
[25] Rasmussen, op.cit., 216 sq.
[26] Rasmussen, op.cit., 217.
[27] Rasmussen 1930, 49.
[28] Thalbitzer, op.cit., 99.
[29] Jenness 1922, 172.
[30] Jenness, op.cit., 177.
[31] Jenness, op.cit., 203 sq. Cf. the Polar Eskimo (above, p. 56). See further §§ 16, 30.
[32] Thalbitzer, op.cit., 96; cf. Jenness, op.cit., 177 note 1.
[33] Thalbitzer, op.cit., loc.cit. Cf. Stefánsson 1913, 398 sq. Cf. also above, p. 49.

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The Eskimo at Point Hope distinguish two "qualities" in men and animals, *inyusaq* and *ilitkosaq*. The former is now translated as soul or life, the latter as spirit or character. But, writes Rainey, "it is probable that at least 40 years of Christian teaching and much discussion concerning it have confused even the old peoples' ideas to its original meaning. I believe the native idea is that *inyusaq* was the life quality which disappeared at death (or actually four days after death for a man, five days for a woman); that *ilitkosaq* was the character, personality, individuality, or spirit of a person or animal which could be transferred from one individual to another and which could remain at the grave, the village, or the place of death".[34] Thus a dualism between life-soul and free-soul.

Another group of Eskimo living in Alaska, those at Bering Strait, believe in two or three separate souls. The one, the invisible shade, "is formed exactly in the shape of the body, is sentient, and destined for a future life". The other "has a form exactly like that of the body and is the life-giving warmth. It is without sense and takes flight into the air when a person dies". The third shade remains with the dead body and possesses certain evil powers — is it possibly the spook-ghost, the grave-ghost that is here referred to?[35] There are signs seeming to indicate that also the conception of the animal guardian, *inua*, has been equated with the free-soul.[36] This does not alter the fact that the soul-belief of the Alaskan Eskimo is clearly dualistic in the sense in which we have defined the term.

6. Soul-dualism in north-west North America

In the following we shall consider the dualistic soul-conceptions in the large native groups in north-west North America: the Athapascans of Alaska and the Mackenzie Basin, the tribes along the extensive fjord-coastline, i.e. the bearers of the well-known Northwest Coast culture, as well as scattered groups of Salish and other linguistic stocks in the Interior Plateau country.

We may begin with an analysis of the soul-belief among the tribes

[34] Rainey 1947, 271.
[35] Nelson 1899, 422.
[36] Nelson, op.cit., 394, 422.

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whose territory borders on that of the Eskimo and who are culturally closest to the latter: the Nadéné peoples, comprising the Eyak, Athapascans, Tlingit and Haida.[1] Of these, the Eyak constitute an independent group from the linguistic point of view. Birket-Smith presumes that they knew two souls in man. The statements of the natives, however, are vague and uncertain, and the only definite point that emerges is that they had the conception of a free-soul.[2]

The North Athapascans, on the other hand, have given unequivocal proofs of regular soul-dualism.[3] The Tanaina distinguish between man's breath and his "shadow-spirit", which latter leaves him some time before his death.[4] Concerning a possible distinction between body-soul and free-soul among the Ingalik, Chapman says that "there is much which would appear to support it".[5] Osgood's Ingalik vocabulary includes several soul-terms, inter alia, for "body-soul" and "shadow-soul". A closer study shows that the terms for shadow and "spirit-soul" are identical: *yeg*.[6] In the form *yega* (= image, shadow) this term recurs as the designation for the free-soul among the northern neighbours of the Ingalik, the Coyukon. To the free-soul *yega*, which to a certain extent appears as an emancipated "guardian-spirit-soul" — something which recurs rather frequently in North America —, corresponds a body-soul which imparts life and movement to the body.[7] Perhaps also the numerous Kutchin groups in eastern Alaska believed in two souls. The Crow River Kutchin, at all events, presumed that the shadow possessed "a spiritual existence of its own".[8] This may of course constitute evidence of a free-soul conception.

Dualism presumably also existed among the eastern Athapascans, although the data from here are very incomplete, especially in more recent studies. Osgood, for instance, does not mention the soul-belief in his monograph on the Satudene.[9] Concerning the Indians around the Great Slave Lake we hear only that the "shadow" or the "thought"

[1] Cf. Sapir 1915.
[2] Birket-Smith & de Laguna 1938, 231 sq.
[3] Cf. the summaries in Hill-Tout 1907 a, 177 sq., Alexander 1916, 78 sq.
[4] Osgood 1937, 169.
[5] Chapman 1921, 301. But Chapman presents the problem in a distorted way that cannot be accepted (op.cit., 306 sq.). Cf. above p. 22.
[6] Osgood 1940, 472, 473.
[7] Jetté 1911, 99 sq., 101 sq. Jetté advances the hypothesis, for which there is no justification, that the two may possibly be identical (op.cit., 100). He has evidently not understood the dualism, since he gives the body-soul as "the human soul" (op.cit., 99). That the body-soul is also a surviving soul (op.cit., 100, 102) may have contributed to Jetté's misunderstanding.
[8] Osgood 1936, 157.
[9] Osgood 1932.

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leave the body at death; both have probably referred to the free-soul.[10] From the Chipewyan, on the other hand, we know only a complicated body-soul.[11] The soul-dualism of which we may here divine traces is glimpsed more clearly in the writings of an older investigator, Petitot. Petitot mentions, certainly, only the soul that may be emancipated from the body, i.e. the free-soul, for which he knows many names.[12] When, however, among these he adduces the terms for "souffle, haleine, vent", one wonders whether a special life-soul is not concealed behind some of the terms.[13] Morice states also that "the Eastern Dénés have for the soul animating the body words varying according to the dialects, though almost all of them are the counterparts of the Lat. *spiritus*".[14]

One of the names adduced by Petitot for the free-soul, *ettsiné*, seems to designate the shadow, and is in its linguistic form similar to the term for free-soul among the western Athapascans, *ne-tsen*. The West Athapascans — the Tahltan, Kaska, Sekani, Carrier and Chilcotin are here chiefly referred to — had formerly, according to Father Morice, a dualistic conception of the soul.[15] They had the free-soul *ne-tsen;* this was invisible and dwelt in the body when the individual was in good health, but it was sometimes heard and seen as a wandering shape outside the body when its owner lay sick or dying. And they had also the body-soul, *nezael;* the term means roughly "human heat". This soul was conceived as giving "warmth and vitality to the body". In our days it refers to the modern personality-soul.[16] As we see, the dualism between free-soul and life-soul is here obvious.

Irving Goldman, who recently undertook a field-investigation among the Carrier, is nonetheless of the opinion that dualism existed between the soul and the ghost.[17] But the name for soul communicated by Goldman is a dialectal variant of the designation for the free-soul given by Morice; and the ghost is the deceased person, i.e. the free-soul after death — as Morice has shown, the free-soul has a new designation, *nezul*, after death.

[10] Honigmann 1946, 86; Mason 1946, 33. The "thought" was apparently also an ego-soul.

[11] Birket-Smith 1930, 79.

[12] Petitot 1875, 34.

[13] One of the words for the breath is identical with the Chipewyan word for soul (according to Birket-Smith).

[14] Morice 1911, 640.

[15] To Emmons's summary pronouncement concerning the Tahltan—"everyone possesses a spirit that is immortal"—I do not ascribe any value as proof (against Morice) in this connection, as it is only intended to support his account of the Tahltan Indians' view of conditions after death (Emmons 1911, 108).

[16] Morice 1889, 158 sq.; Morice 1906, 209; Morice 1911, 640; Honigmann 1949, 202 sq. Cf. also Arbman 1927, 213 note 1.

[17] Goldman 1940, 364.

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For the rest, Morice mentions that the Carrier have one word for the mind and three words for the soul.[18] This agrees with Jenness's observations from the Carrier at Bulkley River. "They believed", he writes, "that every human being possessed three parts besides his corporeal body: a mind or intelligence (*bini*, 'his mind'); warmth (*bizil*, 'his warmth'); and a third part, called while he was living his shadow (*bitsen*, 'reflection in water, shadow cast by the sun or moon, ghost or apparition of a living person'), and after death his shade (*bizul*)".[19] In contrast to the free-soul there were thus an ego-soul and a life-soul.

Of the real Northwest Coast tribes, the Tlingit and Haida, besides the Eyak, belong to the Nadéné family. The soul-belief of these peoples has not yet been fully expounded, but it probably contained dualistic conceptions.

Swanton reports from the Tlingit two designations for the soul of the living and three designations for the dead.[20] Of the former, the one means "what feels", since "when a person's feeling is gone he is dead"; we have here definitely a conception of the ego-soul. One of the designations for the soul after death is rendered by "shadow", and coincides with the word for image. Is it too bold to see the free-soul in this? The notion of a "double" has by no means been unknown to the Tlingit Indians. Boas tells, for example, the story of a Tlingit who was brought back to earth from the realm of the dead. He "heard a child crying that had just been born. He himself was the child . . ."[21] Here the man's ego represents the extra-physical soul, the individual himself outside his body.

Also the soul-belief of the Haida Indians has been described by Swanton.[22] "There are", writes Swanton, "three words for 'soul', or 'spirit', in Haida. Two of these are applied to the soul in the living body, and one to the soul after its separation". The two first-mentioned seem to express the vitality, the life-soul, and are taken as more or less synonymous — "the Haida denied that there are two souls".[23] It is the body-

[18] Morice 1910, 230.
[19] Jenness 1943, 535.
[20] Swanton 1908, 460.
[21] Boas 1890, 844 sq.
[22] Swanton 1905 b, 34.
[23] Nieuwenhuis, however, who gives a detailed analysis of the Haida conceptions of the soul on the basis of Swanton's material, sees in the two designations of the body-soul an indication of a "splitting up of the conception of life in contradistinction to the material body" (Nieuwenhuis 1924, 127). James is of the opinion that the double names of the life-soul may derive from the distinction between the life-soul of the living person and the form assumed by the life-soul after death (James 1927, 349).

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soul that departs at death, to be reincarnated later, perhaps, in another human being. Now the question is, whether the soul which continues the existence of the individual after death, *giet*, is not also the free-soul of the living person. The body-soul or the body-souls have, as we have seen, an existence of their own after death, and can thus not be represented by *giet*, which goes to the realm of the dead. Moreover, a special word exists for the conception of the "ghost". It is rather natural to assume that *giet* refers to the free-soul, or "the disembodied soul", independently of whether its owner is alive or dead.[24]

A third Northwest Coast people, the Tsimshian, do not share the linguistic connection of the two previously mentioned tribes, but are culturally close to them. The Tsimshian probably had, like the Tlingit and Haida, a dualistic soul-belief. In a clan legend of the Niska, a Tsimshian group, we are told of a young man who fell ill after a meeting with a ghost. The ghost carried off his soul, i.e. the young man himself, to the realm of the dead. But on his arrival there he felt ill again, and the shamans of the dead then tried to cure him by taking out his heart. In this, however, they failed, for he was wearing a protective talisman. The dead were forced to send the youth back to the land of the living.[25] This appears to be an example of unreflecting soul-dualism: the "soul" is the free-soul, the heart the life-soul, whose continued activity prevents the sick man's full incorporation in the circle of the dead.

From the Nadéné and Tsimshian we may now shift our attention to the north-western peoples whom for linguistic reasons Sapir has considered collectively under the name Mosan: the Wakashan (Kwakiutl-Nootka), Salishan and Chemakuan (Chemakum-Quileute).[26]

The soul-dualism among the Kwakiutl has already been described in detail.[27]

The Nootka, like the Kwakiutl, had a well-developed dualism, firstly between the free-soul and the ego-soul, and secondly between the free-soul and the life-soul. The first-mentioned combination has been noted

[24] This view of the existence of an independent free-soul among the Haida seems also to be shared by Alexander (Alexander 1916, 262). It is possible that Dawson has recorded this free-soul, for he says: "The idea of a spirit, soul, or essence being in reality the man, and distinctly separable from the more perishable body, is also firmly rooted in the Haida mind" (Dawson 1880, 121 B).

[25] Boas 1895 a, 582; Boas 1916, 544.

[26] Swadesh 1949, 162.

[27] See above, pp. 52 sqq. Cf. also Boas's analysis of the designations for the soul, Boas 1940 a, 615 sq., Boas 1932 a, 54 (the Bella Bella). In one case, among the Knight Inlet Kwakiutl, we have evidently to do with an unitary soul; but Boas describes this case as "abnormal and rare" (Boas 1940 a, 616). Cf. also Lopatin 1945, 61 (the Haisla).

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by Sapir, the last-mentioned by Drucker. Sapir writes: "The soul or living essence of a human being is conceived of as a wee mannikin, a shadowy doublet, which can be held in the palm of a shaman. It may leave the body through the crown of the head, but may either return of its own accord or be brought back through the ministrations of a shaman. — Distinct from the soul is the *hlimaksti*, often translated 'heart'. This is not the anatomical heart, but the mind or 'soul' in its psychological, not theological, sense. It is the seat or principle of intelligence characteristic of human beings alone, and is generally localized in the heart or breast".[28] Drucker declares that the life-principle, *titítcu*, is distinct from the free-soul, that it has its place of abode in the heart, and that it acts through the heart.[29]

These accounts, whose correctness there is not the slightest cause to doubt, contrast sharply with Sproat's description of an unitary soul principle among the Nootka. This soul, according to Sproat, has the emancipation and independence of the free-soul outside the body, but exists normally in the heart and the head.[30] A similar view of the Nootka's soul-belief is represented by Boas in his second report on the Indians in British Columbia.[31] We see here how two recent sources may be far more reliable than two much older sources.

The source-material concerning the soul-conceptions among the numerous Salish tribes on the coast and inland, especially the latter, is very unequal. Teit's scanty reports from the more well-known Plateau Salish tribes are in contrast with the detailed descriptions from a less well-known group, the Sinkaietk. Unfortunately, Teit's data do not throw as much light upon the soul-beliefs of the Salish peoples as might be desired. It would seem, however, that in Teit's opinion the Shuswap, Lillooet, Thompson River Indians and Okanagon believed in an unitary soul.[32]

Sometimes Teit's formulations give the misleading impression that he wishes to describe a dualism of souls: "Each soul has a shadow; and when a person dies, it remains behind in this world. It is the ghost of the departed . . ."[33] But a more careful examination of Teit's interpretations shows that he blithely equates the soul of the living person with the forms in which the dead person is manifested. Teit uses two terms,

[28] Sapir 1921, 594.
[29] Drucker 1951, 156.
[30] Sproat 1868, 173 sq., 213 sq.
[31] Boas 1891 b, 596.
[32] Teit 1909, 611 (the Shuswap); Teit 1906, 286 (the Lillooet); Teit 1900, 357 sq. (the Thompson); Teit 1930, 292 (the Okanagon). Cf. also Boas 1906, 223.
[33] Teit 1900, 358.

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"soul" and "ghost", of which the former refers to the soul of the living person and the deceased in the realm of the dead, the latter only to the wandering spook-ghost. The "soul" has character of a free-soul during the individual's life-time—especially among the Shuswap. The "ghost" seems not to appear while the person is alive; its association with the shadow is a pure metaphor. "Ghost are the shadows of souls", reports Teit from the Lillooet. "Every soul has its ghost, as every body has its shadow".[34] In other words, the grave-ghost appears as an earth-bound reflex of the deceased in the realm of the dead. It is the tension between these post-mortal forms of existence, not between the souls of the living person, that Teit has described.

The question is, however, what value one is justified in ascribing to these data concerning an unitary soul-belief among several Plateau Salish groups. The fact that among the Sanpoil and Nespelem Ray found a strictly unitary soul-conception speaks in their favour.[35] But this does not exclude the possibility that both the last-mentioned people and the earlier mentioned Salish tribes may originally have known a soul-dualism which gradually became effaced. As a matter of fact, Teit makes a passing remark on the soul-beliefs of the Thompson River Indians which leaves no doubt but that this people believed in dual souls. He says: "The soul may leave the body a long time before death... Life and breath are necessary to this life. The soul does not need them, and has no real connection with them".[36] This seems to be pronounced dualism. And since the soul-belief of the Shuswap, Lillooet and Okanagon is said to be "similar", "almost the same" or "the same" as that found among the Thompson River Indians, one may venture to draw the conclusion that also these groups possibly had a dualistic soul-belief. It is striking, too, that Teit's notes concerning the unitary soul among the northern Okanagon are in definite contrast to our reports of a richly differentiated soul-belief among the southern Okanagon, the Sinkaietk.

The soul-belief of the Sinkaietk is thus summarized by Dr. W. Cline: "The spiritual parts of the individual hardly lend themselves to rigid definition. Apparently there were five: the mind, the shadow soul, the breath soul, the immortal soul derived from Christianity, and the ghost".[37] However, it will be found that behind this pluralism we have a dualism between the free-soul and the ego-soul—life-soul. This is apparent less from Cline's own interpretations than from the detailed

[34] Teit 1906, 286.
[35] See below, § 12.
[36] Teit 1900, 360.
[37] Spier 1938, 168.

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account of the material. As this shows that the soul-belief of the Salish Indians was far more complicated than Teit has chosen to let us believe, it is deserving of a closer presentation and analysis.

Among the Sinkaietk the aspects of the body-soul are represented by the "mind" and the "breath". One would be inclined to assume that the "shadow-soul" plays the rôle of the free-soul. But this is not the case. The "shadow-soul" is not a real soul but an extension of the individual, in fine, his shadow or reflection in the water. Cline opines that it stands for "the vital principle". This appears to be incorrect. The breath, which according to Cline is "sometimes . . . a vital element", is certainly the real life-soul. That the individual's life may be forfeit through the loss of the shadow, just as every mystical extension (cf. e.g. the external soul!) may draw the individual with it in its fall, is another matter. But this is not to say that the shadow is the life-soul! Our interpretation of the "shadow-soul" as an extension of the individual is supported by Cline's own observations, for he says that the shadow "seems to have been closely connected with the sweat, spittle, hair, underwear, and other materials intimately in contact with the individual, for these, as well as the shadow, should not be allowed to fall into an open grave".[38]

The real free-soul among the Sinkaietk is the *sinkakius*—the term has been borrowed from the Spokan through Christian mediation, but the conception is older.[39] Cline assumes that the conception is an extension of the "shadow-soul", but this can scarcely be correct. "You have a shadow when you walk", one of his informants told him, "and there is another little shadow, the sinkakiu's".[40] This is thus a matter of two entirely different concepts, the shadow and the shadow-soul, i.e. the free-soul. Nor is there any reason to assume, with Cline, that the free-soul was created through the Dream-dance religion one hundred and fifty years ago. The dream-soul is, we venture to assert, a heritage from the most ancient times, and the description of it could be made to fit any other free-soul at all: "Each individual had only one sinkakiu's. It looked like him, but it could 'go fast without walking', 'like thought', and could fly. It was the part of him which dreamed: it left the body during sleep and fainting. Its failure to return to the body meant death". It is, finally, this soul that after death becomes the ghost.[41]

[38] Spier, op.cit., loc.cit.
[39] Cf. above, p. 45.
[40] Cf. a similar observation among the Wintu; see above, p. 30.
[41] Spier, op.cit., 169.

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Memories of more than one soul have also lingered on among two other Salish groups on the Plateau, the Coeur d'Alène and the Flathead. Concerning the soul-conceptions of the former, Teit writes: "Besides the body, people knew of nothing else belonging to a person except a shade, which they believed survived after death. Some thought there were two of these, one of which remained near the body, the other going off to some place, they knew not where, to a land where all shades finally lived together. Many, however, believed only in the one shade, which became a ghost after death".[42] Although Teit here, too, expresses himself briefly and somewhat vaguely, one has the impression that he is referring to a belief in dual souls in the living individual.[43]

Turney-High notes that "even the oldest Flathead can remember but little of the former doctrine of the soul . . . There is the slightest indication of a former belief in a plurality of souls, but informants are by no means in agreement on this point".[44]

It would of course be over-hasty to conclude that in the two last cases a regular dualistic soul-belief existed. The soul-beliefs of the Plateau Salish Indians are, altogether, rather obscurely defined, to a large extent owing to the lack of interest for unformulated conceptions shown by the persons who have noted them down. In the author's opinion, however, there is some evidence from which one may guess at the probable existence of dualistic soul-conceptions in earlier times.

That the dualism between two souls characterizes the beliefs of the Salish Indians on the coast and the groups related to them seems to have been known and noticed for a long time.[45] The notes that have recently been communicated from these peoples serve only further to emphasize the rôle which soul-dualism has played in their beliefs concerning the soul. This is the more remarkable as the notes have been made at a time when the old native culture has for the most part been but a pale memory.

The soul-conceptions among the isolated Salish in the north, the Bella Coola, have been interpreted very variously. Boas describes an unitary soul of predominantly free-soul character (though without the dream-soul aspect), while the shadow is described as a mystical extension of the individual.[46] A very different account of the soul-beliefs of the

[42] Teit 1930, 183.
[43] According to Ray, however, there was no belief in a separable soul (Ray 1942, 232).
[44] Turney-High 1937, 27.
[45] Cf. Tylor 1871 I, 394.
[46] Boas 1892, 420 sq.; op.cit., 419.

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Bella Coola is given in McIlwraith's very circumstantial investigation. We find here a pluralism of souls that may be referred to a fundamental dualism. Among the soul-elements one notes first of all "the spirit", a small but immortal soul of supernatural origin, equipped with the functions of a protective spirit. It appears as a dream-soul, either by itself giving rise to the dreams or by figuring in them. As a protective spirit it also organizes the individual's daily thoughts, i.e. it appears in the guise of an ultimate authority over the "mentality" or the "mind", which latter is "somewhat vaguely regarded as a separate entity". The "spirit" is also connected with the life of the individual, for its absence implies the person's languishing and gradual death.[47]

Contrasted with this free-soul of guardian spirit type we find the life-soul, which is, certainly, just as little independent of the great guardian soul as is the mind. That the life-soul may be temporarily absent from the body is, as McIlwraith opines, presumably due to the disintegration and confusion of the original, clearer soul-conceptions held formerly. At death, the life-soul (according to some, the shadow[48]) goes to the underworld, while the free-soul goes to heaven.[49]

Soul-dualism thus appears more distinctly in McIlwraith's detailed account than in Boas's brief notes. Presumably, moreover, it would emerge in clearer outlines for a number of more southerly Coast Salish groups if the investigations had been carried out more thoroughly than has been the case. Perhaps the difficult and abstruse Cowichan conceptions would appear in another light if a more penetrating enquiry were made than that upon which Boas's scanty account is based.[50] We do not know, for the rest, which group among the mainland Cowichan Boas is referring to. "Cowichan" has of course served as group-designation for all the Canadian Coast Salish south of the Bella Coola.

Concerning these Salish, H. G. Barnett has the following summarizing remarks: "There were two souls; one in head, the other in the heart. They could wander off in sleep, be abducted by shamans and ghosts, or be displaced by a sudden fright".[51] Although nothing is said as to which of these souls was possibly life-soul or free-soul (Barnett has probably overemphasized their similarities), a dualistic interpretation is not out of the question. This possible interpretation is not per se jeopardized by Boas's statement concerning the existence of four souls (§11).

[47] McIlwraith 1948 I, 94 sqq.
[48] McIlwraith, op.cit., 99; cf. Drucker 1950, 290, and Jenness 1932, 341 note 1.
[49] McIlwraith, op.cit., 97 sqq. Cf. the preceding note and above, p. 32 note 78.
[50] See below, p. 123.
[51] Barnett 1938, 136.

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Barnett points out that a number of Cowichan—Comox, Pentlatch, Klahuse, Siciatl, and Squamish—claim to have souls "of nature of heart" and "of nature of breath".[52] According to Curtis the soul, which is identified with the breath of life, is also "the part of man which leaves the body at death".[53] At least in one case the life-soul has been a surviving soul.

In contrast to these sporadic notes, we have the more detailed reports from the coastal Salish and the groups related to them on the northwest coast of the U. S. A.

The Quileute, says Frachtenberg, believe that every human being possesses several souls, which "look exactly like the living being and may be taken off or put on in exactly the same manner as a snake sheds its skin".[54] These souls are: an inner soul, called the "main, strong soul", an outer soul, called the "outside shadow", a life-soul, referred to as "the being whereby one lives", and the "ghost" of the living person, "the thing whereby one grows". It is generally believed among the Quileute that none of these four souls is identical with the physical shadow.[55] The outside soul seems to be the free-soul; Ray has rather rashly tried to interpret it as solely a guardian spirit.[56] Contrasting with the free-soul are the life-soul and the "ghost", which should rather, and in agreement with the native linguistic usage, be designated the growth-soul. It—like the life-soul—is an aspect of the conception of animating life. Most difficult to define is the quality of the inner soul, as the only thing we know about this is that it leaves the individual a couple of days before his death. Does "the main, strong soul" perhaps represent the notion of the ego-soul?

Soul-pluralism in its dualistic form occurs among the Quinault. One of Olson's informants, S. H., "insisted there were two souls, the spes and the swatámtsih. The first left at the onset of illness, the second at the instant of death, when the first crossed the river (of death)".[57] All other informants spoke only of one soul, *spes*, of unequivocally free-soul character: a mistily conceived mannikin who "might wander along the way for a year or more"; it was only in the realm of the dead that "the soul became a person again".[58] But which soul represented

[52] Barnett 1939, 265. It may be added that to all appearances the heart-soul was among the Lkungen (Songish) the life-soul (Hill-Tout 1907 b, 336).
[53] Curtis 1913 IX, 88.
[54] Frachtenberg 1920, 334. Cf. also Pettitt 1950, 18 sq.
[55] Frachtenberg, op.cit., 337.
[56] Pettitt, op.cit., 18.
[57] Olson 1936, 159 note 66.
[58] Olson, op.cit., 159.

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the person in his living fullness before this? Obviously, the conceptions of the life-soul and the ego-soul have here been forgotten. Olson considers that S. H. had acquired the belief in several souls from his mother, who was a Hoh Indian (of the Quileute group); the Hoh believed in several souls. But the probability is that S. H. was giving a more correct picture of the former soul-beliefs of the Quinault than the other informants.

Nor do the Indians at South Puget Sound seem to have been unfamiliar with soul-dualism. This, at least, is the impression one gets from Marian Smith's excellent monograph on these Salish groups. She does, certainly, speak in one place of the soul as being one and undivided: "the presence of this soul in the body meant life and its permanent removal meant death".[59] But in her description of the activity of this soul outside the body one recognizes the free-soul. In another place in her book Dr. Smith speaks of different "parts of the personality", viz. the soul, the supernatural power (the guardian spirit) and the ghost, as well as a diffuse soul-aspect: "it was 'you', perhaps best explained in terms of the total personality".[60] That the power is here understood as an aspect of the personality may be ascribed to the circumstance that it had a very firm association to the individual and that its loss was tantamount to the loss of the soul.[61] The ghost, *skaiyó*, is the person after death. By "you" is evidently meant the mind of man, his ego-soul; its loss caused "insanity" or "several phases or types of mental aberration". The dualism between free-soul and life-soul has thus among these Salish yielded to the less common dualism between free-soul and ego-soul.[62]

In the available source-material I have been unable to verify some data by Tylor concerning soul-dualism among the Salish in Oregon. Tylor writes: "The Salish Indians of Oregon regard the spirit as distinct from the vital principle, and capable of quitting the body for a short time without the patient being conscious of its absence".[63] Unfortunately, Tylor's references to the literature are erroneous on this point.[64] Probably, however, he is referring to the Spokan Indians in

[59] Smith 1940, 86.
[60] Smith, op.cit., 131.
[61] Cf. Haeberlin 1918, 249. See further § 24.
[62] It is of course possible that the life-soul has at one time existed, but that it can no longer be recorded.
[63] Tylor, op.cit., I, 394; Tylor 1929 I, 437.
[64] The reference to Bastian refers to the Ojibway, the reference to Sproat, to the Nootka. The last-mentioned reference, for the rest, is from our point of view—though not from Tylor's—misleading: Sproat speaks of only one soul, which is at one and the same time vital principle and extra-physical soul (Sproat 1868, 173 sq., 213 sq.).

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north-east Washington, who before 1853 belonged to the "Oregon country"; for Tylor's way of expressing himself reminds one very much of Hale's and Wilkes's descriptions of the soul-beliefs of the Spokan Indians in the beginning of the 1840's.[65] It should, however, be observed that these writers do, it is true, describe a soul which may be emancipated from the body, but they do not speak of any vital principle.

Finally, we shall consider a couple of groups that formerly dwelt in the periphery of the great area which has been for the most part occupied by the Mosan peoples.

The Chinook do not belong to the Salish, but they share on the whole the latter's coastal culture. Concerning the Chinook Boas relates that "each person has two souls, a large one and a small one. When a person falls sick the lesser soul leaves his body".[66] The smaller soul, we presume, is identical with the free-soul. When both the souls have departed, the person dies.[67]

It is not improbable that the Wishram, who also belong to the Chinook group, formerly had similar conceptions. Only one soul-term has, however, been preserved, and this seems to designate the breath-soul.[68]

Concerning the numerous coastal groups in the south (in Oregon), we know only that the soul had the nature of the breath or was associated with the heart.[69]

In the vicinity of the Salish groups of the interior, on the borders of the Plains country, live the Kootenay. The aboriginal nature of their soul-beliefs has been discussed earlier;[70] we shall now consider the content of these beliefs. If I have rightly interpreted Chamberlain's data, the Kootenay believed in at least two souls, one connected with the body ("its psychic correlate", writes Chamberlain), one free and not bound by the body. The first-mentioned is the mind, "the seat of emotions, will, thought, intellect, etc."[71] This soul is localized to the heart. The other soul is the free-soul, for which Chamberlain has two separate names and Curtis even one more.[72] According to Chamberlain, the free-soul has the shape of a bird, land-animal or flower—the latter

[65] Hale 1846, 208 sq.; Wilkes 1845 IV, 448 sq.
[66] Boas 1893, 40; cf. Spence 1910 a, 561, Spence 1914, 129.
[67] Boas 1894 a, 207.
[68] Curtis 1911 VIII, 205; Spier & Sapir 1930, 238.
[69] Barnett 1937, 184.
[70] See above, p. 45.
[71] Chamberlain 1906, 95.
[72] Chamberlain 1893, 559; Curtis 1911 VII, 127.

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a rather unique case. According to Curtis, it dwells in the body in the shape of man himself. It may here be as well to remind the reader once more of the Protean character of the free-soul, which explains its polymorphous appearance among the Kootenay.

7. *Soul-dualism in eastern North America: the Algonquin*

The soul-conceptions of the Algonquin tribes have earlier been summarized by Conard, who has not, however, brought out their dualistic basic character.[1] This is the more remarkable, as long before Conard researchers were able to constate the belief in dual souls among the Algonquin peoples.[2] The earliest report of this dualism was communicated by Le Jeune, a French Jesuit missionary in New France in the 1630's. An Algonquin Indian told him that his "soul" had left him more than two years previously, in order to betake itself to his relatives in the realm of the dead, and that he now had only "his body's soul" (observe the phrase!) left; this soul would in time descend into the grave.[3] After having mentioned this passage in Le Jeune, Miss Conard writes: "C'est là une croyance qui, au dire de nombreux voyageurs, se retrouve en différents pays, mais l'examen des documents dont nous disposons sur les Indiens algonquin, montre que dans leur cas du moins, il s'agit d'une conception artificielle, créée par les interprétations des missionaires chrétiens".[4] We have already criticized this incorrect adjustment of facts.[5] The data which have recently been communicated from the Algonquin Indians confirm the correctness of Le Jeune's information.

Soul-dualism sometimes occurs in a disguised form, i.e. as a functional but not as a nominal reality. This, for instance, is the case among the Naskapi and Montagnais groups on Labrador.

In his preliminary survey of the religion of these Indians at the Congress of Americanists at the Hague in 1924, Speck stated that they know of only one soul, commonly called "the great man", which has three names and the same number of functions. It is frequently re-

[1] Conard 1900, 230 sqq.
[2] Cf. Schoolcraft above, p. 52, and—evidently after Schoolcraft's information—Brinton 1868, 236, Tylor 1871 I, 392.
[3] JR XVI, 191. The same informant said, writes Le Jeune, "that some savages had as many as two or three souls".
[4] Conard, op.cit., 244.
[5] See above, p. 24 note 39.

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presented as a shadow-soul, but it is much more than this. "It seems indeed to represent the *'ego'* ", says Speck; but he also mentions the soul's character of attendant being, protective spirit, whose "communications are conveyed chiefly through dream visitations".[6] In his monograph on the Naskapi Speck adduces still another name for the soul, and remarks that "it is at first rather confusing to encounter several synonyms for soul in discussions as well as in the texts".[7] Speck means that it is a matter of different aspects of a single soul. This may be correct or not; Speck has at all events made a very careful and detailed enquiry into "this most important and difficult subject", and his conclusion is certainly well motivated.

But this unity seems to be something late acquired, either through speculation—which appears most likely—or through influence from the modes of thought of the whites.[8] All of the numerous names for the soul cover different functions, so that the unity really makes the impression of being a very brittle abstraction. A term like *atca'kʷ* is rendered with soul or shadow, and according to Speck's indications it is the name of a diminutive soul.[9] This soul is the person himself, as he appears, for example, in his reflected image—this is evidently the free-soul, the image-soul. Another term, *nictu'tsem,* signifies mind (and "intellect, comprehension"), and thus plays the rôle of ego-soul. The opposition between these two "souls" is bridged over by the Great Man, *mista'peo,* a peculiar soul-concept with which, besides the disparate soul-conceptions, also the idea of the supernatural helper has merged.[10] This superior soul-concept shows, in my opinion, clear traces of being a product of shamanistic speculation. Its origin in the conception of the free-soul appears rather probable, as we shall find later (§25).

Our sources concerning the soul-conceptions of the coastal Algonquin are often of older date, which would only be an advantage if in the majority of cases they did not prove to be incomplete.[11] The discussion of these data, which as a rule only inform us of the belief in a single soul, has been transferred to § 12. There are, however, in some sour-

[6] Speck 1924, 269.
[7] Speck 1935 a, 41.
[8] Concerning the causes of the appearance of the unitary soul, see below, pp. 145 sq.
[9] Speck, op.cit., loc.cit. Cf. Guinard 1930, 69.
[10] Speck, op.cit., 41 sqq.
[11] Summary surveys of the information given in the older literature may be found in Conard, op.cit., 231 sq., and in Flannery 1939, 161. In certain cases these older data are not so reliable. Le Clercq, for instance, is well-known for his uncritical use of other sources (cf. Kinietz 1940, 334). His description of the soul-beliefs of the Micmac is practically identical with Le Jeune's account of the soul-conceptions of the Montagnais Indians (Le Clercq 1910, 213; Jr VI, 175 sq.).

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ces vague indications of a possible soul-dualism among a few Coast Algonquin groups.

It might thus be soul-dualism of which one catches a glimpse in Speck's notes on the Penobscot Indians in New England. The free-soul is here also the soul of the deceased person (i.e. the dead person himself), and is terminologically distinct from the shadow, which is probably to be understood as the shadow in its ordinary, physical sense. And the free-soul is likewise distinct from the breath, which—perhaps—is itself to be taken as a "soul".[12] The Micmac seem to have differentiated between a free-soul, called "the shadow", and an entity, "life, soul, seat of life", mentioned in a story of the external soul (§ 21). This entity was probably a life-soul.[13] Although some further data from New England may be interpreted as a proof of the existence of a dualistic conception of the soul, they are omitted here, as they do not afford any reliable basis for a judgement.

Our more thorough knowledge of the soul-conceptions of the Delaware Indians (Lenni-Lenape), on the other hand, allows of certain conclusions. Miss Conard has earlier given an account of the soul-terminology of these Indians as recorded by three different authorities (Zeisberger, Brainerd, Brinton).[14] It is now possible to supplement their notes with those by Speck.[15] This new contribution is surprising, for Harrington's notes from the modern Delaware serve rather to show the fading, disintegration and transformation of the old soul-beliefs after the introduction of the Christian idea of the soul.[16]

Zeisberger, Brainerd, Brinton and Speck all designate the soul with one name, *tsitschank*, *tšítsan* etc., which signifies "shadow", "image". This is an old name for the soul, recurring among several coastal Algonquin groups.[17] Now Zeisberger, Brinton and Speck mention other terms for the soul. Thus Zeisberger says of the soul: "Formerly, they used the word *Wtellenapewoagan* to describe it, meaning the 'Substance of a Human Being'. Savages use this word to the present day. Now they have accepted the word *Wtschitschank*, that is, 'Spirit' ".[18] According to Zeisberger, we are here confronted with a change in the soul-terminology connected with the contradictions between Christian and

[12] Speck 1935 b, 18, 18 note 1.
[13] Maillard 1758, 44; Rand 1888, 245; Rand 1894, 245.
[14] Conard, op.cit., 231 sq.
[15] Speck 1931, 25.
[16] Harrington 1921, 90.
[17] Viz., among the Abnaki-Penobscot, Naskapi-Montagnais, Mohegan-Pequot, Natick, Narraganset (Speck, op.cit., 25 note 3.).
[18] Hulbert & Schwarze 1910, 131.

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heathen within the tribe. Speck is also of the opinion that such is the case. The old term for the soul, *tsítsan*, was adopted by Christianity, and the heathen then constructed a new concept, *lennape-ékkan*, "human being".[19] In Zeisberger's time the newly created term was thus in process of being ousted. We may observe that both the soul-conceptions we have so far examined are typified by their undoubted free-soul character.

A term introduced into the debate by Brinton, *tschipey*, seems to refer to a supernatural entity separate from the individual.[20] The name is used of the dead.[21] It has presumably nothing to do with the souls of the living individual.[22]

Of more importance from our point of view are the statements by Brinton and Speck to the effect that the heart and the blood are the seats of soul-qualities. Probably they give expression to a body-soul conception of a differentiated nature. According to Brinton, life and the feelings are concentrated to the heart, while according to Speck the life-soul especially is associated with the blood. Speck also remarks that after the individual's death this life-soul remains on the earth as a ghost.[23] Evidently the Lenape, too, believed in dual souls.

Our best accounts of the ideas of the soul held by the Algonquin peoples derive from the region around the most westerly of the Great Lakes, or in other words from the Central Algonquin. We are not, however, equally well informed concerning all the Central Algonquin. Thus the soul-beliefs of the more southerly groups are but little known. Sporadic notes show that among the Miami the soul—or one of the souls—has been represented as a flying phantom;[24] that the Kickapoo believed in a shadow-soul, whose name has been preserved;[25] and that the Shawnee presumably held a belief in a breath-soul.[26]

The soul-beliefs of the more northerly Central Algonquin emerge more clearly. It was typical for these groups, writes William Jones, that more than one soul was believed in, and of these souls one was conceived as living on with the individual after death.[27]

[19] Speck, op.cit., 25. According to Brinton, the term was introduced by the missionaries (Brinton 1885, 69 note 3). This, however, seems improbable. Cf. Speck, op.cit., 13.
[20] Brinton, op.cit., 69; cf. loc.cit., note 3. See also Brinton 1893, 332 (the Nanticoke).
[21] Hulbert & Schwarze, op.cit., 134.
[22] Cf. below, p. 82 note 57.
[23] Brinton, op.cit., 71; Speck, op.cit., loc.cit.
[24] Volney 1803 II, 530.
[25] Jones 1913, 333.
[26] See below, p. 163 note 83.
[27] Jones 1906, 146.

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The Ojibway Indians, scattered in many autonomous groups over a wide area, of course hold many various views concerning the soul. Pluralism is, however, of most common occurrence, sometimes in a very extreme form. Thus Kinietz was told by his chief informant in the village of Katikitegon, John Pete, that man had a large number of souls. Pete "said that he was sure that every person had more than one soul, perhaps six or seven different souls". One of them, "the real soul", goes to the realm of the dead, another is reincarnated in the womb of a pregnant woman; other souls, again, may transmigrate and take the shape of e.g. deer. "Going into many different forms is attributed to the myth of Manabozhu (the culture hero) who was always changing his shape".[28] If Pete is right, this Ojibway group had, like the Malays, a belief in seven souls. But this is doubtless not the case. Pete appears to have lost touch with the old Ojibway belief concerning the soul. His seven souls are due to the simple addition of the forms of manifestation of the free-soul and the changes of shape and function attributed to the dead person. Pete's conviction that man possesses more than one soul, on the other hand, is worth noting. Here we may divine a faded memory of the dualism between two souls that presumably characterized the soul-belief of the majority of Ojibway.[29] A typical example of such dualism has already been adduced, after Schoolcraft.[30]

The dualism between free-soul and life-soul described so realistically by Schoolcraft is replaced among several Ojibway groups by a dualism between the free-soul (the shadow-soul) and the ego-soul.[31] Such a case will be presented below.

According to Jenness, the Ojibway on Parry Island believed that man consists of three parts: the body *(wiyo)*, which decays after death, the soul *(udjitchog)*, which at death departs for the realm of the dead in the West,[32] and the shadow *(udjibbom)*, which after death becomes a grave-ghost.[33] The so-called soul is "the intelligent part of man's being, the agency that enables him to perceive things, to reason about them, and remember them". It is thus what we have here referred to as

[28] Kinietz 1947, 165.
[29] Skinner found no dualism at all among the Ojibway! (Skinner 1913, 85).
[30] See above, p. 52.
[31] Cf Conard, op.cit., 232; Jenness 1932, 279 note 3; Barnouw 1950, 108.
[32] This soul appears to be identical with that referred to by Keating as *ochechag*, which is described as "an essence, entirely distinct from the body... they appear to apply to it the qualities which we refer to the soul" (Keating 1825 II, 154).
[33] Jenness 1935, 18. According to Tanner and McKenney, it is the soul proper, by McKenney designated *ojeechaugoman*, which should be rendered as "shadow" (Tanner 1830, 291; McKenney 1827, 349). The change of concepts is explained in my discussion in the following.

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an ego-soul; its loss is manifested in insanity or alcoholic intoxication. But both in its independence of the individual (especially as will-soul) and in its ability to separate from him the ego-soul is very close to the free-soul, and therewith also to the manifestation of the free-soul, the shadow. "The shadow is slightly more indefinite than the soul, and the Indians themselves often confuse them, attributing certain activities or phenomena now to one, now to the other".[34] It is interesting to note that the shadow has its seat in the brain, and that it is the brain which is removed by the guard at the entrance to the realm of the dead in order to make the dead person forget his earthly existence.[35] At the same time as the shadow is able in this way to play the rôle of the ego-soul, it is free-soul, and active outside the body even during the individual's waking states of consciousness—which is presumably connected with the fact that it is conceived as the shadow in the physical sense. And as shadow it is a double-ganger, a warning and counselling potency that arouses the individual to "perception and knowledge".

The soul-beliefs held among these Ojibway show us how easily the oppositions in the dualistic formation of the soul may be resolved. Especially does this seem to be possible where the ego-soul and the free-soul are opposed. For the living individual, the loss of the free-soul generally implies the loss of consciousness, since the free-soul in its wanderings carries the conscious ego of the individual. As the free-soul is associated with the consciousness of the ego, so the loss of the ego-soul is associated with that of the free-soul. Among the Ojibway on Parry Island, the two souls are confused; but their outer integrity is untouched. It is stressed that for the recalling to life of a dead person, all the elements mentioned here are required: body, soul and shadow. The heroine in the legend of Orpheus "built a sweathouse, placed inside it her husband's body with the two boxes containing his soul and his brains (shadow), poured water over the hot stones and waited outside. Within a few minutes her husband rose up alive and well".[36]

The soul-beliefs of the Menomini, Sauk and Fox are chiefly characterized by the circumstance that the life-soul associated with the heart is also the surviving soul, while the shadow-soul emerges as a complementary soul, presumably a free-soul whose functions have come to be more and more forgotten. At the same time as the life-soul repre-

[34] Jenness, op.cit., 19.
[35] Jenness, op.cit., 109.
[36] Jenness, op.cit., 109.

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sents the continuity between the living and the dead, it is to a certain extent also the bearer of the attributes of the free-soul (§16).

The Menomini, says Skinner, believed in two souls in every human being. The one, which (translated into English) is called "a shade across", resides in the head and is the intellect; after death it becomes a grave-ghost. The other is the real soul, *tcebai*, which has its seat in the heart and at death betakes itself to the realm of the dead.[37] The soul in the heart is probably the life-soul, while the so-called intellect-soul is presumably both ego-soul and free-soul. It thus stands for man as a person, as a totality. There is a tradition concerning the way in which a massacred man was recalled to life: first of all, his numerous bones were fitted together, then his "scattered shade" was restored.[38] The dualism between the souls appears in other traditions. In a so-called true story we are told how a dead woman returned to life: first her "shade" appeared, "like a shadow on the wall", and much later "she really came to life".[39] In another story there is a description of the way in which a man suddenly fell down dead after returning from the wilderness: "His heart had been taken out of him in the night by the powerful god Owl, and it was only his shade that arrived home".[40] The intellect-soul remained when the life-soul had been taken away; but it was unable to sustain the individual for more than a short time. That in cases of illness the life-soul is the soul that has disappeared is confirmed by the observation that the medicine-man makes the fugitive when caught return to its place *in the breast*.[41]

The soul-conceptions of the Sauk Indians were discovered by the members of Long's celebrated research-expedition of the year 1823. Keating reports that the Sauk Indian Wennebea "makes a difference between the *soul* and the *spirit;* the former being probably, in his opinion, nothing else but the principle of vitality; its seat is in the heart . . .".[42] The dualism was probably of the same kind as that among the Menomini. Skinner's dogmatic dictum that the Sauk Indians did not know of more than one soul is, compared with Keating's informat-

[37] Skinner 1913, 85; Skinner 1921, 43 sq. Cf. Tanner, op.cit., 291, note: the shadow-soul = *o-tah-chuk*. It may be presumed, it seems to me, that *tcebai* refers primarily to the dead person, and has been secondarily transferred as the designation for the soul which after the individual's death becomes the dead person. Cf. below, p. 82, note 57.
[38] Skinner & Satterlee 1915, 380 sq.
[39] Skinner & Satterlee, op.cit., 459.
[40] Skinner & Satterlee, op.cit., 469 sq.
[41] Skinner 1921, 72.
[42] Keating 1825 I, 232.

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ion, of little value.[43] And just as little indicative is an older pronouncement by a Sauk Indian: in his opinion the breath constituted man's only, mortal soul. This, however, appears to have been his own sceptical view.[44]

The soul-beliefs of the Fox, closely connected with the Sauk Indians, have been noted down by Jones and Michelson. The former, it seems, has not taken the trouble to communicate the soul-conceptions in the form in which he noted them down.[45] We therefore prefer to follow Michelson's undogmatic account. "There are two kinds of souls", Michelson was told: "one is like a shadow in the daytime and also at night. When this soul leaves you, you die. When the same soul inside leaves, we stop breathing and die". The outer soul ("the soul that stays outside") is the "large soul", the culture hero's gift to man; the inner soul is the "small soul", a gift of the Great Spirit. "The small soul is the same as life. The large soul simply watches over the other . . . When a child is still unborn the small soul is already within it. And the large soul is close to the unborn child".[46] The dualism here described is between the free-soul and the life-soul. The "supervising" function of the free-soul here brings it closer, as so frequently is the case, to the conception of the guardian spirit. Joffe, who reproduces Michelson's communication, actually (and not incorrectly) calls it "guardian".[47]

In Father Schmidt's view the soul-beliefs of the Fox Indians are not so systematic and functionally connected. He writes: "Wir haben kaum irgendwo einen schöneren Beleg für die Richtigkeit der Hypothese, dass in sehr vielen Fällen die Mehrzahl der Seelen in einer Religion aus der Verbindung zweier oder mehrerer Religionen mit verschiedenen Seelenbegriffen erwachsen ist".[48] The point of departure for his argument is that the Supreme Being is the giver of the inner soul, while the culture hero (Wisakä) gives the outer soul. And the

[43] Skinner 1923, 36.
[44] Jones 1939, 16 note 18.
[45] Curiously enough, Jones has combined the properties of the little soul and the great soul in his description of *the* soul among the Fox Indians (Jones 1907 b, 269; Jones 1911, 218). One has the impression that the fusion was made deliberately, in order that the soul-ideology may fit in with the prevailing animistic theory then fashionable. That Jones had a weakness for the comparative religious trends of the time is very apparent in his article "The Algonkin Manitou" (Jones 1905, 183 sqq.). Later Fox investigators (Natalie Joffe, Margaret W. Fischer) adduce the soul-beliefs of the Fox Indians after Michelson, not after Jones.
[46] Michelson 1925, 358.
[47] Joffe 1940, 273.
[48] Cf. above, p. 38 (Linton).

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culture hero—according to Father Schmidt—is a younger being in the Fox religion. "Es kann keinem Zweifel unterliegen, dass die kleine Seele die eigentliche und die ursprüngliche ist, die früher auch allein da war, damals als die ganze Wisakä-Religion noch nicht gekommen war . . . Sie ist das innerliche, eigentliche geistige Prinzip".[49]

It is, however, not possible to prove that such a religious development really took place. It happens to suit Schmidt's primeval monotheistic theory, but it lacks the support in ethnographic data that is required. Michelson expressly dissociates himself from the scheme of development postulated by Schmidt.[50] As regards the problem of the origin of the souls, it does not seem strange that the souls are attributed to the two dominating higher beings in the religion. It is not impossible that the tension between the large soul and the small soul mentioned by Michelson has to do with the tension between the Supreme Being and Wisakä, as Schmidt asserts.[51] But it need not on this account be ascribed to any religious struggle. The Supreme Divinity is often the giver of the life-soul, the "master of life";[52] that his rival and champion, the culture hero, should be the giver of the opposed soul, the free-soul, should not seem surprising. Michelson writes that the large soul exercises an evil influence, the small soul a good influence, over us.[53] Is it presumptuous to assume that this value-dualism in the soul-belief originated in the same ethical contrasts that created the distance between the Supreme Being and his powerful offspring Wisakä?[54]

From the Central Algonquin we may now pass on to the Plains Algonquin.

Skinner reports that among the Plains Cree in Saskatchewan he found a dualism resembling that among the Menomini.[55] "There are two kinds of souls, one, the *tcipai*, which stays behind with the corpse in the grave, and another the *niukaneo*, which goes to the hereafter".[56] Now it seems probable that *tcipai* is here not soul in the proper sense

[49] Schmidt 1934, 648.
[50] "I do not follow the erudite anthropologist, W. Schmidt, in his theoretic reconstructions" (Michelson 1932, 18).
[51] Schmidt, op.cit., loc.cit. Concerning the connection between the culture hero and the Supreme Being, see also van Deursen's attempt at interpretation (van Deursen 1931, 84 sqq.).
[52] Cf. below, pp. 192 sq., 414 sq.
[53] Michelson 1925, 358.
[54] Concerning the dualistic religious pattern in the Central Woodland, see e.g. Radin 1915, 291 sq.; Radin 1923, 285; Skinner 1913, 73.
[55] Skinner 1913, 85.
[56] Skinner 1914, 76.

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of the term.[57] Mandelbaum tells us that the dead who have not been given a proper funeral feast linger in the vicinity of the dwellings of the living, which they haunt; they "are called *tcipayak*, ghosts".[58] But also the deceased in the realm of the dead seem to have been called *tcipai*, at all events among the more easterly Cree.[59] If *tcipai* is thus evidently the designation for the dead person, Mandelbaum introduces in its stead as the soul the word *ahtca'k*, a term which he defines as an undifferentiated "life force".[60] He describes it as follows: "The soul entered the body at birth and left at death. It resided along the nape of the neck. Only when danger threatened did a man feel the presence of his soul along the back of his neck... During a vision the soul could leave the body and travel about with the spirit helper. It was the soul that experienced all contacts with the supernatural visitor".[61] To judge from this quotation, *ahtca'k* is rather free-soul than life-soul. It is hard to say what was the character of *niukaneo;* perhaps it was life-soul or ego-soul. But however this may be, the Plains Cree knew of two different souls.

Among the Atsina "there are three souls, or perhaps it should be said that the soul has three forms", says Curtis.[62] These are: the black shadow, which follows one during the day, the light-black shadow, which is "the ghost that goes about doing mischief", and the invisible shadow, which is "the spirit that goes to the Big Sand", the realm of the dead. It is doubtful whether any of these conceptions deserves the name soul. They may best be interpreted as the natural shadow, understood as a mystical extension of the individual, the spook-ghost, and the deceased individual in the realm of the dead. Possibly the last-mentioned entity is the free-soul during the person's life-time, and the spook-ghost an inner soul, or vice-versa. These reflections may seem

[57] Cf.: Montagnais-Naskapi *tcipai* = the dead (Speck 1935 a, 239), Massachuset *chepy* = he who has died, detached himself (Trumbull 1903, 23), Mohegan *jibai* = the ghosts (Speck 1909 b, 202), Delaware *tschipey* = the dead (Hulbert & Schwarze 1910, 134, compared with Brinton 1885, 69), Menomini *tcebai* = the soul's name after death (Skinner 1913, 85). Ojibway *jeeby, jêbi* etc. have had similar meanings of the dead person, property of the dead, etc.; see Conard, op.cit., 232 note 7. The shadow-soul—or the deceased?—has among the Miami been called *atchipaïa* (Volney, op.cit., loc.cit.; also quoted by Conard, op.cit., 232 note 8). Cf. Cree, below.

[58] Mandelbaum 1940, 251 sq.

[59] Cf. Richardson 1851, 393.

[60] Among the Eastern Cree the counterpart of this name is *atchak* (Richardson, op.cit., 387 sq.; cf. also Tylor 1929 I, 430 note 2). Cf. also above, p. 74 (the Naskapi). This designation for the soul appears—despite Mandelbaum's definition (life force)—to have a predominantly free-soul character.

[61] Mandelbaum, op.cit., 251.

[62] Curtis 1909 V, 119.

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unnecessary; but how is one to explain that Curtis calls these entities "souls"? There should be some connection between them and the living individual. With some hesitation I conclude that Curtis intended to communicate a soul-pluralism but characterized the souls according to their post-mortal existence.

I feel the same hesitation in adducing in this connection the pneumatology of the Cheyenne Indians. This has been rather obscurely presented; but the question is whether it is not possible to deduce the belief in dual souls from the obscure data. Grinnell, our chief authority on the Cheyenne, says: "A man's spirit or living principle is called his shade or shadow, *tăsoom'*; that is, the soul, mind, or spiritual part; not the body, the immortal part... Of a dying person who has lost consciousness and merely breathes, they may say, 'His tasoom has been gone a long time; he is only just breathing' ".[63] This, certainly, does not imply that the shadow as such represents the consciousness or the life of the individual. A man can see his shadow-soul when in a fully conscious and active state, though this generally forebodes his death. A woman, however, may often see her shadow-soul without coming to any harm.[64] The shadow-soul is evidently the free-soul. About the life-soul we are told nothing, though it ought to exist. There is, however, a tradition according to which the "life" is a special entity in man, and it is probably by no means out of the question that the life-soul we are seeking is what is referred to here.[65]

8. Soul-dualism in eastern North America: the Mound Builder peoples

We use the term "Mound Builders" here to include all the non-Algonquin peoples in eastern North America (the forests, prairies and plains) who were in former times the bearers of the mound-culture inspired from more southerly regions.[1] We shall find that several of these peoples—Iroquoian, Muskhogean, Siouan and Caddoan—held the belief in dual souls.

[63] Grinnell 1923 II, 93.
[64] Grinnell, op.cit., loc.cit.
[65] Kroeber 1900, 188. Cf. below, p. 162.
[1] For the distribution of this culture see e.g. Kroeber 1939, 101 sqq.

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If we consider first the Iroquoian language-family, we find a well-developed dualistic conception of the soul in some of the tribes belonging to this family.[2] We shall give below a general orientation with reference to the peculiar nature of this dualism, paying particular attention to the conceptions held by the Iroquois in the narrower sense of the term, after which we shall go to consider the soul-dualism of the Huron. In the main, the soul-conceptions of the confederated tribes and the Huron coincide.

The soul-conceptions of the Iroquois have been made the subject of a detailed study by J. N. B. Hewitt. He summarizes them as follows: "The Iroquois carefully discriminated between the soul which animates the body, and which after death, it is claimed, resides in the skeleton, and that which is regarded as the reasonable and intelligent soul. When there is in any individual a superfluity of souls, they are those only which are endowed with reason and intelligence, for the sensitive or animating soul is never duplicated".[3]

Hewitt is here alluding to the circumstance that the sum of the souls is not the same for all individuals or for the same person at different times.[4] This makes it rather difficult to draw up a complete systematic soul-schema. It is, nevertheless, possible to reconstruct on broad lines the soul-beliefs held by the Iroquois, taking Hewitt's results as a guide.

The dualism Hewitt found to exist between life-soul and intellect-soul may be glimpsed here and there in the older source-material. It is, for instance, pointed out by Jean de Quens in his account of the Onondaga, one of the Iroquois tribes: "These people believe that sadness, anger, and all violent passions expel the rational soul from the body, which, meanwhile, is animated only by the sensitive soul, which we have in common with animals".[5] This pronouncement seems indirectly to show that the life-soul was identical or connected with an ego-soul giving rise to the passions, and that the intellect-soul was associated with the conception of the free-soul. This would mean that a life-soul—ego-soul was contrasted with a free-soul—ego-soul.

This appears actually to have been the case. To begin with, we may observe that the ego-soul constituted an elastic concept among the Iroquois tribes. It was split into several aspects or ego-souls: two

[2] Brinton 1868, 236; Flannery 1939, 162.
[3] Hewitt 1895, 108.
[4] See above, pp. 49 sq.
[5] JR XLII, 51.

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intellect-souls and a wish-soul.[6] One can thus not reckon with the principle of consciousness in the character of a separate potency. The wish-soul—"the mind considered as the seat of sentiment"[7]—may very well have functioned as a second or assistant to the life-soul.[8] In its essence it is the given antithesis of the intellect-soul. Even if the intellect-soul originated as a body-soul (which is probable), functionally it approached the conception of the free-soul through its opposition to the emotive soul. The above pronouncement by de Quens seems to confirm this. Hewitt, too, points out that the reasoning soul can at will leave the body and return to it, to which fact, he says, especially dreams and visions bear testimony.[9] A fusion seems thus to have taken place between the ego-soul (or one ego-soul) and the free-soul.

The dualism between the intellect-soul and the emotive soul is thus in a way a paraphrase of the dualism between free-soul and life-soul. This latter dualism should not be overlooked, even if it has been thrust somewhat into the background.[10] We find it possibly among the Cayuga, who believe in two souls, "one which the Cayuga call the 'real', or 'main', soul, which is eternal and goes to the Great Spirit; the other the 'ghost spirit', which unless satisfied is apt to go about on earth disturbing people and causing illness".[11] The dualism between the two souls of the living individual has here been directly associated with the two forms in which the deceased person may reveal himself. Boyle, who has noted down the soul-beliefs of the "civilized" Iroquois in Ontario, writes: "To dreams, our Iroquois, with all his congeners, was an abject slave, for he regarded them as the experiences of the first of his three souls, the second being the one which always remained with his body, and the third that which became visible as his shadow".[12] Behind the doubling of the free-soul conception, which has here been differentiated as dream-soul and shadow-soul, one divines the result of the disintegrating effect of the ego-souls when they have once usurped the rôle of the free-soul.

The last quotations show in a surprising way how little the soul-

[6] See Hewitt, op.cit., 112 sq.; Hewitt 1902, 44. Concerning the Huron, see below, p. 86.
[7] Hewitt 1895, 112.
[8] The life-soul has a special denomination (Hewitt 1902, 45).
[9] Hewitt 1895, 110.
[10] Cf. the dualism blood-soul—phantom among the Seneca (Curtin & Hewitt 1918 I, 96, 368, 807 note 324).
[11] Speck 1949, 120.
[12] Boyle 1900, 265.

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beliefs of the Iroquois have changed since the days of the Jesuit Fathers.[13] To get a detailed picture of the soul-beliefs of an Iroquoian people at the time of the Jesuit missionaries we shall, finally, consider some contemporary notes from the Huron, review them and add some comments of our own.

Brébeuf seems to be of the opinion that the Huron believed in a single soul which revealed itself under different aspects: "They give it different names according to its different conditions or different operations".[14] It is naturally more correct to speak of several souls, from the functional point of view. Brébeuf gives *one* name to the soul "in so far as it merely animates the body and gives it life". This is obviously the life-soul, the vegetative soul, to speak with Brinton. Brébeuf then mentions three other names for the soul, "in so far as it is possessed of reason ... in so far as it thinks and deliberates on anything ... and ... in so far as it bears affection to any object". In other words, three different ego-souls, including two intellect-souls and one wish-soul. Finally: "Then if it (= the soul) is separated from the body they call it *esken*, and even the bones of the dead, *atisken* ..." One need no doubt that it is the dead person that is here referred to. To this account Brébeuf adds a reflection which shows how alien the native soul-beliefs seemed to him: "... they think of the soul as divisible, and you would have all the difficulty in the world to make them believe that our soul is entire in all parts of the body".[15]

The soul-dualism of the Huron emerges more distinctly in other notes by Brébeuf and in Ragueneau's account. The many souls—whose existence does not, per se, invalidate the dual schema—are quickly reduced to two souls. Brébeuf was told by a Huron chief that "many think we have two souls, both of them being divisible and material, and yet both reasonable; the one separates itself from the body at death ... The other is, as it were, bound to the body, and informs, so to speak, the corpse ...".[16] Further light is thrown upon this dualism by Ragueneau's observation that of the two souls one was a reasoning soul, the other a sensitive soul; and that in dreams the first-mentioned of these acted outside the body.[17] Kinietz opines that we

[13] It may here be mentioned that the Iroquois reformer Handsome Lake did not free his doctrine from dualism in the soul-belief. See Parker 1913.

[14] JR X, 141.

[15] JR X, loc.cit. Brébeuf's analysis has in all points been accepted by Hewitt (Hewitt 1902, 44 sq.).

[16] JR X, 287. Cf. also Thomas 1887, 114.

[17] JR XXXIII, 191. Cf. also Le Jeune, JR XVI, 191 sq.

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have here to do with a dualism between ego-soul and life-soul.[18] For my own part, I consider that the two last-quoted observations rather favour the assumption that both free-soul and life-soul were conceived as being connected with ego-soul conceptions, inasmuch as the free-soul also acted as an intellect-soul and the life-soul also acted as a wish-soul or affective soul. The dualism between free-soul and life-soul has thus been supplemented with a dualism between the ego-souls. In this connection the identity between free-soul and ego-soul has presumably been only half complete. The Orpheus legend of the Huron is here not without interest. In this we are told how the hero brings his dead sister back to life by fetching two pumpkins from the realm of the dead: in one of them he has the sister herself in miniature; in the other he has her brain.[19] From the point of view of the native psychology, the sister probably represented the free-soul and the brain the ego-soul.

So much for the soul-beliefs of the Huron. If the interpretation suggested here is correct, then both Huron and Iroquois held the belief in several souls fitting into a dualistic schema. On the one hand the life-soul, with the sensitive ego-soul as complement; on the other hand the free-soul, whose functions have been completely identified with the activity of the ego-soul—or one of the ego-souls. This fusion might signify that the embryo of a development towards an unitary soul-concept would exist if the cleavage of the ego-soul did not counteract this.

What has been said above applies, curiously enough, also to the soul-beliefs of the Creek.

Of the Southeastern folk-groups, at least the Creek and the Choctaw knew of dual souls. Bartram has shown that the Creek believed in an extra-physical soul.[20] His information on this subject is valuable, as it throws a clearer light upon Hewitt's communications concerning *inu'tska*. This soul—the name signifies talent, genius—gives rise, according to Hewitt, to "thought, planning, devising"; it is thus an intellect-soul, an ego-soul on a higher plane of dignity.[21] But this does not cover the whole truth. For man's *inu'tska* is also "the spirit which goes with him through life and talks to him in his dreams and is called the good spirit". If we compare this with Bartram's report mentioned above, we get the impression that this soul constituted a semi-inde-

[18] Kinietz 1940, 127 (Kinietz does not use the terms ego-soul and life-soul).
[19] JR X, 153.
[20] Bartram 1853, 27.
[21] Hewitt & Swanton 1939, 157.

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pendent potency outside the body, a free-soul that has developed into a being or spirit wielding actual power.[22] To this soul corresponds what Hewitt calls "life spirit", a life-soul, which is, however, in an equally high degree a sensitive soul—the dualism of the Creek is evidently of the same structure as that of the Iroquois. The life-soul "resides in the intestines and does not leave them until after a person's death". Now Hewitt does, it is true, assert that some of his informants declared that the life-soul could leave the body without this leading to death; it could occur during sleep and in dreams. But the question is whether Hewitt has not here misunderstood his informants. Swanton points out that Hewitt has in some measure confused the soul-conceptions.[23]

The Seminole, who are for the most part descendants of Creek Indians who had fled to Florida, presumably embraced up to modern times the soul-conceptions characteristic for the Creek proper. The belief in dual souls has been definitely recorded. At death, both the souls go, with some days' interval between, to the realm of the dead. The soul which first takes its departure is a free-soul with a distinct dream-soul character. We may assume that the other soul is a body-soul.[23a]

According to Wright, the Choctaw conceived man to have two souls. They believed that "every man had *shilombish*, the outside shadow, which always followed him, and *shilup*, the inside shadow, or ghost, which at death goes to the land of ghosts. The shilombish was supposed to remain upon the earth..."[24] The dualism between external free-soul and internal body-soul here seems rather clear. In his Choctaw dictionary, it is true, Cyrus Byington has interpreted both notions as "spirit, ghost, shade, spectre, sprite", but in this way he has merely indicated the etherial character of the two souls.[25] Forgetfulness and Christian influence combined have effaced the former dualism among the modern Choctaw. Now, curiously enough, the soul appears both as dream-soul and as a soul which dies with the body.[26] Attention should be paid to this last-mentioned entity. Bushnell writes: "They seem to have had a vague idea of a spirit in the body, but when the spirit died, then man, or rather the body, ceases to move".[27] At the risk of unwarranted generalization, we venture to launch the hypoth-

[22] It is this soul, presumably, which according to Speck is an unitary soul, "the soul, residing in the heart" (Speck 1907, 118).
[23] Hewitt & Swanton, op.cit., loc.cit.
[23a] Greenlee 1944, 319.
[24] Swanton 1931, 216, Swanton 1946, 778.
[25] Swanton 1931, 217 note 7.
[26] Bushnell 1909, 28 sq. Opinion is now, however, very divided.
[27] Bushnell, op.cit., loc.cit.

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esis that the Choctaw did formerly know of an external free-soul, which was also a dream-soul, an interior soul, probably of ego-soul type(?), which took its name and appearance from the circumstance that it represented the individual after death, and, finally, a life-soul that died with the body. It should, however, be emphasized that this interpretation is purely hypothetical.

The pluralistic conception of the soul is also characteristic for folk-groups in the southern vicinity of the Southeast culture area, among the Taino and Carib on the Antilles and in Guiana.[28] These areas, however, fall outside the scope of this regional study.

There are no definite instances of soul-dualism among the Siouan peoples of the Southeast. The more westerly groups linguistically related to them and living in the vicinity of or on the Plains have for the most part, on the other hand, believed in several souls in every individual, and some of them have had the conception of dual souls.

The Winnebago at Lake Michigan belong to the latter group. It is perhaps significant that this tribe was surrounded by the Central Algonquin, who are known for their well-developed soul-dualism. In the origin myth of the Thunder Bird clan we are told that the Creator, Earthmaker. gave man a mind or thinking soul, a tongue, soul and breath.[29] If one eliminates the tongue, which was evidently added so that the sacred number four might predominate, one has an ego-soul and a breath-soul—thus two body-souls—and a soul which is probably the free-soul. Referring to "Winnebago religious terms", Radin distinguishes between "the soul which inheres in living man and which dies when he dies", and "the soul that leaves man upon death, the soul which is eternal and which returns to spirit-land, in other words, to the universe at large".[30] The first-mentioned soul is evidently the body-soul, the last-mentioned the free-soul. Concerning the free-soul, Radin adds that "this concept is not clearly developed as a separable entity among the Winnebago on account of their strong belief in reincarnation. Their notion of the soul is merged in that of the non-corporeal ghost who eventually comes to earth again".[31] The idea of the free-soul is thus subordinated to the conception of the deceased, who bears its name *(waⁿaⁿxírak)*.[32]

[28] Gower 1927, 42, 50; Irving Rouse in Handbook of South American Indians, IV (1948), 561, and Alfred Métraux in op.cit., V (1949), 570.
[29] Radin 1909, 307 sq.; Radin 1923, 212.
[30] Radin 1948, 53.
[31] Radin 1923, 316.
[32] Even the scalp of the deceased is called "the soul", or "the soul of our grandfather" (Radin, op.cit., 380).

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The Sioux on the Plains are in general known for their belief that man has four souls.[33] This does not, of course, mean that in many cases the fourfold soul is not a theoretical construction, a superstructure erected on an original soul-dualism. This seems natural if one accepts the psychological viewpoints applied here. As a matter of fact, a closer analysis of the fourfold soul-conception of several Sioux groups shows that the dualism between two souls should be understood as essential and fundamental.[34]

Concerning the Eastern Dakota, Skinner writes: "Like the Cree and Menomini the Dakota believed each person had two spirits (some say four), one of which, the soul, went to the other world".[35] Along with the conventional belief in four souls that we shall later have occasion to discuss in greater detail, we find here the belief in two souls, presumably body-soul and free-soul.[36]

One might in this connection also adduce what J. O. Dorsey has to say about the soul-beliefs of the Sioux, with special reference to the Teton Dakota. He writes: "Among the tribes of the Siouan Family the word wa-ná-ghi, rendered 'ghost' in this paper,[37] means more than 'apparition'. The living man is supposed to have one, two, or more wanaghi, one of which after death remains at the grave and another goes to the place of the departed".[38] We here draw attention to the fact that despite the presence of the four-soul concept, the functions of only two souls are mentioned, and this in such a way as to give the impression that it is a matter of body-soul and free-soul. The weakness in our argument is unfortunately that data concerning the activity of the souls after death do not always give a clue as to the nature of their functions during the life-time of the individual.

The more detailed reports of the soul-beliefs of the Dakota tribes

[33] Further discussion of this point is given in § 11.

[34] It may here be pointed out in parenthesis that the distinction between *Wanare* and *Wahkan* among the Dakota reported by Keating refers to the difference between soul and power, and not between two souls, as Brinton has taken it to be (Keating 1825 I, 410; Brinton 1868, 236 note 1.)

[35] Skinner 1919 a, 169.

[36] This dualism may perhaps be traced in Pond's distinction between life and soul, which also applies to the Eastern Dakota (Pond 1889, 220). Pond's name for the soul, *nagi*, seems to be identical with the name for the free-soul among the Teton Dakota. Eastman's pronouncement that "every creature possesses a soul in some degree, though not necessarily a soul conscious of itself", is far too general and vague for any importance to be ascribed to it. It is, moreover, encapsuled in a panthecizing context which is typical for this writer (Eastman 1911, 14 sq. Cf. below § 14, p. 196).

[37] Cf. what Radin adduces concerning the free-soul among the Winnebago (above, p. 89).

[38] Dorsey 1889 c, 143.

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by, above all, Lynd and Walker do not, however, invalidate the view advanced here, but appear, on the contrary, to confirm it. Of the four (or five) souls which according to Lynd belong to every individual, the first is "supposed to be a spirit of the body, and dies with the body", and the third "accounts for the deeds of the body, and is supposed by some to go to the south, by others, to the west, after the death of the body".[39] Here we have the functional soul-dualism practically unchanged behind the outer façade of the fourfold soul-system.[40]

Walker's communications refer to an important branch of the Teton Dakota, the Oglala. Their soul-terminology is clad in the strange attire of ingenious religious speculation, but one glimpses the original belief behind it. The free-cum-ego soul is here *nagi*, which "abides with its recipient until death, controlling the disposition and actions of the person". On the owner's death it goes to the spirit land, "and then it becomes the Spirit". Another soul is *niya*, which "abides with the person like a shadow until death", and whose function is "to cause vitality, to forewarn of good and evil, and to give the power to influence others. When it departs from the body, this is death . . .".[41] The Oglala thus have among their many "souls" also a free-soul and a life-soul.[42]

Dualism is also concealed behind the multi-facetted soul-beliefs of the village-groups belonging to the Sioux in North Dakota. Curtis mentions three souls for the Hidatsa (four souls according to Matthews!), of which the first is the physical shadow ("the shadow that follows the body in the day"), the second obviously the free-soul ("the spirit that is active in dreams and visions, leaving and acting independently of the body") and the third, just as obviously, the ego-soul ("the mentality, always present with the body").[43] The dualism is complete and closed, if one sees in the shadow an extension of the individual, which is most reasonable.[44]

[39] Lynd 1889, 155.
[40] Cf. above pp. 29 sq. and below pp. 119 sqq.
[41] Walker 1917, 86, 86 sq.
[42] In the words of the Oglala Indian One Star the dualism between on the one hand the notion of power *(sicun)* and the soul-conception, and on the other hand free-soul and life-soul, appears clearly: "A *Sicun* is a man's spirit. A man's real spirit is different from his *Sicun* spirit. *Ni* is also like a spirit. It is a man's breath" (Walker, op.cit., 159).
[43] Curtis 1909 IV, 143.
[44] Cf. the remarkable agreement between Curtis's notes concerning the soul-beliefs of the Atsina (see above, p. 82), the Hidatsa and the Mandan (see this page). We have here an illustration of the difficulty for even trained field-ethnologists of avoiding schematization and conventionalization of the material noted down concerning native conceptions of the soul.

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The soul-dualism is less distinct among the Mandan, but one catches a glimpse of it when it is mentioned that the lighter of man's "shadows", i.e. souls, betakes itself after death to the realm of the dead, while the other, darker "shadows" remain with the body.[45]

The third village tribe in North Dakota, the Arikara, belongs to the Caddo-family. Among the Arikara we find a less complicated soul-belief than among their neighbours of the Siouan family. To judge from all appearances, they held the belief in an unitary soul.[46]

Their linguistic kin in Nebraska, the Pawnee, are rightly renowned for their well-developed ceremonialism, their secret societies, their powerful mythology. Here, if anywhere, one might expect a conception of the soul shaped by philosophical speculation. But if one expects such a development to have affected the primitive soul-dualism one is disappointed. The Pawnee are a conservative people, and the dualism between free-soul—ego-soul on the one hand and life-soul—or better life-stuff—on the other hand is clearly to be seen in a medley of ritual and speculatively conceived symbols. The initiated priest proclaims that the winds from the four corners of the world—not the ordinary winds—have proceeded from the breath of the heavenly father, and "they bring to man the breath by which he lives".[47] Here we obviously have the life-soul, embedded in a cosmically panthecizing context which is typical for the religious creative imagination of this people.[48] The pendant of the breath is *chixu* "the spirit or mind of a person or thing".[49] This soul is first and foremost a free-soul. The Pawnee Indian "regards the spirit of man, animals, and all other things as able to travel about independent of the body".[50] But it is also *chixu* to which reference is being made when the priest announces in the Hako-rite that "we must fix our minds *(chixu ti uchitika)*" on the object of our activity.[51] Contrasted with the life-soul is thus a combined free-cum-ego soul, perhaps arising from the needs of mystical meditation and originating in the circles promoting religious speculation.

[45] Curtis 1909 V, 19 sq.; Wied 1841 II, 206.
[46] See below, p. 134.
[47] Fletcher 1904, 29 sq.; cf. Dorsey & Murie 1940, 101.
[48] See below, p. 200.
[49] Fletcher, op.cit., 51.
[50] Fletcher, op.cit., 290; cf. op.cit., 53.
[51] Fletcher, op.cit., 52.

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9. *Soul-dualism in the Greater Southwest and the adjacent areas*

We may close this part of our enquiry with a survey of the soul-dualism found in folk-groups in the western United States and North Mexico. The majority of these groups belong within the great culture-area which has in recent times been designated as the Greater Southwest, and which includes such well-known cultures as the Pueblo culture, the Great Basin, South California and North Mexico.[1] In this survey we have for practical reasons also included peoples in the peripheral Plains regions and North California.

The Shoshone groups that have populated an extensive area from the Plains in the east to the Pacific Ocean in the west have in a great many cases believed in dual souls in man. This is at all events true of the Plains Shoshoni of Wyoming, some Paviotso and Paiute groups, the Tübatulabal, and some southern Shoshone groups in South California.

The Wind River Shoshoni in Wyoming "possess two dominating soul-aspects, *mugua* and *navujieip*. The former originally represented the vitality, the life in man; the latter was the individual himself, as he appeared in dreams and in other experiences during states of psychic absence. To use a concise technical terminology: *mugua* was the corporeal soul, *navujieip* the separable soul". A certain gradual change in this relation has led to the expansion of *mugua* and its absorption of elements which originally belonged, in all probability, only to the conception of the free-soul, while *navujieip* has approached the notion of the tutelary spirit.[2] Also a third soul-conception may be noted, an ego-soul which was also identical with the breath.[3]

Whereas among these Plains Shoshoni the soul-dualism is fairly clear, it is obscure and difficult to penetrate among their linguistic kin in the Great Basin. In some quarters we seem to find here developed also the belief in an unitary soul.[4]

The soul-beliefs held by the numerous Paviotso groups seem rather confused if we try to compare the different conceptions.[5] There can, however, scarcely be any doubt of the occurrence, here and there, of a dualism between two souls, often developed in such a form that the

[1] See Beals 1943 a, 193 sq.
[2] Hultkrantz 1951, 41 sq. For the whole of the development indicated here see the account in op.cit. *in extenso*.
[3] Hultkrantz, op.cit., 28 sq.
[4] See below, pp. 135 sq.
[5] Cf. Hultkrantz, op.cit., 43 sq.

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one soul has been *mugua* and the other the breath or mind, which latter have been identical.[6] The interplay between the souls is splendidly illustrated in a shaman song concerning the bringing back of the soul by the shamans. The expressions for the soul are varied as follows: "... person's spirit emerges ... the person's soul leaves ... the shamans the person bring back".[7] By "spirit" is probably meant here the breath-soul, by "soul" *mugua*, and "the person" comprehends the two souls, the living individual himself. It seems as if the breath-soul or mind —or the soul which in its stead is contrasted with *mugua*— is at the same time the free-soul.[8]

But this identification is purely hypothetical, and is made with all reservations. For the Shoshone term *mugua* is not clearly delimited and defined as life-soul, but evinces a strong tendency to play also the rôle of free-soul, as was pointed out above concerning the Wind River Shoshoni. The life-soul of the Paviotso clearly shows similar tendencies.[9] These appear e.g. among the Eastern Mono. Dr J. H. Steward remarks the following concerning the soul-conceptions of this group: "One has a soul, *mugua*, and a ghost, *takawahuva*. The soul is like a shadow, in no special part of the body, 'makes life', and goes to the land of the dead. The ghost remains in the country of the living after death, visiting people and serving witches".[10] The ghost is perhaps a rudimentary free-soul. But *mugua* is both life-soul and surviving soul. And in addition to this it is an ego-soul, an ego-soul which, certainly, represents the individual's own ego-consciousness, but which is at the same time very independently conceived, a being with a character of its own, which manifests its will in dreams.[11] A rather Freudian conception, one is tempted to say.

According to the Ute Indians, man has two souls. The loss of one of these causes sickness, and if both souls depart, the owner dies. Among the Ute in the Wasatch Mountains one of the souls appears to have resided in the head, the other in the heart. Among the Colorado Ute the souls resided in the heart and the stomach respectively.[12] Presum-

[6] Natches 1923, 258-259, Kelly 1932, 198, Park 1938, 39.
[7] Natches, op.cit., loc.cit.
[8] Cf. also Park, op.cit., 41. The two terms for breath/mind and soul (life-soul) often occur side by side; see, besides Natches, Park, op.cit., 39, Stewart 1941, 415, Kelly, op.cit., loc.cit. The tendency to identify them is nowadays striking.
[9] Cf. the fact that Lowie has only recorded one soul for the Paviotso (Lowie 1924 a, 294, 296).
[10] Steward 1933, 307; cf. Steward 1934, 427 note 11.
[11] Steward 1934, 425, 427.
[12] Stewart 1942, 319. Cf. the following note.

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ably there was formerly a dualistic relation between the souls, but this is difficult to reconstruct.[13]

It is possible that the Southern Paiute, who are closely related to the Ute, believed in dual souls. The documents concerning their soul-beliefs which have so far been published, however, do not give any definite information in the one direction or the other. One gets the impression that in more modern times, at all events, the dualism has fallen into oblivion. The following quotation will serve to show how ambiguous our data from the Paiute may be. Writing of the Las Vegas Paiute in South Nevada, Kelly says: "After the mind leaves the body it turns into the soul, which has wings and goes into the air".[14] Two different names stand for mind and soul. But does "soul" here stand for free-soul, or is only the deceased person referred to? The latter is perhaps most probable, for the souls of the living person are scarcely in the habit of merging with one another, terminologically and conceptually.[15]

Such a union of souls may, on the other hand, take place after death, as is the case among a couple of Sioux tribes (as we shall see later) and among another Shoshone people, the Tübatulabal.

The soul-beliefs of the Tübatulabal have been analysed by Dr. E. Voegelin. What she refers to as the soul is an evident free-soul conception. The free-soul temporarily leaves the body during sleep; "when you dream it is your soul that goes out and does the things you dream". By the side of the free-soul there is a breath-soul. "When person dies, his breath, which stays in heart during life, goes out, together with soul, and latter becomes breath, but looks like human being, and is referred to as a 'devil' or ghost".[16] The dualistic conception is here undeniable.

Finally, we come to the Shoshone groups in the deserts of South California. Of these groups we shall mention here the Juaneño and Luiseño. Among these, too, we find soul-dualism. Of the soul-conceptions of the Juaneño, Kroeber writes: "Of immaterial essences, the *piuch ('piuts')* or

[13] We get a faint clue by comparing Stewart's and Opler's notes concerning the soul-beliefs of the Colorado Ute. Opler's account is, certainly, somewhat obscure, but by all appearances the free-soul was conceived as residing in the heart, and was considered to be identical with the breath-soul, *sua'pun* (Opler 1940, 145). Presumably, the soul which according to Stewart was associated with the stomach is to be regarded as its pendant, the physical function-soul. I wish, however, to emphasize that this interpretation is based on uncertain grounds.

[14] Kelly 1939, 163 note 31. The word for mind is written *muxuan*, and is the same word as *mugua*.

[15] As the author holds the view that the South Paiute have had, at least in more modern times, an unitary soul-belief, the discussion of further data is given in § 12. See below, p. 136.

[16] Voegelin 1938, 62. Cf. also Voegelin in Leach 1950 II, 1050 sq.

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breath was distinguished from the shun *('pu-suni')* or heart. The former corresponded somewhat to our idea of life, the latter rather to the soul".[17] The life-soul was here evidently contrasted with the free-soul.

Among the Luiseño, *shun* was "the part of the person believed to go to the stars".[18] In a mission manuscript from 1811 there is mention of the fact that the San Luis Rey Luiseño believe in a "rational soul", *chamson.* Kroeber renders this term with "our *shun*", i.e. our heart.[19] It is probably this soul whose departure from the body has been described by Sparkman in the following terms: "When a person dies people blow three times, with the idea of assisting his soul or spirit (heart) to rise to the sky".[20] The counterpart of the Juaneño's breath-soul should be *piwish,* but this is a term for the Milky Way.[21] In one version of the creation myth, however, there is mention of "the breath of life which fills our lungs".[22] Are the Milky Way and "the breath of life", of which each person has a share, possibly identical? This is by no means out of the question, for the Milky Way is called "the Spirit to whom our spirits go when they die".[23] It is, moreover, symbolized with a special figure, *wanawut,* which is also said to represent "the spirit of man".[24] It is possible that *piwish* has alternated with *kwinamish,* a word which signifies "root" or "origin", and which "is much used to designate the spirit, apparently as such, or in the living...".[25] This being is called "our spirit", says Du Bois,[26] and in the symbolism it is compared with *wanawut.*[27] The life-soul, whether it has been called *piwish* or *kwinamish,* has corresponded to a free-soul, "the heart" or *shun,* which after death became *towish,* the deceased, the ghost.[28]

[17] Kroeber 1925, 644. Father Boscana has confused the two conceptions, which for him merge in an unitary soul-principle, *pusún* (Harrington 1934, 51). In a version of his celebrated manuscript ("Chinigchinich") to which I have not had access, however, he appears to have distinguished between *pu-suni* and *piuts,* the former being considered to refer to the heart-soul and the latter to "life, breath, and soul" (cf. Brinton 1868, 50).

[18] Kroeber, op.cit., 679. According to one source there was the belief that this soul went to Hades (see below, note 19).

[19] Kroeber 1908 a, 10, 10 note 21.

[20] Sparkman 1908, 226.

[21] Kroeber 1925, 679, 682.

[22] Du Bois 1908, 89.

[23] Du Bois, op.cit., 86.

[24] Du Bois, op.cit., 100; Kroeber 1925, 672. For ideas of the microcosmos and macrocosmos among the Luiseño, see below, § 14, pp. 201 sqq.

[25] Kroeber 1925, 679. See also Du Bois, op.cit., 88 note 27.

[26] Du Bois, op.cit., 102.

[27] Du Bois, op.cit., 100.

[28] Du Bois, op.cit., 142 ("When a man dies he becomes Towish"); Kroeber, op.cit., 679.

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We also find the dualism between souls among several peoples in North California. But owing to the nature of the source-material it is not possible to say definitely just how widespread it has been. In a couple of cases it is just as natural to apply a monistic interpretation to the soul-beliefs as a dualistic one.

The soul-beliefs of the Modoc are chiefly known to us through Curtin's collection of legends. The narrative in which the main features of the soul-belief are presented describes, to judge from all the evidence, an actual event, a visionary experience. It describes a young man's calling to the office of medicine-man. The youth fainted when he met a female ghost (Skoks) who took out his heart. "The boy lay on the ground as if dead, but his spirit heard the Skoks talk to his heart, as she sat on the air and held the heart in her hand. After a while she opened her hand and let go of the heart. Then the little boy thought he saw a bird coming from the west. It came to him and lighted on his breast. That moment he jumped up".[29] It is probably not going too far to deduce from this quotation a soul-dualism of the ordinary kind: a free-soul which operates while the individual is unconscious, and a life-soul connected with the heart. From other data it appears that the life of the individual was identified with the breath.[30]

The Shasta constitute an uncertain case, reminding one of the Plains Cheyenne.[31] According to Dixon, the terms for soul and life were identical among the Shasta.[32] But everything depends, of course, upon what is meant by "life". We are told that the body of a sick man "lay breathing quietly ... when in fact the 'life' had already departed".[33] One may, naturally, assume with reason that "the life" constitutes the actual life-motor, whose absence would be sufficient to cause the gradual cessation of the life-process.[34] But it is also possible that "the life" is nothing other than the free-soul, which may depart while its owner is still relatively healthy.

This seems likely when one considers Dixon's information in connection with de Angulo's communication from the Achomawi, one of the more easterly branches of the Shasta at Pit River. These have a shadow-soul, *delamdzi*, which is identical with the soul which leaves the

[29] Curtin 1912, 370 sq.; cf. op.cit., 80.
[30] Powers 1877, 259; Curtin, op.cit., 37.
[31] See above, p. 83.
[32] Dixon 1907, 468.
[33] Holt 1946, 326.
[34] According to Holt, the dying man was first left by "the pain", and then by the soul (Holt, loc.cit.). This "pain" is no soul, but the sickness which has invaded the body, also conceived as the shaman's spiritual power (Stewart 1946, 327 sqq.).

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body in dreams, and with the deceased himself; it is thus evidently a free-soul.[35] De Angulo proceeds: ". . . ils disent eux-mêmes: la vie c'est la même chose que la puissance".[36] There can scarcely be any doubt but that we have here to do with a vitality-soul. It was presumably identical with the breath, which latter also constituted the seat of the shadow-soul.[37]

The Atsugewi, the linguistic kin of the Achomawi and their nearest neighbours in the south, presumably also believed in dual souls. A free-soul of very independent character has been instanced. This left the body in connection with sickness and in dreams.[38]

Definite instances of dualism are known from two other North Californian peoples. The Karuk in north-western California distinguish between *pikship*, which is the shadow, the free-soul, and *imya*, the breath, the life.[39] Loeb says that one of his informants among the Eastern Pomo "believed in two souls. He had discussed the matter with a female sucking doctor and found her ideas much the same. One of these souls went out in times of dreams, to return to the body upon awakening; the other soul left the body at death".[40] The last-mentioned entity was by all appearances an ego-soul.

It is not altogether unlikely that the Penutian peoples in general held corresponding conceptions, but it is difficult to adduce any binding proof of this. The modern communications from the Nomlaki and Yokuts seem rather to afford evidence of a belief in an unitary soul.[41]

The ethnographical notes have, however, preserved the memory of a real dualism among at least one of these peoples, the Northern Wintun, or Wintu. These refer to both the souls of the living and the spirits of the dead with one and the same designation, *les*. Pronouncements concerning *les* as the soul are somewhat obscure. "It is what a person has with him. Maybe it is somewhere in the back of the head", explained one Wintu Indian. He continued: "When a person is alive his *les* is always around the house. If you travel your *les* follows you but doesn't get there until evening. Your *les* is always about a day or half a day behind you".[42] From the pronouncement of another Wintu it appears

[35] de Angulo 1928, 151.
[36] de Angulo, op.cit., 152.
[37] de Angulo 1926, 356.
[38] Voegelin 1942, 246.
[39] Kroeber 1925, 107.
[40] Loeb 1926, 290.
[41] See below, p. 139.
[42] Du Bois 1935, 77. It may be added that the soul is *not* believed to wander about when a person dreams (Du Bois, op.cit., 78).

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that *les* is conceived as a shadow.[43] It evidently fulfils the function of a free-soul.[44] The life-maintaining soul is called *winesxuyat*. It now seems to have been largely forgotten, and its features are preserved only in the mythology.[45] Du Bois, however, recognizes it as "the vital principle". From her description of *winesxuyat*, however, it appears that it is a combination of ego-soul and life-soul, thus a body-soul in the wider sense of the term.[46]

The soul-beliefs of the Central Wintun, the Nomlaki, seem in modern times to have been concentrated about the free-soul.[47] We know but little about the soul-conceptions of the South Wintun or Patwin, although a number of designations for the soul from the River Patwin have been preserved.[48] But the notions covered by these terms have not been recorded.

For the Maidu, our sources are a good deal more scanty. Dixon and Kroeber seem to assert the belief in an unitary soul. Dixon writes: "All human beings, and all animals as well, are supposed to have souls. These are generally spoken of as 'hearts'; and often, in speaking of the death of a person, it will be said that 'his heart has gone away'. This 'heart' seems to be regarded as identical with the ghost seen occasionally by shamans and other persons".[49] Kroeber remarks that "what we call the soul, the Maidu named heart... In a swoon or in a dream a person's heart leaves his body".[50] The free-soul conception that Dixon and Kroeber here identify with the heart fits *hon*, "soul, heart", among the Yuba River Maidu. But the question is whether it represents the only soul among these Maidu. In his account of their religious terminology, Loeb gives also the designation for breath.[51] Among the Northwest Hill Maidu, *honi* is heart-soul, but not the only soul, as it would appear, since it is *wono*—rendered with "soul"—that leaves the body when a person faints or dies.[52] Among both the Maidu groups mentioned here one finds also designations for the ghost and the shadow, both of which belong to the sphere of religion; but it is uncertain whether they have had anything to do with the soul-conceptions proper. The question is,

[43] Du Bois, op.cit., 78.
[44] Concerning the occurrence of two *les*, see above, p.30.
[45] As Dr. Du Bois points out, Curtin has in his collection of myths misinterpreted the form taken by this soul (Curtin 1898, 492).
[46] Du Bois, op.cit., 79.
[47] See below, p. 139.
[48] Kroeber 1932 a, 288; Loeb 1933, 220.
[49] Dixon 1905, 259.
[50] Kroeber 1925, 439.
[51] Loeb, op.cit., 188.
[52] Loeb, op.cit., 172.

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however, of no particular importance. What we know concerning the soul-conceptions of the Maidu is sufficient to motivate the view that they believed in more than one soul; and it seems not unlikely that the relation between the souls was dualistic.

From North California we may now move to the Southwest proper, which begins, ethnographically, in southern California. We shall first consider the soul-conceptions among the Yuman peoples.

The soul-beliefs of the Kamia appear at first sight confusing; but on closer examination one finds a fundamental dualism. On the one hand we have *matahaau*, "soul, apparition of living person", and on the other hand *isaslich*, "invisible spirit, ghost", which is perhaps identical with the "heart", *yuuspum*, which after the cremation of the corpse is transformed into owl.[53] The shadow seems to be without religious or magical significance. The dualism lies in the relation between man's spirit and his soul, which after death are united and in this way restore his individuality. It is mentioned that "a baby had a soul and a spirit like an adult".[54] To judge from all appearances, "the spirit" is nothing other than the body-soul, which gives expression at one and the same time to life and consciousness—it is particularly stressed that at death *isaslich* carries on the consciousness of the individual.[55] "The soul", on the other hand, is the free-soul, which "as an apparition" leaves a man during dreams, in sickness and at death. Curiously enough, many people could possess several souls of the last-mentioned type, sometimes as many as four.[56]

The Cocopa distinguish between a dream-soul ("spirit") and a soul localized in the body, which is also a surviving soul ("soul"). Thus Gifford reports that dreams are caused by the dream-soul, *matkwisa* or *mitha'au*, "leaving body and experiencing events of dream. This spirit distinct from soul or ghost which left body at death".[57] The last-mentioned soul, *loxachak*, also resides in the body, but leaves it temporarily when a person falls in a faint or a trance, and permanently at death, in order thereafter to carry on the person's life in the realm of the dead.[58]

[53] Gifford 1931, 70. In a Kamia narrative there is an account of how the "spirit" of a recently killed man regarded his body. "Then his spirit ('heart') reanimated his body and he was alive again" (Gifford, op.cit., 81).
[54] Gifford, op.cit., 71.
[55] Gifford, op.cit., 71, 81.
[56] See further below, p. 124.
[57] Gifford 1933 b, 303.
[58] Gifford, op.cit., 306.

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The soul-belief appears here to show an opposition between on the one hand a dream-soul and on the other hand a body-soul, which is also a free-soul and a surviving soul. This interpretation of *loxachak* as body-soul is naturally not fully proven; it is supported by Gifford's summary data, but it may easily be upset by the communication of fresh information. Now Gifford himself, it is true, rejects the notion of dual souls among the Cocopa. He observes that although a shaman might send his own soul after the ravished soul of his patient, there was no belief that the shaman had two souls, or that his soul was divisible.[59] But by soul Gifford understands only *loxachak*, not "the spirit". As the latter has distinct soul-features, one is forced to conclude that the Cocopa at least knew of two souls in man.

The surviving soul among the Yuma is a body-soul, *metr'ao'*, which "dwells within the body and is associated with the heart". Besides this soul there are a number of smaller body-souls: "The pulses which can be felt at various parts of the body are considered as small indepedent souls. Their loss may... cause sickness". And finally, the shadow, *metkwica'*, has "a soul-like quality", as Ford expresses it. Its loss (through witchcraft) entails sickness for its owner. The shadow, which on the death of the individual "disappears into space", is obviously the free-soul.[60]

The soul-beliefs of the Maricopa remind one of those of the Yuma.[61] A reconstruction on the basis of the data communicated by Spier seems to give the following picture. The free-soul of dreams is the shadow, which after the death of the individual appears as a spook-ghost in the whirlwind; "the ghost is just the shadow of the dead person".[62] Kutox, Spier's chief informant among the Maricopa, described the dream-situation as follows: "If I am asleep here, there is my shadow. If the spirits wanted to talk to me, they would take me out, that is, that part of me something like my shadow... A dreamer's shadow (matkwĭcá) has the experience with the spirit birds, not his soul (wipai')". Spier finds this pronouncement vague and unsatisfactory.[63] But against the background of what we know of the way in which soul-dualism functions and of the nature of the soul-beliefs held by other Yuman tribes, there is nothing vague or strange in the account of the Maricopa Indian —it speaks, on the contrary, a very clear language of its own. The recently mentioned *wipai'*, "the soul proper, the vital principle", seems

[59] Gifford, op.cit., 307.
[60] Forde 1931, 179.
[61] Spier 1936, 21.
[62] Spier 1933, 296.
[63] Spier, op.cit., 237.

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to be the chief life-soul, which in cases of sickness leaves the body and which after death carries on the life of the individual in the realm of the dead. Other life-souls are the souls of the heart and the pulses, which do not leave the body until it is cremated.[64]

Spier has compared these soul-conceptions with the soul-beliefs held by the Havasupai, a closely related tribe living in the vicinity, among whom a similar dualism between heart-soul and free-soul (the latter, judging by the name, a "shadow-soul") may be glimpsed.[65] "Each human has a soul in his heart", writes Spier; "the word, *yuwaiiv,* refers to both soul and heart. It leaves his body at death, but not when he dreams or lies unconscious. More explicitly, when a man dreams that he is in a foreign land, he sees (or feels) his fleshly self as actor, not his soul. To be sure when he wakes he is lying where he fell asleep, he is fully aware that he has been dreaming, yet he offers no explanation why others saw his slumbering form when he thought himself in another place".[66] It may be objected to Spier's argument that such an explanation is unnecessary: it is the person himself, i.e. the image-soul, the free-soul, which performs the acts of the dream. The heart-soul, on the other hand, is a body-soul in the widest sense. For "the heart is concerned with thought, as it is also the seat of the soul, the life".[67]

Among the North-east Yavapai the soul-dualism is quite clear. Here, *yapei* is "life, alive, spirit, soul". It leaves the body during dreams and experiences the events of the dream, afterwards returning to the body. On a person's death it departs, never to return. By the side of this soul of free-soul type there is *chilkomal,* "soul of living person"; "at death chilkomal is 'all gone' ". Presumably the last-mentioned soul is a life-soul, and closely associated with two other conceptions, which have also been noted among this people: the breath and the mind.[68] It is probable that also the South-eastern Yavapai knew of a corresponding soul-dualism.[69]

An account of the soul-beliefs of the Walapai is given in the "Walapai Ethnography" published, in collaboration with many others, by Kroeber. Unfortunately, Mekeel's account of the soul-conception is not altogether

[64] Spier, op.cit., 296; Spier 1946, 71.
[65] Cf. Spier 1946, loc.cit. Distinct from the shadow-soul is the physical shadow, which does not represent any soul-conception, although it is connected with a good deal of superstition (Spier 1928, 276).
[66] Spier 1928, 275.
[67] Spier, op.cit., 331.
[68] Gifford 1936, 318.
[69] Gifford's informant in this group "failed to give a word for soul and very likely the word for heart or for life was the equivalent term" (Gifford 1932 b, 233). It is, however, hard to understand why such an unitary soul must be assumed.

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clear; but if it is supplemented with the distinct indications in a later section of the work (by an anonymous writer), the picture emerges. On the one hand we have a soul which during the life of the individual is permanently attached to the body, but which after death goes on living; this is rendered as "'heart', soul, spirit". On the other hand we have the soul ("spirit, in heart") which is able to leave the body even during the life-time of the individual; this is rendered as "empty body", and this appellation seems also to have been used of the deceased's spirit.[70] Presumably only the body-soul goes on living.[71]

The Piman tribes may also be fitted into this general survey.

The dualism emerges, for example, from the soul-beliefs of the Papago Indians, for the Kikimai Papago assumed the existence of two souls, of which the one left the body immediately when the person died, while the other—probably the body-soul—remained in the corpse until eight days after the burial, after which it became an owl.[72]

Dualism appears also to have existed among some very southerly Piman tribes in Mexico: among the already mentioned Cora, where one divines a tension between an unnamed free-soul and a named thinking and willing soul, and among the close neighbours of the Cora, the Huichol, who believed in a rather comprehensive body-soul (ego-soul and life-soul) and a free-soul corresponding to this and identified with the individual himself.[73]—With these two groups, however, we have strayed outside the geographical limits of this enquiry.

The nomads of the Southwest are the relatively late arriving South Athapascans, Apache and Navajo. It is possible that they all believed in dual souls in man, but the available reports are not of a kind to permit of such a conclusion without further evidence. In a couple of cases, however, dualism appears probable.

It has been asserted that the White Mountain Apache held the notion of an unitary soul. "Life and breath are one and the same", writes Goodwin, "and no other element in man is separately comparable to a soul".[74] This may very well be the case. But it is strange that in connection with the death of the individual there is mention of still

[70] Kroeber 1935, 148 sqq., 203, 243.

[71] "When a person dies, his heart and live feelings leave the body and live on" (Kroeber, op.cit., 149).

[72] Gifford 1940, 166; cf. Drucker 1941, 148.

[73] Cf. above, p. 47; concerning the Huichol, see Preuss 1923, 18.

[74] Goodwin 1938, 36. Opler represents the soul-beliefs of the Lipan Apache in the same way, although here the (life-) soul manifested in the breath is associated with a "lightning-soul" (Opler 1945, 123). Both would appear to represent the body-soul.

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another soul-component, the shadow. "On the fourth day after death the life or breath and shadow ... starts to the land of the dead ...".[75] Is the life of the individual thus dependent upon the presence of both the breath-soul and the shadow? And is the shadow in this case possibly the free-soul? It would appear that its existence, even in the living person, escaped Goodwin's attention. This is of course in itself not surprising. A free-soul whose functions are not mentioned is more difficult to discover than a soul which is a life-giving or an animating principle.

The Jicarilla Apache assume a distinction between the breath ("breath or spirit") and "the ghost, or more material aspect of man's being".[76] At death, the breath goes to the realm of the dead, the ghost remains with the corpse for four days and is then transformed into an animal, as a rule a coyote. The ghost is not merely a post-mortal manifestation. "Even though you are still living, your ghost is around you already". This is especially true in the sentence that a person's "ghost sometimes goes into a bird or animal before he dies". Yet, "as long as the 'breath' is in his body he would remain alive".[77]

But the question is whether the ghost really is a pure free-soul conception. The following quotation appears to throw an entirely different light on the phenomenon. "If a person marries a Pueblo Indian first and then a Ute, one part of his body becomes owl and the other prairie dog at death. This means even having intercourse once. It is just as bad".[78] Opler has shown with numerous examples how this belief in metamorphosis functions as a brake on undesirable tribal exogamy: through one's illegal marriage with a woman of another tribe one becomes the animal by which the tribe in question is considered to be represented. That is to say, one forfeits the right to fellowship with one's own group. Is, then, the ghost's division after death simply a consequence of this social attitude, or does it afford evidence of an experienced *participation mystique*? In the former case we might then reckon with a converted idea of the free-soul; in the latter case it is a matter simply of a mystical aspect or extension of the individual. It is difficult to resolve the point. The dualism is glimpsed only as a conceivable alternative interpretation.[79]

[75] Goodwin, op.cit., loc.cit.
[76] Opler 1936, 222; Opler 1947, 126 note 1.
[77] Opler 1947, 126.
[78] Opler, op.cit., 127.
[79] The breath probably did not function alone as a life-soul. The bones seem to have had do to with the life of the individual (Russell 1898, 262), possibly also the heart (op.cit., 263).

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There has been and appears still to be much confusion concerning the soul-conceptions of the Navajo Indians. There is, apparently, no agreement between either the theories or the data of investigators in this sphere of Navajo religion. Moreover, there is no comprehensible summary of the soul-beliefs of this people. It is, indeed, difficult to reconstruct in detail the intricate pattern of Navajo soul-beliefs from the mass of information concerning their souls and "soul-qualities".

There exists, no doubt, the free-soul conception. We have earlier mentioned a concept of a super-soul held be these Indians, which perhaps approaches our own idea of the personality-soul.[80] Perhaps this personality-soul communicated by Reichard actually conceals a free-soul conception? Spence has adduced a soul-conception which he compares with the *ka* of the Egyptians, and which he calls a "personal soul". He declares that "in the personal soul there is none of the vital force which animates the body, nor any of the mental power". No, he says, we are here confronted with "a sort of spiritual body... which may leave its owner and become lost, much to his danger and discomfort".[81] It is of course quite evident that Spence is here describing a free-soul. Unfortunately, I do not know upon what source he bases his assumption. However, the free-soul appears in accounts of dreams in which the dreamer is transported to another place.[82] "I believe the soul wanders when I dream and comes back again afterward", said a certain Navajo Indian.[83] Unfortunately we are left in uncertainty as to the exact relation of the free-soul to other souls.

Concerning the body-souls of the Navajo, information is much more reliable. The myth tells us how the two first human beings, created by Talking God, received life: Niltshi, the wind, blew the breath of life into them, Rock Crystal Boy gave them the senses, and Grasshopper Girl gave them voices.[84] Of these souls, the breath is the most important. "It is the breath or 'wind' which leaves the body and goes to the afterworld. Breath is a manifestation of life".[85] "Winds" are localized in all the fingers, a Navajo Indian declared. "These Winds stay in the body directing its movements until death and then emerge..." By the side of these life-souls there is a "Great Wind" which streams through the body; this Wind controls our speech and is "the

[80] See above, pp. 21 sq.
[81] Spence 1910 a, 561. Cf. Spence 1914, 129.
[82] Morgan 1932, 402.
[83] Lincoln 1935, 213.
[84] Matthews 1897, 69, 136 sq.
[85] Wyman, Hill & Osanai 1942, 14, 38. Cf. Stewart 1942, 319.

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good part" of a man, a light-element emanating from the Sun and at death returning to the Sun. This soul has two names, which are translated: "by means of which there is life"; "by means of which one breathes". We thus meet here the actual life-principle, the breath as a spiritual potency, a superior life-soul.[86]

This picture of the body-souls is clearer and more defined than the account given by Reichard, even if the latter is more differentiated.[87] Through Reichard we become acquainted with a new soul-entity, "mind, will power, volition, reason, awareness", thus an ego-soul, which "keeps body and spirit in adjustment".[88] The Navajo Indian quoted above after Wyman et al. also described a "symbol or guiding principle of evil thoughts and actions", with its seat in the back of the head, "where you see the depression". This "evil soul" is thus a second ego-soul. It is also a forerunner of *tcindi*, the death-stuff, the ghost.[89] It can be separated from the individual before his decease if he reaches an advanced age.[90]

In this summary of the soul-conceptions of the Navajo Indians I have endeavoured to draw the picture as it appears after a penetration of the chief sources which have been available to me.[91] Unfortunately, it has in this reconstruction not been possible to take into account what is local or even individualized belief, and the margin of uncertainty is therefore considerable. The puzzle is, however, unavoidable, as the sources do not give any coherent account.[92] So much has emerged from our investigation, that we do not consider it altogether inconceivable that the Navajo believed in the more primitive dualism between free-soul and body-souls.[93]

The more we approach the high-culture peoples in our study, the more difficult it is to show the soul-dualism, and the vaguer are the contours of the dual souls. Especially those tribes adjacent to the central ethnic groups of the Southwest culture, the Pueblo peoples, have shown a certain tendency to merge and identify their soul-conceptions—this does not perhaps emerge from our summary, but anyone who goes

[86] Wyman, Hill & Osanai, op.cit., 14 sq. Cf. Reichard 1944, 56.
[87] Reichard 1950 I, 33 sq.
[88] Reichard, op.cit., 34.
[89] Wyman, Hill & Osanai, op.cit., 11.
[90] Wyman, Hill & Osanai, op.cit., 17.
[91] Spence, who is a second-hand source, is an exception.
[92] According to Reichard, there is never a simultaneous mention of all the psycho-physical components of the individual (Reichard, op.cit., 36 sq.).
[93] Cf. hints in the same direction in Alexander 1916, 156.

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direct to the sources may convince himself of this circumstance, which seems to have its given causes. It is, certainly, true that in attempts to derive the forms in which the soul-beliefs are manifested one generally prefers rather to seek an extended historical basis, an underlying cultural stratum, than to apply diffusionistic viewpoints.[94] But in the cases here in question one must not underestimate the direct influence from the remarkable Pueblo culture. For there is no doubt but that the *unitary* soul-conception has a firm anchorage precisely in this historic culture[95], and that it may therefore very well have affected the notions of the more primitive peoples in the ambiance of this culture.[96]

Only among one Pueblo tribe, the Zuni, is it possible to trace rather diffusely the remains of an older, possibly dualistic, soul-conception.

"According to Zuñi belief", writes Bunzel, "man has a spiritual substance, a soul. This is associated with the head, the heart, and the breath".[97] This is the actual modern belief. But it does not seem impossible to arrive at more primitive conceptions behind the unitary concept. The soul, which when rendered in English signifies "thoughts", refers, to judge by the name, rather to the psychic qualities constituting an ego-soul. In this case it should be associated to the head and the heart. "The head is the seat of skill and intelligence, but the heart is the seat of the emotions and of profound thought. 'I shall take it to my heart' means I shall ponder it carefully, and remember it long". Dr. Bunzel also gives the word for life, which translated literally means "light of day"; its symbol is the breath.[98] One can thus distinguish ego-soul and life-soul. But where is the free-soul? We read further that "in rare instances the soul can leave the body and return to it again. This occurs during sickness and is a matter of great seriousness". Soul loss is generally referred to the concept of the free-soul, but by no means always. The probability is that the notion of the free-soul has paled and fallen into oblivion.[99] The cause of this will be discussed in § 12.

[94] Cf. the problem of "diffusion" versus "common heritage" in Sapir (Sapir 1916), "diffusional cumulation" versus "archaic residue" in Swadesh (Swadesh 1951).

[95] See below, pp. 110 sqq., 129, 144, 146.

[96] Various circumstances have prevented a complete revision of the conceptions of the soul, not least the fact that the "village-dwellers" and "camp-dwellers" of the Southwest have attached greater importance to the visionary experiences than the Pueblo Indians. Cf. below, p. 146. The terminology used here has been borrowed from Goddard 1931.

[97] Bunzel 1932 a, 481.

[98] Bunzel, op.cit., loc.cit. See also Carpenter 1913, 83.

[99] Or that its functions have been in part taken over by the ego-soul. It is this soul, as Hagar has pointed out, that can be projected outside the body, and evidently not only during illness (Hagar 1908, 434).

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10. *General remarks on soul-dualism in North America*

After having now considered the data, we should be in a position to answer the questions we posed in § 4, referring to the general character, distribution and frequency of North American soul-dualism.

The first of these questions involves a qualitative problem, and is therefore simplest to discuss. On the basis of the material that has been adduced in the foregoing to throw light upon soul-dualism one can form rather a good idea of the way in which this dualism develops, i. e. we can establish the soul-elements of which it is composed. An analysis of the diagnostic cases—by which we here mean those cases in which the nature of the soul-constituents can be indicated directly or deduced by the investigator—gives the following picture.

The dualism is constituted by:

A. Free-soul as opposed to undifferentiated body-soul. Instances from the Wintu, Kamia, Cocopa?, Havasupai, Walapai?, Huichol. In all 6 instances.

B. Free-soul as opposed to differentiated body-soul.

1. Free-soul as opposed to ego-soul and life-soul. Instances from the Western Déné, Haida, Kwakiutl, Nootka, Sinkaietk, Quileute, Choctaw?, Winnebago, Navajo. In all 9 instances.
2. Free-soul as opposed to life-soul. Instances from the Eskimo, Tanaina, Ingalik, Coyukon, Eastern Déné, Tsimshian, Thompson River, Quinault, Chinook?, Algonquin in New England, Lenni-Lenape, Ojibway, Sauk, Fox, Cheyenne?, Dakota, Tübatulabal, Juaneño, Luiseño, Modoc, Shasta?, Achomawi, Karuk, Yuma, Maricopa, North-eastern Yavapai, White Mountain Apache? In all 28 instances.
3. Free-soul as opposed to ego-soul. Instances from the Tlingit, Puyallup-Nisqually, Kootenay, Naskapi-Montagnais?, Ojibway, Hidatsa, Eastern Pomo, Cora. In all 10 instances.

C. Differentiated body-soul as opposed to differentiated body-soul.

1. Ego-soul as opposed to life-soul, where the ego-soul has usurped the functions of the free-soul or the free-soul has usurped the functions of the ego-soul. Instances from the Bella Coola?, Ojibway, Menomini, Dakota, Pawnee, Paviotso, Luiseño? In all 7 instances.

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2. Ego-soul as opposed to ego-soul, where the two ego-souls have usurped the functions of the life-soul and the free-soul respectively, or the life-soul and the free-soul have usurped the functions of the two ego-souls. Instances from the Huron, Iroquois, Creek, Oglala, Wind River Shoshoni. In all 5 instances.

In the above schema the free-soul has not been differentiated, but has been treated as an unitary soul in order to facilitate the classification.[1] The nature of the body-soul, on the other hand, has where possible been more exactly specified. The reduction, in the dualistic constellation, of the body-soul to life-soul or ego-soul *may*, of course, very well be an artificial construction necessitated by our source-material, and without any counterpart in reality. Among the Hidatsa, for instance, the ego-soul alone represents the body-soul; but there is nothing to prevent the ego-soul here from being also life-soul, though this is not stated directly. To judge from the soul-beliefs of the Ojibway, the change from the dualism free-soul—life-soul to the dualism free-soul—ego-soul is easily made. The body-soul is thus, it would appear, a primarily undifferentiated phenomenon (case A), which may be specialized secondarily into life-soul and ego-soul aspects, in which case it comprises them both in an equal degree (case B 1), or expresses predominantly the one or the other aspect (cases B 2, B 3).

Now it proves that in the majority of cases the body-soul appears in a differentiated form in the dualistic soul-relation. And in so far as we can apply statistical viewpoints to our material—and here we must exercise great caution—it emerges that the dualism free-soul—life-soul (case B 2) is the commonest form of soul-dualism. This is certainly not an accident. By emphasizing the vegetative functions in man the life-soul gets a physical association which throws it into sharp relief to the unbound free-soul. The dualism free-soul—life-soul thus comes to be the most pronounced and typical form of soul-dualism. One may say that the dualism functions best in this form. The dualism free-soul —ego-soul (case B 3), again, contains the seed of its own dissolution, inasmuch as the ego-soul, on account of its inadequate physical anchorage, easily changes places in the dual relation (case C 1) or ends up at both poles of the latter (case C 2).

The dynamic structure of soul-dualism naturally makes it easiest to understand and seize it in its operative activity. We cannot, however, use this approach at the present stage, as it presupposes a more detailed

[1] The different types of free-soul are presented in § 16.

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knowledge of the functioning soul-elements, a knowledge not imparted by the survey given in the foregoing (§§5—9). In a coming chapter we shall give a complete account of the phenomenology of the souls under discussion.[2] We must therefore reserve our views on active soul-dualism until later.[3]

From the data collected it is also possible to reconstruct, on broad lines, the distribution of soul-dualism. As there is a great risk that these data do not completely cover the area in which soul-dualism has actually existed, they cannot be exploited statistically. It may confidently be affirmed, however, that the dualism in soul-beliefs has existed in a rather even distribution over the whole of native North America, with the exception of the Pueblo region. The latter must instead be considered to form part of the area of distribution for the belief in an unitary soul—and the gravitational centre, so to speak, of this area was presumably in Mexico and the countries to the south of Mexico, in the American high-culture.

By incorporating the dualistic way of regarding the soul in a study of distribution we shall also be able to establish its age in relation to other soul-beliefs—I am thinking here chiefly of the belief in an unitary soul.

We have already, from other points of departure, tried to establish the origin of belief in the soul in a primitive dualism.[4] In this connection we asserted that soul-dualism constitutes a psychologically primitive phenomenon which—if our argument holds good—has probably occurred among all primitive peoples. What decides the priority of the dualistic conception of the soul is, it seems to me, the fact that it has a directness and an inner self-evidence that the unitary soul-belief lacks. Functionally and psychologically, the unitary soul represents a younger type of soul than the two souls constituting dualism. Considered in the broadest historical perspective, it should therefore also be a younger development of the soul.[5]

[2] See chap. IV.
[3] See chap. VIII, § 30.
[4] See above, pp. 23 sqq.
[5] Ehnmark has quite rightly pointed out that in the study of primitive religion historical and psychological arguments have been mixed together, and both have been taken to throw light upon the problems of origin (Ehnmark 1950, 13 sq.). From the point of view of principle, such a procedure is of course not to be recommended. But if one is aware of the dangers one may in particular cases nevertheless try the possibility of exploiting the psychological facts for historical reconstruction. The picture of the age of soul-dualism in North America that it is possible to evoke with the aid of historical methods agrees well with the idea of the priority of dualism we have chosen to assert with psychological methods. See below. Cf. also Rivers 1926, 7.

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Now the results of historical scope and universal import we have arrived at through psychological considerations can, in a limited field—North America—be checked against the results we obtain by using our knowledge of the distribution. The methods here entailed are two: the geographical diffusionistic method and the method of cultural association.[6]

The first-mentioned of these methods, the »age and area» method so frequently applied by Wissler and others,[7] is, certainly, much debated, and it must be applied with caution.[8] In many cases, however, the historical reconstructions based upon this method have proved tenable when it has been possible to judge them by comparing them with e. g. the testimony of old written documents. It is interesting to find that when applied to our material the method supports the assumption of the priority of soul-dualism in North America. Through its wide distribution over almost the whole of North America (except the Pueblo area), soul-dualism may be conceived as older than the belief in the unitary soul, whose occurrence is more restricted.[9] Soul-dualism has an uninterrupted area of distribution from America to the Old World, whereas the unitary soul has a more central area of distribution culminating in Central America and the Pueblo area. The belief in one soul constitutes an enclave in a field that is dominated by the belief in two souls.

It is more difficult to show precisely the occurrence of dualism according to the cultural areas, indicating its place in the historical stratification of the soul-conceptions within smaller geographical regions. Such a method might possibly be able to reveal in greater detail the historical phases in the development of soul-beliefs in North America, but it falls short here owing to the incompleteness and unevenness of the available data.

One might perhaps imagine that the application of the method of cultural associations was not in any degree worth mentioning calculated to further our endeavour to solve the problem of the age of the conceptions of the soul. There is no complex of ideas of any definite age with which the soul-ideas might be associated. The association with the sickness-complex of soul loss, which one might perhaps be disposed to recommend, is without value, since the age of this complex cannot

[6] See Sapir 1916.
[7] See Wissler 1926, 197 sqq. Cf. Kroeber's conception of history (Kroeber 1946, 11).
[8] See Wallis 1945.
[9] As we shall find, it is scarcely possible to adduce a definite instance of the unitary soul in aboriginal Canada (below § 12).

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now be said to be definitely fixed.[10] But the association may be made on broader lines; for if the soul-ideologies are correlated with the cultural stratification one obtains a good criterion for the relative chronology. We may observe that the nearer one approaches the high-culture, the more predominant does the unitary soul become; and the further away from the high-culture one is, the more does the dualistic ideology predominate. This gives us reliable *points de repère* for the chronology. The unitary soul in the Pueblo culture proves through its uniformity over the whole area to have arisen, here, everywhere under the same historical conditions, and one is justified in assuming that the impulses proceeded from the same late cultures as produced the Mexican high-culture.[11] Soul-dualism, on the other hand, reflects a more primitive cultural stratum: it constitutes a condition of ideas that has its chief anchorage among the more primitive peoples outside the high-cultures. Historically and psychologically, soul-dualism is connected with North Asiatic primitive soul-belief of the same kind.[12] It should thus be older than the conception of a single soul.

The geographical distribution of soul-dualism is in itself sufficient to give the impression that this form of belief constituted the predominant type of soul-belief in North America. This impression is strengthened by the results at which we arrive from a statistical survey of our data. We have been able to record about 80 cases of soul-dualism as against about 40 cases of belief in the unitary soul—of the latter, however, many are uncertain.[13] Even if the reports concerning the number of cases of soul-dualism are of course very provisional, they would have to be very radically revised for the proportions to be so modified as to be entirely upset. It seems, therefore, that the cases of dual souls have been about twice as numerous as the cases of unitary soul.

Further than this our calculations cannot be driven. The problem as to the frequency of soul-dualism is of a quantitative nature, and may easily lead us onto very uncertain ground. No investigation, however careful, can give an exact determination of the relative commonness of dualistic soul-belief in North America.

[10] See below, § 31.

[11] The Hohokam culture in Arizona, for instance, seems at an early stage to have had a close affinity with contemporaneous Mexican cultures, especially the Teotihuacan. Steward includes both Mexico and the Southwest in his "Formative Period" (Steward 1947, 88, note 3).

[12] See the survey in Thalbitzer 1930 b, 91 sq.; see further Harva (Holmberg) 1927, 472 sqq., Harva 1938, 250 sqq.

[13] See § 12.

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One should above all bear in mind the fact that dualism may have existed in places where the researcher has never discovered it.[14] Where it has not been conceptually fixed, as it were, with linguistic means of expression it may very well have existed psychologically and in reality. We have found reason to suspect that the Cora knew of a free-soul which was able to act independently of the body; but no name for this soul has been noted.[15] As we have seen, among the Winnebago the free-soul of the living individual is concealed under the designation for the deceased.[16] The Papago believe in two souls, but they have only one name for the soul.[17] This may of course be due to the fact that the name for one of the souls did at one time exist, but has now been forgotten. It should, however, be mentioned here that in the well-preserved soul-beliefs of the Havasupai the free-soul may operate nameless, as the human being himself in his entire totality.[18] Sometimes, of course, it is possible to show that the dualism has been forgotten. One instance, taken at random: Alfred Wright, who at the beginning of the 19th century wrote an interesting document on the Choctaw with notes concerning, inter alia, their dual soul-belief,[19] writes: "The knowledge of this distinction between the outside and inside shadow, appears in a measure lost by the present generation".[20]

And finally, it may be worth while noting that the soul-dualism is not always suitable for conceptual representation, and should be seen, as *experienced in given situations*, under a dynamic, functional aspect.[21] Dr. Marian Smith found that it was only in connection with their accounts of the influence of dwarves over human beings that the Puyallup and Nisqually Indians revealed their conception of an ego-soul.[22]

Are there then no possibilities of deducing a more genuine and factual belief in dual souls from certain of the data concerning the belief in what may be only superficially an unitary soul—data concerning its general character, its mode of functioning? It seems probable that where a single soul of free-soul type has been noted and the symptoms

[14] Cf. the discussion above, pp. 13 sq.
[15] Cf. above, p. 47.
[16] Cf. above, p. 89.
[17] Gifford 1940, 166.
[18] Cf. above, p. 102.
[19] Cf. above, p. 88.
[20] Swanton 1931, 217. Cf. also my instance from the Wind River Shoshoni, above p. 38.
[21] Cf. above, pp. 109 sq.
[22] Smith 1940, 131.

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of life are not bound to its appearance outside the body, we should be able to assume soul-dualism.[23]

Here, however, we must be careful to draw the distinction between current belief and older modes of conception. It is of course by no means certain that the Indian feels the logical contrast between physical life and extra-physical spiritual manifestation as a problem.[24] We shall find that in several cases a soul detachable from the body in dreams may be proved to constitute an unitary soul. In such cases the possible explanation may be that the free-soul has predominated over the body-soul and ousted the latter. Such a development is thus conceivable; indeed, our as it would seem fully confirmed hypothesis concerning the lines of development of the soul-belief makes it probable. But the dualistic explanation is not necessary to explain the soul-belief at the time when it was noted down.

If in my account of the belief in dual souls I have been obliged to omit a number of cases which, if more had been known about them, should perhaps have been included in the list, the foregoing collection of data has nevertheless been sufficient to show that in its most typical form soul-dualism demonstrates the reciprocity between free-soul and life-soul, that it represents the oldest form of soul-belief in North America and that up to the Christian mission period—frequently enough even up to our own days—it has been the most general form of soul-belief in North America.

[23] Our sources are not always of such a kind that an alleged unitary soul-concept can be translated to the one or other category of souls. One must, for example, beware of believing that the numerous cases of "soul loss" prove anything concerning the nature of the lost soul; for it is not always the free-soul that is lost in cases of sickness or accident. This fate may overtake several souls, and sometimes it is not a soul, but the individual's guardian spirit that departs. See § 24.

[24] Cf. above, p. 42.

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III. SECONDARY SOUL-SYSTEMS

11. The four souls

The foregoing investigation has shown that also in North America, despite James and Conard, dualism must be regarded as a fundamental principle in connection with soul-belief. It emerges as a psychologically given principle underlying all primitive soul-belief, and one which in the course of development is gradually obscured by the historically conditioned forms of the soul that grow up under its aegis. Finally it is replaced in certain quarters by a new principle, which so to speak acts on top of the old one or completely ousts it.

The systems which in North America have more or less replaced the old dualism lack the latter's psychological self-evidence. The unitary soul can, certainly, assume the character or appearance of a natural soul-principle when it is developed around the concept of the person; but the belief in four souls has a hopelessly artificial character. In both cases, but especially the last-mentioned one, one sees the ordering influence of the speculative tendency. In the former case, as in all higher speculation, it runs in a monistic direction. In the last-mentioned case it is inspired by sacral ritualistic conditions to the construction of a four-soul system.[1]

The fourfold soul-concept developed according to ritual patterns may be a superstructure on a monistic or a dualistic soul-concept—we shall find instances of both cases. Many are the ways in which the development has proceeded. In a couple of cases the number four is arrived at by making the free-soul, together with the body-souls, form the magic number—though it may be difficult to decide whether deliberate speculation has been responsible or not. In other cases the measure of multiplying the free-souls is adopted. Where a monistic soul-concept constitutes the foundation, either this concept or some extension of the individual may be multiplied, the mystical extension then assuming the

[1] Concerning the sacredness of the number four in North America, see Brinton 1868, chap. III. Cf. above, pp. 29 sq.

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value of a soul. (Such an exploitation of the individual's "spiritual extensions" may of course also occur where the basic schema for the soul-belief is dualistic). Sometimes the innovating philosophers correlate genetically irrelevant ideas of spirit with the psychologically given soul-conceptions. Even the conceptions of the deceased—the spook-ghost, the deceased in the realm of the dead, and so forth—may in the religious speculation be so to speak projected backwards and associated with the conceptions of the souls of the living individual.[2]

We shall now investigate more closely the cases in which the soul-belief has been formulated according to the sacred principle of the number four. In this connection we shall have occasion to observe in greater detail the ways in which the above-mentioned combinations have been exploited.

The most easterly representative for the belief in four souls is the Yuchi tribe. The soul-conceptions of this tribe are doubtless a result of religious speculation. Speck writes: "The individual, according to Yuchi religious philosophy, possesses four spirits . . ., one of which at death remains in the spot where disembodiment took place, while two others hover in the vicinity of the tribesfolk and relatives. The information in regard to these two, however, is rather vague. The fourth starts upon a four days' journey along the rainbow trail eastward to . . . the haven of souls".[3] As Arbman has pointed out, these indications are too scanty to provide any definite knowledge of the more primitive soul-belief of the Yuchi Indians.[4] It seems not unlikely to me, however, that the first and the fourth of the souls listed here constitute the body-soul and the free-soul, while the two others are supplementary entities in the pneumatological system, probably the spook-ghost in a double form.[5]

The soul-beliefs of the Yuchi may be presumed to form a part of a wider, interesting historical context, for in its fourfold form the pluralistic soul-concept is most typical for some of the Sioux groups: Omaha, Mandan, Hidatsa, Oglala and some other Dakota groups. It is here most essential to bear in mind the fact that these tribes not only belong to the same linguistic family, but have been marshalled in a continuous area of distribution; they have probably, moreover, at one time been gathered in about the same tracts from which the Yuchi emigrated.[6] It

[2] Cf. above, p. 31: only through speculative mediation is this regressive process conceivable.
[3] Speck 1909 a, 97.
[4] Arbman 1927, 158 sq.
[5] Presumably localized forms of the deceased as spook-ghost.
[6] Bushnell 1934, map 2.

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thus seems as if the "four-soul system" was spread out over what was once a coherent cultural area, including, inter alia, the Sioux and the Yuchi. It then gradually faded away. This assumption is supported by the fact that the four souls are not found among the conceptions of the isolated outposts of the Sioux: the Catawba, Winnebago and Crow.[7]

Of the Omaha (and Ponca) J. O. Dorsey writes that "every person is taught to have a wanaxe or spirit, which does not perish at death".[8] Dorsey seems to base this remark upon pronouncements by the Omaha Indians Joseph La Flèche and Two Crows, who declared that "the Omaha did not believe that a person had more than one spirit".[9] In this point they definitely denied the correctness of a statement made by Gahige, the deceased chief of one of the Buffalo gentes. "Gahige", says Dorsey, "was understood to speak of four spirits or souls to each person". Among other things he is supposed to have remarked that a dying member of a gens had been addressed "You are going", or "Your four souls are going, to the four winds".[10] The parallelization between the number of the souls and of the winds is probably not accidental; if my cultural reconstruction, sketched in the foregoing, holds good, it is of ancient date. La Flèche and Two Crows must in this case be considered to represent either a more popular, or else a more modern view.[11] The latter appears most likely. From Joseph La Flèche's son Francis, Miss Fletcher got the impression that only the belief in a single soul was held: "There was no belief among the Omaha in a multiplicity of souls—'man has but one spirit' the old men declared".[12] The example shows how quickly an older tradition can fall into oblivion.

Prince Maximilian of Wied has given the oldest description of the soul-beliefs of the Mandan. "In einem jeden Menschen sollen nach ihrem Glauben vier Geister wohnen; ein schwarzer, ein brauner und auch ein lichtfarbiger, und dieser letztere allein kehre zu dem Herrn des Lebens zurück".[13] Unfortunately, this description suffers from two defects: the fourth soul is not mentioned in any detail, and one gets no clear idea of the fates of the different souls.[14] Curtis's data are here needed as a complement. He states that "the human being has four shadows, all souls,

[7] Concerning the soul-beliefs of the Winnebago, see above, p. 89; concerning the soul-beliefs of the Catawba and Crow, see below, pp. 133 sq.
[8] Dorsey 1894, 419.
[9] Dorsey, op.cit., 421.
[10] Dorsey 1884, 229, Dorsey 1894, 420 sq.
[11] Cf. below, p. 133.
[12] Fletcher & La Flesche 1911, 589.
[13] Wied 1841 II, 206.
[14] Cf. the reinterpretation in Will & Spinden 1906, 133.

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one black, two lighter, and one almost indistinguishable, so transparent is it"; it is the last-mentioned, continues Curtis, that at death betakes itself to the realm of the dead.[15] It has already been indicated that this belief in four souls is traceable to an original soul-dualism.[16]

J. O. Dorsey has reproduced the Prince of Wied's description, but in such a way that one gets the impression that the Mandan reckoned with three, and not four, souls.[17] The same erroneous view is conveyed by Bushnell's quotation from the same original source.[18] But the prince expressly mentions four souls, and also Curtis gives this number.

The soul-beliefs of the Hidatsa must have resembled those of the Mandan, to judge from Matthews's account. "It is believed by some of the Hidatsa that every human being has four souls in one". These leave the person successively at the approach of death—i. e. their departure causes death—, to be reunited again after death.[19] We are told nothing concerning their special functions. Arbman, however, is of the opinion that it is "äusserst wahrscheinlich, dass wir in diesen 'Seelen' teils die Psyche, teils auch gewisse 'Seelen' des Körpers, geistige Potenzen oder Wesenheiten, die als Träger des physischen und psychischen Lebens aufgefasst sind, zu sehen haben".[20] This is doubtless correct, and is confirmed by Curtis's material, where, certainly, only three of the four souls are referred to—perhaps the fourth had been forgotten in Curtis's time—,[21] but where the dualism between free-soul and ego-soul is clearly seen.[22]

Among the East Dakota, as we have seen, one finds, alongside the belief in two souls, also the belief in four souls.[23] An older source mentions even three souls. "The Scioux", writes the traveller Le Sueur about the year 1700, "generally say they have three souls, and that, after death, that which has done well goes to the warm country, that which

[15] Curtis 1909 V, 19 sq.

[16] See above, p. 92. Dorman, cited by James, considers that these numerous souls represent an evolutionistic series, different aspects of the soul being successively developed without supplanting one another (James 1927, 349). It should be noted, however, that it is the forms in which the deceased person is revealed, and not the souls, that Dorman has evidently been considering.

[17] Dorsey 1894, 512. James, who quotes Dorsey, thus remarks that "the Mandan thought that of the three souls composing a human being, one was black..." etc. (James, op.cit., 348 sq.).

[18] Bushnell 1927, 70.

[19] Matthews 1877, 50. Cf. also Dorsey 1894, 517, and Dorsey 1893 a, 298.

[20] Arbman, op.cit., 157.

[21] According to Curtis the individual is, certainly, constituted by four components, but only three of these are souls: "The living man is of four parts, the flesh-and-blood body and three spirits...".

[22] Curtis 1909 IV, 143. Cf. above, p. 91.

[23] Skinner 1919 a, 169. Cf. above, p. 90.

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has done evil to the cold regions, and the other guards the body".[24] It is very probable, however, that the French pioneer got only a superficial and incorrect view of the soul-beliefs of the Dakota. Several well-informed sources from the middle of the 19th century document a well-developed, stabilized four-soul belief. We shall here give an account of these sources, whose authors are Prescott, Eastman, Neill and Lynd.

The soul-conceptions of the Dakota have become well-known through Tylor, who took his material from Schoolcraft.[25] Schoolcraft, in his turn, reproduces what he was told by Mr. Philander Prescott of the Fort Snelling Agency, Minnesota, concerning the Dakota living here: "They say one person has four souls; one goes to the land of spirits, one goes in the air, one remains about the corpse, and one stays in the village".[26]

Possibly Prescott bases his account on Mary Eastman, whose work on the Dakota around Fort Snelling appeared in 1849. Mary Eastman states that the East Dakota believed in four souls, of which after death one wandered about in the world, one guarded the body, one haunted in the village and one betook itself to the realm of the dead.[27] Eastman's report, as we see, agrees in the main with Prescott's.

With minor deviations, also Neill's and Lynd's descriptions fall into the same pattern. Neill reports that "the sacred men say that a Dakota has four souls": when the person dies one of these remains with the body, while another is united with a so-called "bundle" composed of the hair and apparel of the deceased; a third goes to the realm of the dead and a fourth is reincarnated, either in a human being or in an animal.[28]

According to Lynd, the Dakota believe that every human being has at least four souls. "The first is supposed to be a spirit of the body, and dies with the body. The second is a spirit which always remains with or near the body. Another is the soul which accounts for the deeds of the body, and is supposed by some to go to the south, by others, to the west, after the death of the body. The fourth always lingers with the small bundle of hair of the deceased, kept by the relatives until they have a chance to throw it into the enemy's country, when it becomes a roving, restless spirit, bringing death and disease to the enemy whose

[24] Le Sueur 1872, 329.
[25] Tylor 1929 I, 434. Cf. also Hagar 1908, 433.
[26] Schoolcraft 1860 IV, 70; cf. also Schoolcraft 1853 III, 229.
[27] Eastman 1849, 129 note, 190.
[28] Neill 1872, 293.

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country it is in. ... Some Sioux claim ... that there is a fifth spirit which enters the body of some animal or child after death. As far as I am aware this belief is not general, though they differ in their accounts of the spirits of man, even in number".[29]

This description, too, has become classical, and has frequently been quoted or referred to.[30] Its data are so precisely rendered that it is easy to glimpse the original dualism through the veil of the four-fold division.[31] In the first-mentioned soul one has no difficulty in recognizing the life-soul, while it is equally evident that the third is the deceased in a central sense, presumably also in the life-time of the individual a combined ego and free soul.[32] The spirit, which after death remains near the corpse, can scarcely be anything other than the spook-ghost.[33] The fourth "soul" may possibly, according to Arbman, be the deceased in the form in which he is revealed before his departure for the land of the dead.[34] It is probably identical with the lock of hair which the relatives of the dead person were in the habit of cutting off, and which was called the "ghost".[35] This lock used to be preserved for a time with ritual forms, and was then either conveyed to enemy territory[36] or else buried on the territory of the tribe.[37]

Behind this custom we may trace the solicitous care bestowed by the survivors upon the welfare of a well-loved relative, a preparation for his blessed departure. In order to alleviate the pain bereavement and to get time to honour the memory of the deceased, his final departure is delayed. The dead person thus continues for a time to dwell among the living in the shape of the spirit-dummy made of his hair and clothes. Dorsey comments: "They think that, until the hair is buried, the deceas-

[29] Lynd 1889, 155 sq., 156 note; cf. op.cit., 169. See also Dorsey 1894, 484.
[30] Cf. e. g. Skinner 1920 b, 577; James, op.cit., 348; Arbman, op.cit., 151 sqq.
[31] Cf. above, pp. 30, 91. See also Arbman, op.cit., 152.
[32] Lynd's formulation to the effect that this soul answers for the "deeds of the body" may also be interpreted in another way. Possibly Lynd is only referring to the circumstance that the said soul after death represents especially the individuality of the deceased (cf. Arbman, op.cit., 153, note 1). This must be the reason, in this case, why Dorsey calls it "the true soul" (Dorsey, op.cit., 484). This interpretation does not rule out the possibility that the "true" soul was also an ego-soul, which seems likely to me, not least in the light of Walker's material (cf. above, p. 91).
[33] This is how also Arbman interprets this conception, Arbman, op.cit., 152 sq.
[34] Arbman, op.cit., 153 sq.
[35] Dorsey, op.cit., 484, 487 sqq.
[36] Lynd, op.cit., 155 sq.; Neill, op.cit., 293; Pond 1908, 485.
[37] See Dorsey, op.cit., loc.cit.; Dorsey 1889 c, 143, 145 sqq.; Fletcher 1884, 296 sqq.; Eastman 1911, 154 sq. Cf. also Beckwith 1889, 248; Curtis 1908 III, 99 sqq.; Yarrow 1881, 108. All these data for the Dakota; for the Kansas, see Dorsey 1894, 421. Among the Dakota the ritual is called "Ghost Lodge", "Shadow Lodge" or "Ghost Keeper Rite". It is connected with a corresponding Central Algonquin custom (Skinner 1919 a, 169).

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ed is really present with the household, and that when this burial takes place he dies a second time".[38] When the ceremony is over the dead man may embark upon his journey to the land of the dead. It is thus not until now that he is released from all earthly ties. Miss Fletcher reports that after a time during which the lock of hair from a deceased Oglala child has been made the object of special ceremonies, "the hair (is) once more handed back to the mother who either keeps it, or buries it, and the soul of the child, which has been supposed to linger about the pack, is now free to depart".[39] Sometimes the "image" of the deceased is thrown into enemy territory, in order to get the company and attendance on his journey of some enemy, whom the vengeful mourners here kill for him (Pond), or so that he himself, as a ravaging ghost, may visit death and destruction upon the enemy, and in this way assure himself of fellow-travellers who will minister to his needs[40] (Lynd).[41] He may then continue on his journey to the happy hunting grounds.

It thus emerges that Arbman's interpretation of the nature of the fourth soul is, to judge from all the evidence, the correct one. Lynd's fifth soul, identical with Neill's fourth, is not, any more than the preceding one, an ordinary soul. It is the deceased person in his capacity of future living being, considered from the point of view of the belief in reincarnation.

While Lynd's data refer in the main to the East Dakota, Walker describes the soul-beliefs of a prominent peripheral West Dakota group, the Oglala of the Teton branch. Among the Oglala one finds a well-developed shamanistic speculation concerning the soul-concept. But whereas in the previous case the number four was applied to the functional or manifestation forms that are combined with the spiritual and physical life of the living or dead person, it was among the Oglala applied still more abstractly, as a classificatory principle for all manifestations of spiritual and physical life, divine, human and organic in general. The souls of human beings, animals and plants are therefore brought together in one category, *wakanlapi*, i. e. "the Gods-like".[42]

[38] Dorsey 1894, 488.
[39] Fletcher, op.cit., 306.
[40] The Sioux and the Algonquin imagine that slain enemies serve their slayers on the latters' journey to the realm of the dead. Cf. especially Fletcher & La Flesche 1911, 594.
[41] Dorsey quotes Lynd in such a way that one is given to understand that the dead man was believed to *remain* in the enemy country as a ravaging ghost. But this is not what Lynd wrote (cf. above), nor, presumably, was it his opinion, even if he does not say anything about the fate of the "ghost" in the sequel.
[42] Walker 1917, 80.

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These, according to the very subtle shaman speculation, are "immaterial Gods that abide or have abided in material things. While these are four kinds there are many of each kind. But all of each kind should be considered as only one when considering them as Gods".[43] This implies that all souls of a certain kind (e. g. each person's free-soul) constitute manifestations of an universal divine hypostasis, a divine soul-concept.

The so-called *Wakanlapi* are *nagi, niya, nagiya* and *sicun.* Of these, we have already interpreted *nagi* and *niya* as free-soul—ego-soul and life-soul.[44] As we shall see later, *nagiya* is a sort of free-soul, which is found in other beings than man.[45] And *sicun* is man's supernatural power or "guardian angel".[46] Its character is described in the following terms: "It is the potency of mankind and the emitted potency of the Gods. ... Its functions are to enable its possessor to do those things which the beasts cannot do and to give courage and fortitude. It may be pleased or displeased with its possessor and may be operative or inoperative according to its pleasure. It may be invoked by ceremony or prayer ..." All these are attributes indicating *sicun* as the guardian spirit, the supernatural helper. That this is how *sicun* should be understood is confirmed by Walker's information concerning its connection with *wasicun,* the medicine-bag: "a *sicun* is operative only when it is a part of a *wasicun*".[47] *Sicun* has no other significance than spirit of power, guardian spirit. Walker does, it is true, mention that "other *sicun* are the dissociated spirits that wander over the world ...".[48] He is here referring to the spirits of the deceased that have not been admitted to the realm of the dead. "They may become the familiars of the very old and do their bidding".[49] They fall therewith into the same class as other guardian spirits, and may consequently be referred to as *sicun.*[50]

Three souls and a conception of power thus constitute the soul-belief of initiated shamans among the Oglala. In this connection it should be noted that of the three souls, only two belong to man. The notion of the four "souls" is a pure construction without any psychological foundation.

There are scattered instances of a belief in four souls outside the circle

[43] Walker, op.cit., 86.
[44] See above, p. 91. See also Arbman, op.cit., 161.
[45] See below, § 33.
[46] Lowie 1925 b, 105. For the interpretation of *sicun,* cf. also Arbman, op.cit., 160 sq. See further § 22.
[47] Walker, op.cit., 87 sq.
[48] Walker, op.cit., 88.
[49] Walker, op.cit., 86. Cf. also op.cit., 90.
[50] Concerning *sicun,* see also Walker, op.cit., 156, 158 sq.

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of the Yuchi and Sioux Indians. But these peripheral cases probably have no connection with the central area of distribution of four-soul speculation.

We may turn first to Boas's interesting communications concerning the soul-belief of the Cowichan of the Lower Fraser River. According to these Indians "man is believed to have four souls. The main soul is said to have the shape of a mannikin, the others are the shadows of the first. In disease either the lesser souls, or the main one, leave the body. Shamans can easily return the shadows, but not the main soul. If the latter leaves the body the sick one must die. After death the main soul goes to the sunset, where it remains. The shadows become ghosts. They revisit the places which the deceased frequented during lifetime, and continue to do the same actions which he did when alive".[51]

Boas's description confronts us with two different problems, which are, however, closely connected with each other. The first refers to the question as to *which* Cowichan are referred to. A reply to this question might give us supplementary material in other sources.[52] But we are not given any such reply. The second problem refers to the direct interpretation of the import in the incomplete information given by Boas. Such an interpretation is of course rather difficult to make.[53] I should propose, however, the following hypothetical solution of the problem.

I presume that the minor souls constitute elements which are less firmly associated with the individual and which may leave him without immediate risk to his life. We may divine that one of these elements is the free-soul; another must be the physical shadow, since Boas says that "the belief of the identity of the shadow and the lesser soul accounts also for the custom that nobody must let his shadow fall on a sick shaman, as the latter might take it, and thus replace his own lost soul".[54] As we shall find later, the shadow is among many peoples a dominating mystical individual extension.[55] Among the Salish groups it is prominent in this capacity among the Sinkaietk.[56] Also among some Cowichan, it would appear, it plays such a prominent rôle that it has assumed a complete soul-character. The religious thinkers have probably doubled it, so that together with the free-soul and the main soul it may form the notion of the four souls. Thus, behind the four-soul idea one

[51] Boas 1894 b, 461.
[52] See above, pp. 69 sq.
[53] As regards this case, "so steht man zwar ihm gegenüber vor einer offenen Frage", says Arbman (Arbman, op.cit., 158; cf. op.cit., 151 sq.).
[54] Boas, op.cit., 461 sq.
[55] See below, § 18.
[56] See above, p. 67.

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glimpses a primary soul-dualism.[57] James sees in the main soul "the vital essence", "the life".[58] This would appear to be a correct thought, since its absence implies the appearance of death.[59]

We have already pointed out that the Quileute distinguish between a free-soul, two life-souls and a fourth soul, which may possibly be an ego-soul.[60] This division into four is, however, rather self-evident, and it shows no definite traces of speculative modification.

From the Yuman peoples of the Southwest we may adduce a couple of cases in which religious speculation has given rise to four free-souls.

For the Kamia it was naturally an advantage to possess, as was often the case, several free-souls. For "a person with more than one soul might become ill from the theft of one, but would still live".[61] This gives rise to the suspicion that among this people the notion of the multiple soul is more than a pure product of speculation. My impression is that certain functions of a vanished conception of a life-soul have been transferred to the free-soul.[62] When we read that "some persons had as many as four souls" (i. e. free-souls), this means that religious thought has ordered the split up conceptions of the free-soul according to the principle of the sacred number four. But it should at the same time not be forgotten that the Kamia knew of at least one further soul, the soul of the conscious principle, the experience of the ego.[63]

We find, on the other hand, a regular belief in four souls among the Mohave, and all the souls seem to give expression to free-soul qualities. Devereux has given a detailed description of this peculiar soul-belief.[64] "All human beings have four souls", he says, "all of which resemble the body and duplicate its actions. They also have activities of their own. ... These souls are occasionally visible to their owner and to shamans. Occasionally they may also appear in dream to other persons. It is impossible to tell however just *how* one knows which soul one sees. 'One just knows it'. They can act independently of each other, as when one of the souls goes to visit the land of the dead".[65]

It is evident that we have here to do with a fourfold free-soul belief.

[57] Cf. above, p. 69.
[58] James, op.cit., 343.
[59] Only the life-soul can know the breaking up of which Boas speaks: "Sometimes the shaman sees the main soul breaking into several parts. The owner of the broken soul must die" (Boas, op.cit., 462).
[60] See above, p. 70.
[61] Gifford 1931, 71.
[62] "For 'life' no term was obtained", Gifford says (op.cit., 70).
[63] See above, p. 100.
[64] Devereux 1937, 417 sqq.
[65] Devereux, op.cit., loc.cit.

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The first of the four souls is man's "real shadow" or "second self", "in a way the core of his identity". One can see this soul in dreams, and it is the only one of the four souls that survives death. It is, one might say, the free-soul *par préférence*. The second soul in order is man's "power soul", which brings happiness in dreams and invests its owner with shamanistic capacities; it is obviously a fusion between the conceptions of the free-soul and the guardian spirit.[66] The third soul, "the soul through whose agency one acquires wealth", has a similar character. And the fourth soul, finally, "is seen only when one is about to die". Although from the psychological point of view it is an aspect of the free-soul—viz. the free-soul in the moment when it forever leaves the body—it has been fixated as a fourth soul, an image of the person, which perishes when the corpse is burnt.[67]

This development of the free-soul concept has, it appears to me, its natural background. Kroeber has pointed out the enormously important rôle played by dreams in Mohave culture.[68] It is then not so surprising if the free-soul—i. e. the dream-soul—has been stressed at the expense of the body-soul. The free-soul has expanded and been multiplied at the same time as its functions have been differentiated, while the body-soul has been entirely stifled. Presumably the remains of a soul of consciousness still lingers in the main soul, for it is said that this is the soul "whereby one is 'proud' or 'vain' ", and it is, it is emphasized, "in a way the core of his (= the individual's) identity".[69] The notion of the four souls is certainly a construction due to the Mohave philosophers.

It is unfortunately only in a couple of cases possible to establish to what extent the speculatively developed four-soul concept has been general property or not in the ethnical groups in which it has appeared.

Some of the Plains tribes belonging to the Sioux seem to have made the four-soul idea a secret doctrine, reserved for a few initiates. Thus the four-soul theory of the Hidatsa was not generally accepted, if we are to believe Matthews.[70] S. W. Pond declares that among the Dakota in Minnesota the doctrine of the four souls was "the contrivance of some inventive genius to explain difficulties and reconcile inconsistencies".[71] He continues: "Whatever some individual Dakotas, when hard pressed by embarrassing questions, may have said about several souls

[66] Ibidem.
[67] Devereux, op.cit., 419. See § 23.
[68] Kroeber 1902, 280; Kroeber 1907 b, 341.
[69] Devereux, op.cit., 418.
[70] Cf. the expression "believed by some...", quoted above, p. 118.
[71] Pond, op.cit., 426.

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belonging to one person, or to each individual, is not to be taken as the common faith of the people. It was evidently the popular belief that each individual had one soul, and not, as some have affirmed, that each one was to be divided into three or four distinct beings after death. From the common conversation of the people no one would ever learn or suspect that they believed a man has more than one soul. They speak of the soul of man just as we do, as one and identical with the body to which it belonged".[72]

The Oglala had, as we have found, the most intricate and the most abstract soul-ideology. It is therefore not so surprising if the knowledge of this soul-belief was secret and reserved for the shamans. After having mentioned that the four divine *Wakan Tanka* are one and the same, the Oglala shaman Finger said: "The shamans know how this is, but the people do not know. It is a *wakan* (a mystery)".[73] And the case can scarcely have been otherwise with the knowledge of the unity of the souls (see above). The secrecy was facilitated by the fact that there existed a ceremonial language known only by the medicine-men.[74]

As to the general acceptance of the four-soul theory and the foundation of the four-soul belief among the other peoples mentioned here, we know nothing. But it is sufficiently obvious that a soul-idea which by the side of the ordinary soul-associations connected with the individual's physical and psychic existence also includes expressions for life and power from potencies coming from without can scarcely claim to be really experienced. This appears to constitute the real hindrance to a popular anchorage of the four-soul concept.

But if, on the other hand, we look less to the results than to the general tendency of this speculation about four souls, we get a wider perspective of development. This general tendency, as Lowie points out, exemplifies "the attempts of the Indian metaphysicians to grapple with the problems of psychology and of existence as a whole".[75] And Arbman speaks of an incipient analysis of the conception of the soul.[76]

Finally, it may be remarked that the belief in four souls also exists or has existed beyond the frontiers of North America. I need only refer to Dennet's and Miss Kingsley's notes from West Africa.

[72] Pond, op.cit., 427. That the common people among the Dakota believed in only one soul is an uncertain conclusion—Pond seems to identify the soul and the deceased person, but it is obviously the latter he is here speaking of.

[73] Walker, op.cit., 155. The theological speculation here touched upon by Finger is discussed in § 14.

[74] Walker, op.cit., 78 sq.; Riggs 1893, 166; Densmore 1918, 120, note 1.

[75] Lowie 1925 b, 105.

[76] Arbman, op.cit., 158.

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12. *The unitary soul*

Research in our time has, as has already been pointed out, tended to regard the belief in an unitary soul among primitive peoples as naturally given. That this view is by no means always justified has been shown in the foregoing account. The belief in an unitary, undivided soul-principle is not so self-evident and primary as it has been made out to be. On the contrary, the development traceable in North American soul-belief seems to have proceeded from dualism to monism, from the belief in several souls to a belief in a single soul. Such a development is also, when considered more deeply, more psychologically comprehensible than a development in the opposite direction.

We have in the foregoing studied soul-dualism and the belief, arising partly from a dualistic, partly from a monistic, conception of the soul, in a fourfold soul-concept—in so far as it is here possible to speak of "belief". But the four-soul idea represents a side-track in the history of soul-belief. The most important speculation away from the fundamental dualism ends in the assumption of an unitary soul. We shall now begin to consider this last-mentioned conception. Our first task will be to try, by a detailed study of the data referring to only a single soul, to ascertain the occurrence of the unitary soul in North America. With the support of the more reliable instances we shall then give a survey of the historical distribution and the general structure of the unitary soul. It remains, finally, to discuss the processes that have led to its development.

The first of the tasks formulated above is by no means the simplest. It is extremely difficult to classify the nature of a soul-concept when it cannot be proved to be pluralistic. Several of our sources speak of a single soul or may give the impression of speaking of a single soul; but the problem is how far one may rely upon the correctness of these communications. We have explained earlier why we have in several cases ascribed to them such a restricted value.[1]

A special remark is here called for. We have already seen that the direct proofs that a dualistic soul-concept has existed are often difficult to find, and that they have frequently appeared in a very accidental manner.[2] And in connection with this circumstance it may be emphasized that through its self-evident presence and intimate, unreflected relation to the individual—whether as a replication of himself or as

[1] See above, p. 14. Cf. pp. 37 sqq.
[2] See above, p. 113.

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an inner functional spiritual substance—a soul-conception sometimes eludes the attention of the natives; they do not think of it, do not actualize it for their consciousness.[3] This is e. g. the case with the life-soul among the Bella Coola. "It is essentially a religious attribute, of greater moment to a man of imaginative and suggestible temperament than to one who carries on the daily routine without asking *why* and *wherefore*".[4] And conversely, a soul-conception evincing a high degree of emancipation from its possessor may be understood as an animistic being without any binding relation to the individual. A certain type of free-soul comes here immediately to mind: the soul which has developed into a power-soul and guardian spirit (§ 25). In this way the one or the other soul-conception in a dualistic setting may very well temporarily elude the Indian consciousness and the remaining soul be taken by the investigator as an unitary, closed concept.

The instances of unitary souls that will be adduced in the following are all "certain" in the sense that, as far as I have been able to find, they are not invalidated by any literary testimony. One might thus venture to assert that several of the instances only bear witness to the limitation of our source-material. According to the degree of reliability we may classify the instances in three groups:

A. The author of the source takes it for granted that the soul is unitary, without reflecting very closely upon the import of the soul-concept. It is to be regretted that the view of a primitive people's soul-belief accepted by research may easily be distorted by a mention of the "soul" on the part of the investigator without his clearly fixing or defining the import of the concept. It is wisest not to attach any value as proof to data of this kind.

B. The author of the source states that the soul which has been recorded is the only one that exists. The statement is made *explicite* or *implicite*. It may be correct, but is not necessarily so. In the foregoing we have already seen indications of the way in which an alleged unitary soul-belief has on closer scrutiny proved to have rather vaguely defined contours. It has been possible to show the supposedly unitary soul as a part-component in a dualistic soul-formation. Frequently the dualism has emerged more clearly when notes by different authors have been able to supplement each other.

[3] Cf. above, pp. 27, 103 sq.
[4] McIlwraith 1948 I, 100.

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C. The author of the source can establish it as a probability that the soul-belief in question is monistic; or this emerges from his material, whether he has commented upon it in the one direction or the other.

In several cases the unitary soul has doubtless been an actual reality. But it is seldom possible to establish the fact beyond question. In the majority of cases we are obliged to content ourselves with arguments of probability. Only in a limited number of cases is it definitely provable that the soul-concept has been unitary, as among the Pueblo peoples. Here we have a historically conditioned standardization of the soul-belief that excludes every assumption that the sources for these peoples' religions have not recorded all the soul-elements.

We may now proceed to the survey of data.

It has not been possible to find any definite instances of the unitary soul-concept in Canada—unless one is to include the soul-belief of the Naskapi, with its tendency to unitary conceptions. (We do not here classify the Assiniboin among the Canadian tribes.) The Athapascans have in general a pronounced soul-dualism.[5] Our information concerning the soul-belief of the East Athapascans is, certainly, rather inadequate, but we have no reason to suspect that it has been characterized by the notion of an unitary soul.[6] The same applies to the soul-beliefs of the Eyak.[7]

Some of the Canadian Plateau-Salish may possibly have conceived the soul as unitary, but we do not know this with certainty.[8] Some Salish groups south of the forty-ninth parallel, the Sanpoil and Nespelem, on the other hand, seem (at least in more recent times) to have held the belief in a single soul. Ray reports that according to these Indians every human being possessed one soul from the womb. This, like a body-soul, was intimately connected with the body, invisible and without definite contours. It was "that which animated the human body. It was conceived as a visceral entity, 'partitioned off in the body next to the heart'. It could not leave the body without causing death".[9] Thus an unitary soul with the attributes of the life-soul.

[5] Concerning the soul-beliefs of the modern Kaska, cf. below, pp. 205 sq.

[6] Cf. above, pp. 61 sq. Concerning the soul-beliefs of the Sarcee, Athapascan Indians nomadizing on the northern plains, we are unfortunately ill-informed. Jenness only mentions that they regarded the soul and the shadow as identical; but he does not make any attempt to describe the soul-conceptions (Jenness 1938, 39).

[7] Cf. above, p. 61.

[8] Cf. above, p. 65.

[9] Ray 1932, 169.

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the latter, in Curtis's opinion, reproduced above, was identical with the free-soul.[26] We are not told anything about a possible body-soul. It is to be regretted that in his very informative publications on the ethnography of the Blackfoot Indians Wissler has not included their soul-conceptions.

With this unsatisfactory state of affairs we must be content to leave the Algonquin peoples.

The notes that have been collected concerning the soul-beliefs of the Cherokee Indians seem to speak in favour of the existence of an unitary soul. Mooney and Olbrechts have shown how the soul-concepts of the Cherokee develop a number of shades of meaning, all of which, however, are covered by the comprehensive designation mind. "Soul and mind are almost synonymous to the Cherokee. They are at least two closely related manifestations of the same principle". All aspects of the soul-concept emerge from the same linguistic root; "this points to a semantic evolution which is very similar to that of the Latin 'animus' ".[27] Are there then here no traces of an emancipated life-soul, or of a free-soul?

To the first question one may immediately answer no—which should not be surprising, since the life-soul seldom appears when the ego-soul is dominant; both souls of course give expression to the same fundamental soul-conception, the body-soul.[28] To the second question one can answer both yes and no. Like the free-soul, the ego-soul can at times exist outside the body, e. g. when in connection with what we should call mental disease it is lost for the individual "for six or eight months, or even for a year".[29] It is in itself not surprising if the ego-soul is absent from the body during the period when the consciousness is not functioning normally. But in the actual idea of the soul's absence from the body one imagines one can trace the influence of a vanished free-soul conception. The vaguely formulated statement to the effect that the shadow was at one time associated with the soul may possibly be exploited in this connection.[30] But otherwise it is only very imperfectly that the features of the free-soul are manifested in the conception of the soul found among the Cherokee; it never, for example, appears as a dream-soul.[31]

[26] Uhlenbeck & van Gulik 1930, 91, 191; Uhlenbeck & van Gulik 1934, 363, 235.
[27] Mooney & Olbrechts 1932, 141.
[28] See below, § 15.
[29] Mooney & Olbrechts, op.cit., 16.
[30] Mooney & Olbrechts, op.cit., 141. It is also possible, however, that the shadow has here had the significance of an individual mystical extension.
[31] Mooney & Olbrechts, op.cit., loc.cit.

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the Shawnee we presume that they had the conception of a breath-soul.[20] As regards Keating's and Skinner's data on the soul-beliefs of the Sauk Indians, which contradict each other, we have already declared in favour of the former.[21]

The soul-beliefs held by some Plains Algonquin tribes are also rather puzzling.

The question is, what value can we attach to Skinner's report to the effect that the Mascoutens, i. e. the Plains Pottawatomi, believed in an unitary soul. "It is known", writes Skinner, "that they think that the human body has but one soul or spirit and not several. The Menomini and the Eastern Dakota, on the other hand, believe that there is more than one spirit".[22] As we know, Skinner also found a monistic soul-belief among the Sauk, but, as we have seen, his information was in this case of no particular value. Does the same perhaps apply to his data concerning the soul-beliefs of the Mascoutens? It would be difficult to say. But as long as it stands uncontradicted, we must accept his information as representative for the Indian belief.

The "soul-concept" I have previously referred to from the Arapaho[23] has perhaps nothing to do with the soul-conceptions of this tribe. But this is not necessarily the case. It is conceivable that a free-soul conception is concealed behind the difficultly interpretable nomenclature. Despite repeated attempts in the field to arrive at a definite conclusion concerning the soul-belief of the Arapaho, I did not succeed in establishing its pre-Christian structure.

The available information from other Plains Algonquin is, as we have found earlier, by no means such as to permit one to conclude without reservation that they believed in an unitary soul.[24] As far as one can find, the free-soul conception is best recorded. This applies, as we have seen, to the Cheyenne; and it holds good also for the Blackfoot. Concerning the shadow-soul of the Piegan, Curtis writes: "What they mean when they call a soul a shadow is not that the shadow cast by the body is the soul, but rather that the soul is an unsubstantial thing, as intangible as a shadow".[25] Uhlenbeck gives no word for soul, life, breath or mind in his vocabularies. He does, on the other hand, mention the ghost *(stáau)* and the shadow *(motáki)*, of which at least

[20] See above, p. 76.
[21] See above, pp. 79 sq.
[22] Skinner 1924, 52. Cf. Strong 1938, 25. Cf. below, p. 167.
[23] See above, p. 43.
[24] See above, pp. 82 sq.
[25] Curtis 1911 VI, 82; cf. Grinnell 1892, 273.

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the latter, in Curtis's opinion, reproduced above, was identical with the free-soul.[26] We are not told anything about a possible body-soul. It is to be regretted that in his very informative publications on the ethnography of the Blackfoot Indians Wissler has not included their soul-conceptions.

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[29] Mooney & Olbrechts, op.cit., 16.
[30] Mooney & Olbrechts, op.cit., 141. It is also possible, however, that the shadow has here had the significance of an individual mystical extension.
[31] Mooney & Olbrechts, op.cit., loc.cit.

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The Cherokee present us to-day with an example of a fairly well closed unitary soul-conception. Our investigation makes it probable, however, that a primitive soul-dualism formerly existed also among these Indians.

Among an easterly Siouan tribe, the Catawba, the name for the soul means roughly "shadow", but it "refers likewise to the 'spirit' or a person in a wide range of sense".[32] The term is thus used to express a "person's footprint, shadow, glass, picture, or spirit of a thing, person".[33] There can be no doubt but that what is here described is a free-soul conception. It is so pronounced that one has difficulty in imagining the soul-belief to be complete without a corresponding conception of a body-soul. But no body-soul has been noted. The problem as to how the soul-beliefs of the Catawba were organized must therefore be regarded as still unsolved.

The possibility that the Omaha held the belief in a single soul has already been mentioned (§ 11). It would seem as if an original dualism had long since been overlayered by a ritual four-soul concept, which has gradually faded and been replaced by an unitary soul.[34] Nor, of course, is it impossible that the last-mentioned concept is of very ancient date, and that as the more popular conception it ran parallel with the shamanistically coined, fourfold soul-concept. Such a division of faith would be natural in a community having several secret societies.[35]

After having mentioned the belief in four souls among the Hidatsa or Minitari,[36] Matthews writes: "I have heard a Minnetaree quietly discussing this doctrine with an Assinneboine, who believed in only one soul to each body".[37] This is the only information we have concerning the soul-beliefs of the Assiniboin Indians, and one must assume that it is correct. The field is then naturally free for various speculations, e. g. the assumption that the two Indians had misunderstood each other. It seems, however, most reasonable to assume that the belief in an unitary soul was a reality among the Assiniboin.

Also the Crow, split off from the Hidatsa, held, as far as we know, the belief in an unitary soul. Lowie observes that the Crow theories concerning the soul are rather superficial and often inconsistent. The word for soul, *iráaxe*, "is used in speaking of a person's will power and

[32] Speck 1939, 28.
[33] Speck, op.cit., 29.
[34] See above, p. 117.
[35] Fletcher & La Flesche 1911, 459, 486 sqq.; and Fortune 1932, 58 sqq. *et passim.*
[36] See above, p. 118.
[37] Matthews 1877, 50. Cf. Dorsey 1893 a, 298; Dorsey 1894, 517.

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is clearly connected with the word for 'shadow', *iráxaxe*".[38] Considering Lowie's great familiarity with the Crow Indians and with their language, one must assume that his information represents their soul-belief exactly.

Another Plains people, the Arikara belonging to the Caddoan family, presumably did not believe in more than one real soul either. It is at all events impossible to interpret in any other way the following lines by Curtis: "The soul, called *síshu*,[39] is responsible for all the acts of a man during life; it resides in the breast, and appears in the spoken word, in the look of the eye, in the movement of the muscles. It is *síshu* that rattles in the throat of the dying in its attempt to escape. The shadow, *nanokaa'tu*, is vaguely identified with the soul".[40] The shadow may here be the remainder of an earlier existing free-soul; but it may also be a possession of the individual, in which his life or being is integrated.

Our knowledge of the soul-beliefs of the more southerly Caddoan peoples is unfortunately extremely summary. For the Caddo living in Texas it is restricted to the terse content of a marginal note from 1691 by Fray Francisco Casañas de Jesus Maria. According to him, the Caddo believed in a soul, which survived the body: "... when a person dies, his soul—of which they are not ignorant and which in their idiom they call *Cayo*—goes to another house ...".[41] It is unfortunately not possible to get much change from this scanty information.

Just as the Caddo mark the termination of the Plains culture in the south, so the Nez Percé belonging to the Shahaptin family mark its termination in the north-west. It is very difficult to form any idea of the soul-beliefs of the Nez Percé Indians; they are only indirectly indicated in our chief source, Spinden's monograph. We read here that a person who had lost consciousness and showed no signs of life might become well again if the medicine-man found his vanished breath-soul.[42] The question is, whether an unitary soul is being referred to here; it *may*, however, be a matter of the life-soul, whose departure (often after the loss of the free-soul) generally marks the appearance of death.[43]

[38] Lowie 1922, 380. Cf. Lowie 1930, 175; Lowie 1935, 69. See also Hayden 1862, 416.

[39] Cf. Pawnee *chixu* = free-soul, ego-soul (see above, p. 92). Although the terms are presumably identical, the *sishu* of the Arikara is less a free-soul than a body-soul, at least according to Curtis's description.

[40] Curtis 1909 V, 63 sq.

[41] "Quando uno muere se ba su alma que no la ygnoran que en su ydioma llaman *cayo* va a otra cassa ..." Swanton 1942, 208, Hatcher 1927, 294.

[42] Spinden 1908, 253.

[43] See further below, § 31.

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Several instances from different Shoshonean groups bear witness to the occurrence of an unitary soul.

Thus the unitary soul seems to have occurred among the Comanche.[44] And Lowie has noted it among the Lemhi: "The principle of life which departs at death is called mu'gua. During life its seat is in the head".[45] Steward, too, has observed this belief among the Lemhi.[46] Steward's examples show that in certain situations—viz. in connection with soul-loss—*mugua* fulfils the functions of the free-soul.[47] But *mugua* is above all life-soul and surviving soul: "When Enga-gwacu Jim died, his mu'gua came out of his thigh, made one step forward, then halted and looked back at the body, which was still breathing. After three steps had been taken, the mu'gua looked back again, and found the body cold and stiff".[48] Obviously, *mugua* is associated with the vital functions, since these stop in its absence; and it emerges from the context that it is the surviving soul. One notices that the same attributes characterize *mugua* among the Shoshoni to the east of the Rocky Mountains: here, too, it is both life-soul and surviving soul; and in connection with soul-loss it may play the rôle of the free-soul. But, as we have seen, the Wind River Shoshoni also possess a dream-soul, which is a free-soul during the life-time of the individual.[49] This soul has not been noted among the Lemhi. Has it perhaps existed, but not been recorded? It is useless to speculate. Until further data are communicated we must rely upon Lowie's and Steward's statements, which are in agreement and according to which a monistic soul-belief is probable.

The Gosiute, the primitive Shoshonean Indians south of the Great Salt Lake, believed in a soul in the breast (the heart) or in the head; whether this constituted their only soul-conception is not stated.[50] The Shoshoni living at Hamilton, Nevada, believed that sickness was due to the absence of the breath-soul from the body.[51] We have no information as to the occurrence of any other soul. We are told, curiously enough, that "the soul looks like a hailstone".[52] Such descriptions of the appearance of the soul refer generally to the free-soul—or else to the

[44] Personal communication from Dr. Ralph Linton.
[45] Lowie 1909 a, 226; Lowie 1925 b, 101.
[46] Steward 1943, 287.
[47] See Steward, op.cit., 282.
[48] Lowie 1909 a, 226, 301; Lowie 1925 b, 101 sq.
[49] See above, p. 93, and Hultkrantz 1951, 29 sqq. The comparison is of value, as the relationship between the two Shoshonean peoples is very intimate.
[50] Steward, op.cit., 348; Stewart 1942, 319.
[51] Steward 1941, 261.
[52] Steward, op.cit., 260.

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unitary soul. The White Knife Shoshoni in north-eastern Nevada, according to Harris, believed that "the soul or spirit, *muguwa*, was inevitably acquired at birth, nebulous in form, and localized somewhere in the head".[53] It was also connected with the supernatural power, *Buha*, indeed, evidently in some way identical with the latter.[54] When a person fainted, *muguwa* left the body, and in connection with his death it betook itself to the realm of the dead.[55] It is difficult to avoid the impression that we have here to do with a soul-conception representing in a high degree an unitary concept.

The numerous Paiute groups that have been found scattered over the desert and mountain regions of the Great Basin have in part had a dualistic, in part a monistic soul-belief. The Northern Paiute or Paviotso we have already listed among the peoples having dualistic soul-conceptions; but we have also shown it as a probability that some of the Paviotso—e. g. the Eastern Mono—have been more oriented towards the idea of the unitary soul.[56] The Southern Paiute, it would seem, have for the most part believed in an unitary soul. But, as we have already indicated, it is difficult to document this, as the available information is so scanty, indefinite and formally unsatisfactory. One is here guided more by the general impressions one gets from a study of the source-material.[57] Among the Las Vegas Paiute, *muxuan* is perhaps an unitary soul.[58] Among other Southern Paiute, e. g. the Shivwits and Saint George, there is mention of only one soul, the heart-soul: *muxuabi*, *mugu'abi*, etc.[59] To judge from all the evidence, *muxu'av* among the Chemehuevi in California is an unitary soul; it is translated as "mind", and seems to be more a free-soul than life-soul. Terminologically, at least, it has nothing to do with either the breath or the heart.[60]

A monistic conception of the soul possibly existed among the Cahuilla, another of the Shoshonean peoples in southern California. "The Cahuilla belief", writes Hooper, "is that everyone has a *telewel*, a spirit or soul. This spirit is very elusive and may leave one almost any time. When they dream, this telewel has left them and is really going through

[53] Harris 1940, 65.
[54] Harris, op.cit., 56 sq., 65 note 20.
[55] Harris, op.cit., 66.
[56] See above, p. 94.
[57] Cf. above, p. 95.
[58] Ibidem.
[59] Kelly 1939, 155, 157 note 20; Stewart, op.cit., loc.cit. Drucker mentions among the Shivwits also the shadow (Drucker 1941, 148); but it is uncertain what rôle it played.
[60] Kelly 1936, 133, 136, 141, note 16.

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the experiences of which they are dreaming. While the spirit is gone, they cannot wake up".[61] The soul-conception possesses in itself a distinct free-soul character. But no life-soul has been noted down. As we have already found, the picture of the soul-beliefs of the Cahuilla is complicated by the contributions of private speculation.[62]

The remains of primitive soul-belief that have been discovered in modern times among the North Californian tribes show a remarkable monistic tendency. We have found dualism among only a few of these peoples, the Modoc, Achomawi, Karuk, Eastern Pomo, Wintu, Maidu and perhaps the Shasta.[63] This probably derives from an older epoch, when the soul-belief was more intact than it is now. The notion of an unitary soul has been developed over a large Californian area, which may possibly be connected with North Oregon.[64] The central region, however, is North California.

The Klamath—properly natives of Oregon, but from the religious standpoint closely related to the North Californian peoples[65]—present a classifical instance of the unitary soul. One and the same word is used by them for "soul, breath, and life". "It is the quickening of life rather than spiritual personality that is implied by the word".[66] This soul thus expresses chiefly the life-soul aspect, and its centre is the heart. It does not leave its owner until death, when it betakes itself to the realm of the dead.[67] One looks vainly here for traces of a free-soul or dream-soul.

The soul-beliefs of the Modoc, on the other hand, who are related to the Klamath, we have been able to describe as dualistic.[68]

The soul-beliefs of the Shasta, too, we have characterized hypothetically as dualistic.[69] One must not, however, overlook the possibility of a monistic interpretation.

Some Athapascan groups in north-west California have believed in a soul of free-soul character, which was possibly the only one they knew. The souls of the Bear River Indians "were believed to travel during sleep and fainting spells of individuals; they saw things hidden

[61] Hooper 1920, 339.
[62] Cf. above, pp. 42 sq.
[63] See above, pp. 97 sqq.
[64] It is thus possible that the Wishram and the coastal peoples in Oregon, mentioned above on p. 72, had unitary souls.
[65] Spier 1930, 233. Cf. Ray 1939, 145 sqq.
[66] Cf. above, p. 21.
[67] Spier, op.cit., 101.
[68] See above, p. 97.
[69] See above, p. 97.

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to conscious humans".[70] If the notion of a body-soul did at one time exist, it has been forgotten.[71] For the Sinkyone likewise is mentioned only one, "personal" soul, bound to the body.[72] It was, however, sometimes able to free itself. "In his heart every man had a soul which left his body in dreams, unconsciousness, and at death ... Souls appeared like shadows of their owners but fresher and younger looking".[73] The soul-belief of the Kato is described as follows: "The belief in a soul capable of separation from the body and in shamans capable of calling it back is definite and firmly fixed".[74] As may be seen, the conception of the free-soul is predominant in every case.

The Coast Yuki called the soul the "heart" *(chuxbime)*.[75] We know nothing, however, of the conceptions that were associated therewith. More adequate is the information from the Inland Yuki, described by Foster. "The essence of life was considered to be the breath (otum). When a person breathed, he lived; when his breath departed, he died. The heart (t'u) was a secondary seat of life, but the breath more nearly resembles our conception of a soul".[76] The life-soul aspect seems here to have determined the development of the soul-idea.

The data from the Pomo are rather various. The Eastern Pomo undeniably knew a regular soul-dualism.[77] What was the nature of the soul-beliefs of some other Pomo groups is undecided. One notes a number of obviously locally varying designations, all translated as "soul", some also as "ghost".[78] We have a better knowledge of the soul-conceptions of the Coast Central Pomo. These Pomo declared that the soul, *tciken* (= breath, soul), was after death transformed into a ghost. "The breath or soul of a person was contained in the heart (kam). If a person fainted, his soul left the body. Then the man had to be doctored in order that his soul should once more return to the body".[79] The conception of a single soul seems here to have combined the polar tendencies in the dualistic soul-system.

Also our analysis of the soul-ideas of the Penutian peoples is rendered more difficult by the lack of detailed investigations. An old

[70] Nomland 1938, 93, 94.
[71] Cf. above, p. 38.
[72] Nomland 1935, 168.
[73] Nomland, op.cit., 169.
[74] Goddard 1909, 237 note 245. Cf. Essene 1942, 88.
[75] Gifford 1939, 353.
[76] Foster 1944 a, 206. Cf. Kroeber 1932 b, 910 note 28.
[77] See above, p. 98.
[78] Gifford & Kroeber 1937, 158, 203.
[79] Loeb 1926, 295, 296.

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dualism, still fully represented by the Wintu, has presumably been broken down and more or less replaced by monistic conceptions, which among the Yokuts appear clearly defined.

The soul-conceptions of the Nomlaki (Central Wintun) have been in part changed through contact with the ideology of the white men.[80] Nowadays only one soul is spoken of, *lês*.[81] This is represented as being at one and the same time life-soul ("is what gives us life"), ego-soul ("keeps our tongue going") and free-soul, which in connection with mental disease temporarily leaves the body. It is to a certain extent also a soul with the character of a guardian spirit.[82]

In another Penutian group, the Maidu, we find faint traces of a dualistic soul-conception.[83] The passages from Dixon and Kroeber adduced earlier seem, certainly, to speak in favour of the existence of an unitary soul—at least Dixon's version does so—; but Loeb's material, as we have found, points in quite a different direction.

Concerning the soul-beliefs of the more southerly Penutian peoples we are most ill-informed.[84] Dr. A. H. Gayton's splendid monograph on the Yokuts, however, contains as much about the soul-beliefs of this people as can now be gained. She writes that "a person has but one spirit; it is the same entity which has dream experiences and is, during life, vaguely located in the heart".[85] The visionary who in dreams beholds his guardian spirit sees him "with his heart"—i. e. with his soul, says Dr. Gayton, translating.[86] It is thus a matter of an unitary, undifferentiated soul; it is a dream-soul, but one which undertakes no dream-wanderings, for it is firmly attached to the body, it is life itself. A fragment of a myth concerning the prairie falcon among the Yauelmani Yokuts emphasizes this firm attachment. Coyote, the near relation of the prairie falcon received by a supernatural channel the news of his kinsman's death. "When the prairie falcon died he felt bad. His heart came out if his mouth, he felt so sorry. He would have died, but he caught his heart as it was in the air and put it back into his mouth".[87]

[80] Goldschmidt 1951, 348.
[81] Cf. the Wintu, above, pp. 98 sq.
[82] Goldschmidt, op.cit., 351 sq.
[83] See above, p. 99.
[84] The soul-conceptions of the Costano have been preserved by Harrington, but nothing has so far been published regarding their nature (cf. Harrington 1942, 41).
[85] Gayton 1948 II, 237. Cf. Kroeber 1925, 513.
[86] Gayton, op.cit., 206.
[87] Kroeber 1907 a, 242.

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We may now leave California and proceed to the Southwest, the North American culture-area in which the unitary soul has its most pregnant development. Here, too, it is true, dualism occurs. The Yuman peoples are characterized by their pluralistic and, as I have tried to show, in the last analysis dualistic soul-conceptions. Also the Athapascans in this region show dualistic tendencies, although it is an open question as to whether the Jicarilla and possibly the White Mountain Apache have not rather had monistic soul-ideas.[88] Of the Piman tribes, to judge from our meagre sources, several have believed in an unitary soul, and nearly all the Pueblo peoples have had a fully developed monistic soul-belief.

The conceptions of an unitary soul held by the Piman peoples are insufficiently documented. The Pima proper conceive the soul chiefly as a life-giving potency dwelling in the middle of the breast. "It is not known just what it is like, whether it is white or any other color".[89] It is probably the same soul as that which in dreams acts the part of a free-soul (§ 16). Among another Piman tribe, the Cáhita, "the soul was identified as the wind or breath and heart (heart and breath have the same name, hiépsi)".[90] According to Lumholtz, the Tepehuano believe in a soul which has its seat between the stomach and the breast, and which is identified with the breath. In spite of this it can, when the individual is asleep, go off on dream-wanderings.[91] If Lumholtz's communication is correct, we have here a definite case of an unitary soul.

The last-mentioned instance is instructive, as it throws light on the problem of the progress of the unitary soul in these tracts. One notes a cleavage between theory and practice: the theory of an unitary soul bound to the breath does not fit in very well with the popular belief concerning the dream-experiences of the soul. The unitary soul has here an artificial character which leads one to think of exogenous influences. It is presumably chiefly under the pressure of currents of fashion from a well-established high-culture in the vicinity that the dogma of the unitary character of the soul has been built up. The unitary soul probably had a wide distribution in Mexico and Central America. It is also from here that Tylor has taken one of his best examples of "how the notions of life, heart, breath, and phantom unite in the one conception of a soul or spirit".[92]

[88] See above, pp. 103 sq.
[89] Russell 1908, 252.
[90] Beals 1943 b, 55.
[91] Lumholtz 1904 I, 314.
[92] Tylor 1929 I, 432. Tylor quotes Oviedo's Histoire du Nicaragua, quoted also by Arbman for the same purpose (Arbman 1927, 210 sq.).

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The northernmost offshoots of this high-culture were the Pueblo groups. Their psychology, characterized by the concept of the unitary soul, shows a remarkable uniformity over the entire region, with few exceptions. These are the soul-conceptions in Santa Ana and Zuni.

We may conclude this survey with some examples from the Pueblo area.

Among the San Juan the soul is identified with the heart. "At death a person loses his heart. 'He died, he had no heart', says the story-teller. 'Now you have no heart' is a remark addressed to the deceased in the fourth night exorcism as described in the folk-tales".[93] The Cochiti, too, imagine that the heart is the soul.[94] The heart-soul is also mentioned among the San Felipe, and although it is rather the person's life that it stands for, it may, even during his life-time, be abducted; and this generally leads to his falling ill.[95] In shaman ceremonial the heart-soul is likened to a kernel of corn. "It is interesting", writes White, "to note this identification of corn with the human heart, as in another connection an ear of corn is identified with the Mother", i. e. the mother-goddess.[96]

The conceptions held by the Santa Ana are more complicated. The concept *tsats-winock*—translated "breath-heart" or "soul"—does, certainly, imply the soul proper, but by the side of it we find a guardian spirit, *tsayotyenyi*, acquired at birth and remaining until death.[97] This spirit watches over its client, protects him from danger and restrains him from evil-doing. In return, he receives from his protégé thank-offerings before each meal. When the individual dies, the soul and the guardian spirit return to the mother-goddess from whom they have proceeded.[98] The question now is: is there an original free-soul concept concealed behind the idea of the guardian spirit? This, one imagines, is scarcely likely, for the guardian spirit never represents the individual himself, whether before or after his death. Rather does one think here of the Central American nagualism: in Central American popular belief we find the belief in an unitary soul accompanied by the belief in a

[93] Parsons 1929, 65; cf. op.cit., 266 note 494.
[94] Dumarest 1919, 157, 166. Father Dumarest mentions only one soul. Dr. Goldfrank, however, was informed that the entity lost in illness is the heart *(yani,* "the life-spirit"), whereas the soul that leaves at death is the breath *(tsats)* (Goldfrank 1927, 35, 64 and note 31). Presumably this implies not a dichotomy between two souls but a distinction between soul and ghost (cf. § 34).
[95] White 1932 b, 42 sq., 47.
[96] White, op.cit., 48.
[97] White 1942, 20, 173.
[98] White, op.cit., 173.

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supernatural attendant spirit, the *nagual*, bound to the individual's existence. Nagualism occurs also in North America, in, inter alia, the Southwest.[99]

In Laguna the heart seems to represent the soul and the life-force.[100]

In the ritual of the Acoma Indians they speak of "the breath of life", which is acquired from the mother-goddess in the realm of the dead.[101] A new-born child receives a name and the breath of life at a special ceremony four days after its birth. The medicine-man "gathers in his arms all the air he can hold and blows it toward the baby; he gathers air from the four directions, north, west, south, and east. As he blows the air toward him, he speaks the child's name. He is giving the child breath of life".[102] In spite of this identification with the breath, the soul is also called the "heart".[103]

Despite its modern monism, the soul-belief of the Zuni is more complicated and in its heterogeneous structure it still reveals traces of an older soul-pluralism.[104] In the soul's anchorage in the heart and the breath, however, we find ourselves confronted with the standardizing Pueblo influence.[105]

Among the well-known Hopi we find the belief that the breath constitutes man's soul. On this subject Voth writes: "That part of man which they believe to be immortal they call hikvsi. The fundamental meaning of this term seems to coincide with that expressed by the Hebrew 'ruach', the German 'Hauch' or the Greek 'pneuma'. In its practical application the hikvsi is to the Hopi what to us is the soul in its ethical sense. At death the hikvsi leaves the body".[106] The soul-belief of the Hopi Indians has been, it would appear, rather thoroughly investigated.[107] Its simple and uncomplicated monism may be taken as a perfect example of the formation of soul-belief over the whole Pueblo area.

In certain circumstances the material we have collected in the foregoing may yield viewpoints and results closely connected with and supplementary to those we have adduced in § 10.

[99] See my exposition in § 24.
[100] Parsons 1920, 118 sq.
[101] White 1932 a, 66; cf. Stirling 1942, 56 note 35.
[102] White, op.cit., 133 sq.
[103] White, op.cit., 138.
[104] See above, p. 107.
[105] Bunzel 1932 a, 481.
[106] Voth 1912, 99.
[107] Cf., besides Voth, op.cit., Fewkes 1896, 161 sq., Beaglehole 1935, 12, Parsons 1939 I, 70; cf. also Titiev 1944, 171.

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It would of course be over-hasty to take the data presented in the foregoing without reservation as the basis for a comparative study. All the cases given in the foregoing are, certainly, conceivable instances of monism. But, as I have indicated earlier, they testify rather to the absence of dualism and pluralism than to the presence of an unitary soul-concept.[108] In a comparative survey we can only make use of the data which constitute more convincing evidence of the occurrence of the unitary soul. We must isolate the best authenticated cases by a sensible sifting of the material, based upon both the testimony of the documents themselves and their value as sources.

If we now exclude the instances which do not give us sufficient information or which for other reasons appear uncertain, about forty cases remain as possibilities for comparative analysis. Of these, a few are rather definitely proven to be monistic, while monism seems probable, almost probable or very conceivable in respect of the great majority. We get the following grouping of data:

I. Monism is very conceivable: the Lummi, Nez Percé, Las Vegas Paiute, possibly also some Plateau Salish in Canada? Total 3 (or more?) instances.
II. Monism is almost probable: the Arikara, Bear River, Sinkyone, Kato, Pima. Total 5 instances.
III. Monism is probable: the Sanpoil-Nespelem, Mascoutens, Omaha, Assiniboin, Crow, Comanche, Lemhi, Hamilton Shoshoni, White Knife Shoshoni, Chemehuevi, Cahuilla, Yuki, Coast Central Pomo, Nomlaki, Yokuts, Cáhita, Tepehuano. Total 18 instances.
IV. Monism is rather definitely proven: the Cherokee, Klamath, San Juan, Cochiti, San Felipe, Santa Ana, Laguna, Acoma, Zuni, Hopi. Total 10 instances.[109]

The above inventory allows the widest possible limits for the occurrence of the unitary soul—i. e. formulates its possible, but certainly not its probable, distribution. With about forty "established" cases of soul-monism we can now study the more exact geographical localization of the monistic soul-concept.

From the above table it emerges that the data concerning soul-monism are more reliable the nearer we approach the high-culture.And this is no accident. The distribution of the forty ethnic groups shows clearly

[108] See above, pp. 127 sq.
[109] The groups I—II correspond roughly to the B-category and the groups III—IV to the C-category of sources according to our classification on pp. 128 sq.

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that the gravitational centre for monism has lain within the Southwest area, where the high-culture has its most north-westerly offshoots.

We find the unitary soul chiefly among the Shoshoni, North and Central Californians and among the Pueblo peoples, possibly also among the Plateau Salish. In this connection it should be noted that several of the Californian cases were observed at a time when the old native cultures in this region had been almost entirely dissolved, and that the Salish conceptions have not been fully established. That soul-monism has had a Californian area of distribution cannot, however, be denied. It is difficult to say whether it was at any time in contact with the Pueblo area. Presumably not. The unitary soul of the Shoshoni may possibly be regarded as a late growth under the influence of White civilization. In some quarters it may possibly have had also another background: we may perhaps bring together the soul-conceptions of the Southern Paiute (Chemehuevi) and the Cahuilla with those of the Piman and Pueblo peoples, tacitly assuming that in the entire Southwest area particular conditions existed for the appearance of an unitary soul; the influence from the Pueblo culture has in this connection made itself strongly felt among the surrounding peoples.[110] The unitary souls of the Cherokee, Sioux and Mascoutens are probably late developments having at least in part Christian impulses and in part shamanistic speculation to thank for their origin (see below).

Summing up, we may constate: the conception of an unitary soul is less common in the more northerly, primitive cultures in North America, whereas it becomes increasingly general the nearer we approach the peripheral areas of the high-culture, until it becomes completely predominant in the Pueblo culture. We have earlier adjudged these conditions of distribution to be significative for the younger age of the unitary soul as compared with the dual conception of the soul.[111]

We have hitherto spoken of the unitary soul as if it were a constant, immutable phenomenon. If, however, one considers our forty cases more carefully, one finds that the unitary soul has by no means everywhere the same form and import. On the contrary, it varies greatly in its character. Its remoteness from our occidental soul-concept may be seen in the fact that—as far as I have been able to find through analysis of the sources—in no case does it show such a qualitative character as to

[110] As we have remarked earlier, the soul-dualism among the peripheral groups of the Southwest culture is no longer sharply defined (cf. above, pp. 106 sq. Cf. also Kroeber 1940).

[111] See above, pp. 110 sqq.

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justify its designation as a personality-soul.[112] Nor does it very often contain all the attributes represented in the dualistic system by the body-soul and free-soul together. Otherwise a "typical" unitary soul should naturally combine these attributes. We have, certainly, some instances of such an unitary soul in North America (the present-day Kaska, Nomlaki, Zuni, Hopi and probably also other Pueblo peoples). As a rule, however, the unitary soul functions as a harmonious synthesis between two soul-aspects or as a representative for only one soul-aspect, which has come to predominate at the expense of the others. In the first-mentioned case the unitary soul appears as at one and the same time free-soul and life-soul (the Lemhi, Hamilton Shoshoni, White Knife Shoshoni, Coast Central Pomo, Pima, Tepehuano, San Felipe). In the other case it appears as an undifferentiated body-soul (the Arikara, Cáhita), as life-soul (the Sanpoil-Nespelem, Klamath, Yuki), as ego-soul (the Cherokee, Crow) or as free-soul (the Lummi, Shuswap?, Chemehuevi, Cahuilla, Bear River, Sinkyone, Kato).

The domination of one soul-aspect in an unitary soul need not necessarily signify that other possible soul-aspects have been entirely ousted. But it may mean, and sometimes does mean, that the unitary soul has been developed precisely around the predominant soul-aspect. This brings us to the problem of the origin of the unitary soul.

The dualistic soul-ideology seems in North America, as everywhere else, to offer the best explanation of such general primitive phenomena of religious belief as the dream-wanderings, the states of soul-loss and the double-ganger. The dual soul-conception is therefore from the psychological point of view more whole-cast and direct than the notion of the unitary soul. The latter is the result of an historical process, which has reduced the significance of the above-mentioned folkloristic motifs, with their strong background of experience, and instead given more room to speculative trends. It may here be in place to draw attention to some of the more important factors that have played an active part in this development.

Among the external circumstances that have played a rôle, the influence from Christian soul-ideology is first and foremost deserving of mention. It would probably be difficult to say exactly how great this influence has been.[113] That the missionaries early attempted to convince their Red protégés of the indivisibility of the soul we have already

[112] See above, pp. 21 sq., and below, pp. 240 sq.
[113] Cf. above, pp. 45 sq.

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noted.[114] It must be presumed that the unitary soul-conception that in more modern times has been noted down among several Indian tribes has frequently been developed under Christian influence, direct or indirect.[115]

Factors stimulating the development of the monistic conception of the soul have also proceeded from native cultures. I am here thinking above all of the Mexican high-culture and its influences in the North. These influences were presumably for the most part indirect. The religious needs of the advanced, historically differentiated agrarian community are at bottom the conditioning factors for the uniform ritualistic development of the religions in Mexico and among the Pueblo peoples.[116] The pattern of the Pueblo religion has gradually stiffened into an increasingly strict ceremonial system, where the subjective religious manifestations have been more and more stifled. This has implied that the experiences of dreams and trances have no longer been estimated as religious sources of renewal, as in other North American cultures; the trance has been conspicuous by its absence, and little attention has been paid to dreams.[117] In such circumstances the notion of the dream-soul has had no function to fill. In connection with the life-soul existing in the heart and identified with the breath, an unitary soul-conception has been developed instead. It has then, in a more or less camouflaged form, been directly exported to more primitive peoples in the surrounding area.

The changes may also come about as a result of a predominantly inner cultural development in a restricted ethnic group. Where a four-soul system built up by shamanistic speculation has disintegrated, the unitary soul, as in the case of the Omaha, has taken its place. If we abstract here from the possibility of indirect Christian influence (through missions, squaw-men, etc.)—which always exists as a conceivable factor of indefinite strength—this revolution of the soul-concept is a work of the speculation of religious thinkers. This speculation has doubtless always played a great rôle in the processes of development of the soul-conceptions. It may here be as well to remind the reader once more of the Cahuilla Indian who attained to the belief of an unitary soul by

[114] See above, p. 86.
[115] Cf. the survey above, p. 144.
[116] Cf. Underhill 1948, VIII.
[117] Parsons 1939 I, 452 sq., Benedict 1928, 572 sqq.; cf. the talking vacuum in Gifford 1940, 74. The Zuni regard dreaming as dangerous individualism (Parsons, op.cit., 108; Parsons, op.cit., II, 1096; see also Kluckhohn 1942, 51 sq.), as they also regard, in fact, all visionary states (Benedict 1946, 62). Cf., however, Bunzel 1932 a, 481; Benedict 1923, 36 sq.

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identifying man's life with his breath and with the wind.[118] This monistically oriented speculation has frequently, as in this case, sought a position from which the step to the unitary soul has been natural and simple.

Two soul-aspects seem to offer special opportunities for a development in a monistic direction: the ego-soul and the life and body soul bound to the breath. In the next chapter we shall try to define these possibilities more closely,[119] and will here restrict ourselves to some more important general viewpoints.

In the chapter on soul-dualism we noted how the ego-soul is now an expression for the aggregate life-symptoms of the body, now alternates with the free-soul as the pendant of the body-soul—especially the Ojibway on Parry Island afford an illustration of this.[120] The ego-soul thus has the capacity to combine the disparate soul-conceptions into a unity. The same applies to the life-soul when in certain cases of serious loss of consciousness it is conceived as leaving the body, and when it appears as breath-soul. The important, concentrating rôle of the breath-soul may be best expressed thus: "the breath is... not only a vital principle, a vital potency; it is also in virtue of its ephemeral and airy nature a point de repère for the delicate notion of the image-soul".[121] Among the Wind River Shoshoni one and the same concept has comprised the ideas of the mind and the breath, and it has gradually also been used as an extra designation for the conceptions of the free-soul and the surviving soul.[122]

Finally, we must also take into consideration the fact that the localization of the free-soul to definite parts of the body, e. g. the head or heart, has made a later connection between free-soul and body-soul rather natural.

[118] See above, pp. 42 sq.
[119] See below, §§ 13—15.
[120] Cf. above, pp. 77 sq., 109.
[121] Hultkrantz 1951, 28.
[122] Hultkrantz, op.cit., 28 sq.

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IV. THE PHENOMENOLOGY OF THE SOULS

In this chapter the conceptions of the soul mentioned in the foregoing are analysed according to structure and function, form and content. This implies that the conceptions are not grouped according to the nominal categories proposed by the natives themselves or by ethnographers, but on the basis of psychological viewpoints. Thus we shall here discuss the body-souls, i. e. the life-soul and the ego-soul, and the free-soul, and a special section devoted to the breath-soul will follow directly after the exposition of the life-soul, and should be read as a continuation of the latter.

Two essential viewpoints are directly connected with what has been said above.

First and foremost, it should be borne in mind that if the psychological (and functional) aspect of the soul-belief is applied, every active extra-physical soul functions, independently of its origin, as a free-soul and is therewith invested with the properties of the free-soul in a more or less intact state. The permanent, nominal free-soul—by which the dream-soul is generally referred to—may in certain situations be succeeded in its activity by other souls, all of which, when outside the body, constitute free-souls (see further § 16).

Just as a type of soul may be discovered in several soul-entities (in one and the same tribe), so it may also appear as an aspect of an unitary soul-conception. One can of course—from the strictly methodical viewpoint—question the correctness of dividing an unitary soul-conception into parts, whose proper character is otherwise best determined in the light of their function in a dualistic relation. But it should not be forgotten that what we learn from a study of the dualistic soul-systems leaves us in no doubt concerning the characteristic features of a certain type of soul.[1] It is on the basis of this fact that we attempted in the

[1] Cf. above, p. 54.
[2] See above, p 145. Cf. the discussion on method above, p. 14.

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foregoing to determine the dominant character of a number of unitary souls.[2] It should thus not be impossible to use the unitary soul also for our analysis of soul-conceptions. One must, of course, set about this with the greatest care, excluding uncertain cases and preferably adducing the data which definitely reveal the origin of the soul in an earlier polar soul-idea. In this connection the most reliable instances are constituted by those unitary souls which are dominated by a single soul-aspect (e. g. the Cherokee: the ego-soul).

If we prefer to analyse the unitary soul in this connection—and not in a separate investigation—this is on the theoretical assumption, discussed in the preceding section, that the unitary soul is a late product of development having its origin in the dualistic primitive soul-belief. The unitary soul is best understood in this historical perspective; a synthesis of its content and mode of operation in a psychological and comparative context is scarcely possible. As we have seen, it is probable that only a few really closed unitary souls have existed in North America. But even in these cases it is possible to trace, more or less, the heritage from an older, dualistic phase.

13. The life-soul

The life-soul is the real organ or function-soul of the body, the "motor" responsible for the vital manifestations of the individual and evincing itself, accordingly, in the respiration, the activity of the heart, the beat of the pulse, the circulation of the blood and the muscle-movements. Since in this way life appears split up in many places simultaneously, the vital principle may also be subdivided among several lesser life-souls, whose existence does not, however, exclude the presence of a life-soul holding all the parts together. Behind the belief in one or several vital potencies lies not only the everyday experience of the self-dependent activity of the vegetative processes, completely independent of the individual's conscious power of initiative, but also, presumably, impressions of the organism's own movements in connection with various nervous disorders (strokes, spasms, epileptic fits and so on.)[1]

[1] Cf. above, p. 20.

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Older writers have asserted that in primitive psychology the life-soul is identical with the organ it informs.[2] It is, however, not possible to show that such a crass soul-belief ever actually existed among the native peoples of North America. Among many North American peoples the breath is, indubitably, an expression for the life-soul itself, as we shall see in the following. But it should be noted in this connection that the breath is not understood as a real physical substratum (as it is for us). It is simply the soul which gives the individual in his entirety, or certain of his organs, life and vitality. "Without life the body is an inert mass of flesh", say the Bella Coola.[3]

It is probably most correct to make a clear distinction between the conception of the life-soul and its physical substratum.[4] In many cases there is a distinct difference between the life-soul and its organs. The general life-soul among the Netsilik Eskimo and the Western Déné seems to flow through the entire body as an uniform energy, without being associated with any definite organ.[5] A similar detachment characterizes especially the breath-soul among many peoples.[6] We sometimes hear of the temporary absence of the life-soul causing illness[7]—but this does not of course imply that the organ associated with the soul has also departed! Michelson relates that among the Fox the life-souls of husband and wife are always together during their lifetimes.[8] And how would this be possible if they were not able to free themselves from the bodies they animate?

It is, clearly, obvious that despite its literally vital importance for man's existence the life-soul need not be completely bound to the body. In North America as elsewhere there have presumably been a few exceptions to this general rule (see below). But these are not many, and they must not be confused with the mixed conceptions that have arisen

[2] See e.g. Wundt 1910, 121, 256. But also Boas spoke of "the concept of 'power of acting' resident in a body, but distinct from the existence of the body" (Boas 1910 b, 617). At the same time, confusingly enough, he assumed that the soul might be *identified* with the blood, the bones, and the nape of the neck (Boas 1910 a, 367). A modern writer, Straubinger, defines the relation between the soul and its organs and says that the body-soul is "aufs engste verbunden mit dem Leib od. einzelnen seiner lebenswichtigen Teile" (Straubinger 1937, 405).

[3] McIlwraith 1948 I, 97.

[4] Cf. below, pp. 173 sq. An interesting parallel case is presented by the Israelites' body-soul *nefesh*, which, despite the fact that it is sometimes represented as identical with the physical substratum, is in reality distinguished from the latter as its potency (Seligson 1951, 30, 50).

[5] Rasmussen 1931, 214; Morice 1911, 640.

[6] Cf., however, below, p. 178.

[7] See §§ 16, 31.

[8] Michelson 1925, 357.

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in consequence of the tendency, common among the Indians, to identify life-soul and life-stuff, a circumstance to which we shall revert presently.

The reason for the detached character of the life-soul is doubtless that it is a potency in the individual which is not identical with particular organs but is a source of strength which imbues these organs—or the individual himself—with life and activity. As Lévy-Bruhl has pointed out: "... un homme ne vit pas parce que les fonctions de ses poumons, de son coeur, de son foie, de son cerveau etc., s'exercent normalement. Elles s'exercent ainsi parce qu'il vit". Life is maintained by "la présence dans le corps d'une force, d'un principe, d'une sorte d' 'âme'..."[9]

The French scholar has here indicated a functional relationship which with few exceptions has general validity.[10] The Wind River Shoshoni describe the life-soul as a potency in man, a driving force which steers the entire organism: "*Mugua* makes you live; when it leaves, you can move. *Mugua* makes you breathe, move, and see".[11] Dr. Reichard summarizes the significance of the life-soul among the Navajo in the following way: "Man may breathe and speak, his organs may function well, but without the power of motion he is incomplete, useless... When the body is complete with organs, breath, sound, voice, and the power of motion, it is said to have 'life, the quality of being alive' ".[12] The power of movement is thus referred to an independent "motor-potency" which starts the movement.[13] Miss Fletcher says that "the ability to move is to the Omaha mind synonymous with life".[14]

It is thus understandable that as a functional soul, as a psychophysical motive force of spiritual essence, the life-soul has been much freer

[9] Lévy-Bruhl 1936, 292.

[10] A striking exception from the rule is evinced by the Tarascan belief: "Persons with much blood are healthy. When persons are seriously ill, it is because their blood is scanty; when there is insufficient to nourish the 'seat of life', the person dies" (Beals 1946, 202).

[11] Hultkrantz 1951, 23; cf. op. cit., 21. In a tale concerning the Cannibal the Wind River Shoshoni relate how the cannibal's heart, which had been cut out of his body by his enemies, tries to return to its owner's body by itself (Shimkin 1947, 334).

[12] Reichard 1950 I, 34.

[13] M. P:n Nilsson speaks of "auto-motility" (die Eigenbeweglichkeit) as "das rechte Kennzeichen des Lebens" for primitive peoples (Nilsson 1930, 92). Even movements in a dead body may be ascribed to spiritual activity. Du Pratz once saw a dead kingfisher that the Natchez had hung up in a thread from the ceiling of a house fly up in a draught as if it were alive; an Indian thereupon remarked that its soul must still be controlling the body (Le Page du Pratz 1758 II, 118; Swanton 1911, 174). Cf. below, pp. 479 sq.

[14] Fletcher 1910, 897.

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than has hitherto been supposed. This tendency to independence is probably one of the causes of the frequent erroneous identification of the life-soul and the permanent extra-physical soul, i. e. the free-soul, and this even by very competent field-researchers. This may be exemplified by what Boas adduces concerning the Chinook: " 'Life' is an objectivation of all that differentiates the living person from the dead body. It leads a separate existence and, therefore, continues to exist after death".[15] Boas has here constructed an incorrect picture of the soul-belief of the Chinook, inasmuch as its nuances are not taken into account: Boas himself, however, has noted two souls—not one—among this people.[16]

Doubtless the view of the free-soul has either directly or by analogy coloured the notion of the life-soul in the consciousness of the natives. For the idea of the free-soul as a personal being, the notion of its diminutive or etherial appearance might with advantage be applied to a separable body-soul. At the same time, however, it is reasonable that such conceptions of the nature of the life-soul should break through as a natural consequence of the dynamism of the conception of the life-soul itself.

A logical consequence of the tendencies to independence of the life-soul is its, in a number of cases, clear trend towards individualization and personification.[17] In the shamanistic theology of the Oglala *niya* is even "an immaterial god whose substance is visible when It so wills". It is called to bear witness against the free-soul after death. "Its functions during the life of the person are to cause vitality, to forewarn of good and evil, and to give the power to influence others".[18] From the Iroquois Wolf reports that their "sensitive soul was usually malevolent, being fond of human flesh, which it hunted".[19] The White Knife Shoshoni have taken a further step in this process of detachment: their life-soul is identified with the supernatural power, *buha*. "Merely in order to live every person must possess the bird-like *Buha*, the life-principle".[20]

In the last adduced instance the life-soul as unitary soul has presum-

[15] Boas 1940 b, 599.
[16] See above, p. 72. Cf. Boas 1910 b, 617.
[17] James—influenced by Wundt?—incorrectly compares this process with a presumed evolutionary transition from "life-force" to "separable soul" in the proper sense (James 1927, 342).
[18] Walker 1917, 86 sq.
[19] Wolf 1919, 43. It is, however, possible that the description should be applied less to the sensitive soul than to the skeleton-spook it animated after the death of the individual (cf. Hewitt 1895, 114).
[20] Harris 1940, 56 sq. Cf. also § 22.

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ably taken over the rôle previously played by a now vanished conception of the free-soul. This is indicated not least by the fact that it is conceived in the shape of a bird. Such an appearance only suits a life-soul which is also a free-soul. As an illustrative example we may choose the Modoc: these seem to have believed that the life-principle could manifest itself as a bird when it operated temporarily outside the body.[21]

In the same way the appearance of the life-soul among the Wind River Shoshoni indicates that it has in part assumed functions of the free-soul. It is, namely, conceived as a hair, a thin thread, or the like, and as the free-soul is conceived in this shape it is not difficult to deduce the origin of the conception.[22] Boas asserts that in consequence of its own nature the life-soul observable outside the body must have the appearance of a miniature being.[23] But a life-soul whose activity has been modelled upon that of the free-soul naturally assumes, among all its other properties, also its diminutive size.[24]

For the rest, it is in itself not surprising if also the life-soul functioning inside the body is conceived concretely. As long as the life-soul is firmly connected with the body it is perhaps difficult to form a picture of it. Among the Wintu, e. g., "no one knows what it looks like".[25] If the life-soul concealed in the body is occasionally conceived with definite contours, one divines that it has acquired these in the course of expeditions outside the body; it is, however, possible that even without this eventuality the free-soul has exercised an attracting influence upon the formative development of the life-soul. Among the Havasupai the heart-soul is considered to be spherical.[26] The life-soul of the Bella Coola "is an ethereal substance, having the form of the body which it animates".[27] Also the Eskimo at Bering Strait conceive the life-soul as shaped in the image of man himself.[28] The "growth-soul" among the Quileute "is a trifle longer than the rest of the body,

[21] Curtin 1912, 371.
[22] Hultkrantz, op. cit., 21, 24.
[23] Boas 1940 b, 605; cf. also op. cit., 600.
[24] Cf. Arbman 1927, 100. See further below, § 16. Where the life-soul is found divided up into a number of smaller 'organ-souls' the miniature shape should otherwise be natural. Among the Chukchee e.g., we find a number of small "limb-souls" which are "very small"; "when passing by they produce a sound like the humming of a bee or the drumming of a beetle" (Bogoras 1902, 588 sq.). The Eskimo on East Greenland believe in several souls which reside in different parts of the body and are of the size of a finger-joint (Holm 1888, 112, note 1; Holm 1914, 81; cf. Thalbitzer 1930 b, 96).
[25] Du Bois 1935, 79. Cf. also the Sanpoil and Nespelem (Ray 1932, 169).
[26] Spier 1927 a, 269.
[27] McIlwraith, op. cit., 97.
[28] Nelson 1899, 422.

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extending somewhat beyond the toes and above the head".[29] Symbolically enough, it is longer than the body, since it is a growth-soul!

Summarizing, it may be constated that the life-soul is not infrequently conceived as altogether concrete, and that in this connection it often borrows its external features from the free-soul; but it is impossible to indicate how often this is the case. In a number of cases one has reason to assume that the appearance has been determined less by a vanished or existing conception of the free-soul than by causes connected with the manifestation of the life-soul as an extra-physical soul.

In the foregoing the description of the life-soul has been taken to a point where we have reached the furthest limits for its activity, the comparatively rare cases in which it appears rather as a hybrid conception with a hint of both free-soul and guardian spirit. These extreme special cases must not be allowed to distort the general perspective. The tendency to independence and personification manifested by the life-soul need by no means imply that it was emancipated from the body it had to administer. And an eventual emancipation always remained incomplete and in a deep sense adventitious, as long as one was conscious that the soul was fulfilling its function as vital principle. Here, certainly, it may be objected that in North America, as elsewhere in the world, there exist numerous narratives concerning so-called external souls, associated with the idea that the life of the individual is concealed in some object outside the body, e. g. a tree.[30] Inasmuch as it is here a matter of ordinary people, however,—the external souls of mythological beings are here of course not in question—it is not primarily the life-soul that is referred to, but an extension of the individual life, whose existence is a result of the activity of the life-soul. The life-soul has then been interpreted into the context afterwards, probably on the basis of mythological prototypes.[31]

The intimate connection between the life-soul and the organism is a vital condition for the latter's existence. The life-soul can therefore never compete with the free-soul in the matter of a detached relation to the body. "Es unterliegt keinem Zweifel", declares Arbman rightly, "dass die Verbindung zwischen dem Körper und seinen Seelen, also *den*

[29] Frachtenberg 1920, 335 sq.

[30] Leach 1950 II, 619. Cf. Frazer's extensive material in "The Golden Bough" part VII: 2 (Frazer 1923).

[31] See further below, § 21, and—concerning the life-soul and life—below, pp. 157, 160 sqq.

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Seelen, die wirklich als den Körper belebend gedacht werden, infolge ihres Charakters als zur selbständigen Existenz erhobener Eigenschaften und Funktionen des Körpers eine ganz andere und festere ist als die der Psyche zum Individuum".[32]

The Athapascan Indian soul-beliefs afford good instances of life-souls with a close connection with the organism. The Coyukon, characteristically enough, call the life-soul "our soul which is from (or next to) our body", in contradistinction to the free-soul, which is referred to as "our outer, or secondary, soul".[33] The Carrier at Bulkley River declare that the life-soul never leaves the body during the life-time of the individual.[34] The Western Déné have an eloquent expression for the intimate connection between the body and its animating principle: they "believed man to be vivified by a soul which to them was nothing else than his natural warmth".[35] "According to the primitive Dénés, man is made up of a perishable body and of a transformable soul, if soul this can really be called, which they knew as *nezael*", says Father Morice. "This is almost equivalent to the *anima* of the Romans, inasmuch as it gives warmth and vitality to the body. However, etymologically speaking, it is rather the effect than the cause of life, since *nezael* means at the same time human heat".[36] Curiously enough, this conception also occurs among the South Athapascans: the Lipan Apache believe that at the birth of a human being the lightning penetrates him, and thereafter it "is considered to be the force that 'keeps you warm, keeps you alive' ".[37] The Lipan thus seem to have brought the notion of the "warmth-soul" from their first home in the north.

That the life-soul is bound to the body is also evinced by the fact that in contradistinction to that of the free-soul its duration of life coincides completely with the duration of human life. Among the Fox

[32] Arbman, op. cit., 177 sq.

[33] Jetté 1911, 99.

[34] Jenness 1943, 535. Jenness adds the following significant characterization of the life-soul among this people: "being a mere attribute, as it were, of the body..." (Jenness, op.cit., loc.cit.).

[35] Morice 1889, 158. Also the Eskimo at Bering Strait and on Labrador have this conception; cf. Nelson 1899, 422, Hawkes 1916, 136 sq.

[36] Morice 1906, 209; cf. Morice 1911, 640; Jenness 1943, 535. Cf. also Hill-Tout 1907 a, 177. Curiously enough, warmth appears also in some way to have characterized the dislocated free-soul. Thus the wandering free-soul of a sick person was caught in his down-lined moccasins; if the down felt warm, the free-soul had entered them (Morice 1889, 158 sq.; Morice 1897, 75; Morice 1906, 209; Jenness, op.cit., 536). Perhaps the warmth of the free-soul derives from the fact that it is a replica of the warm and living individual. The life-soul, again, is more directly an expression for vital warmth, probably in the first place by association to the breath and the warm blood (cf. Crawley 1909, 223).

[37] Opler 1945, 123.

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the life-soul appears already in the unborn child.[38] If the life-soul is injured, this may affect the state of the body: if the life-soul of an Oglala falls into the power of the demon Crazy Buffalo, he becomes paralyzed.[39] Among the Cowichan, the soul may literally fall apart into several pieces, which bodes the death of the individual.[40] As a rule, the loss of the life-soul entails the rather sudden, often immediate, death of the individual.[41] As has already been mentioned, there are exceptional cases of soul-loss in connection with which the life-soul plays the rôle of the lost soul; if the life-soul does not return, the individual dies.[42] In the absence of the life-principle, the body can as a rule not function. Among the Oglala, it is true, the peculiar eventuality of the free-soul taking over the life-preserving and life-maintaining activity of the life-soul may occur when the latter soul departs.[43] But normally the individual is regarded as dead during the temporary absence of the life-soul; with the life-soul flies life itself.[44] The life-soul has not the same possibilities of appearing outside the body unhindered and without its owner suffering any ill-effect as has the free-soul.

The bondage of the life-soul to the body is reflected also in its fate after death. Arbman has earlier shown how common it is for the life-soul to succumb with the body, i. e. to die at the same moment as the individual.[45] Several North American Indian peoples have, moreover, conceived that the life-soul ceases to exist when its owner dies.[46] But, as we shall find, the motif of annihilation is by no means predominant. As a rule, the life-soul seems in some way to go on living. It is sometimes even supposed that the life-soul continues its existence after the death of the individual in the latter's dead body. Thus we find here the ultimate consequence of the close bondage of the life-soul to the body and its organs.[47]

Both through its independence of the conscious ego of the individual

[38] Michelson 1925, 358. See also § 28.

[39] Walker, op.cit., 88 sq. Like the free-soul, the life-soul is thus sometimes exposed to great dangers. As another of its enemies the Oglala mention the water-spirits, which may chase it out of the body (Walker, op.cit., 89).

[40] Boas 1894 b, 462. A composite life-soul occurs among the closely related Bella Coola (cf. below).

[41] See e.g. Michelson, op.cit., lo.cit. (the Fox); Boas, op.cit., 461 (the Cowichan); Boas 1894 a, 207 (the Chinook); Walker, op.cit., 87 (the Oglala); Parsons 1929, 65 (San Juan); Parsons 1925, 77 note 124 (Hopi). Cf. also Lévy-Bruhl 1927, 131. See also § 31.

[42] Cf. Boas 1940 b, 600.

[43] Walker, op.cit., loc.cit.

[44] For further details concerning this point, see §§ 16, 31.

[45] Arbman, op.cit., 144, 184, 184 note 2.

[46] Examples, see § 32.

[47] See further § 32.

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and through its fatal connection with the vital functions, the life-soul documents itself as a conception having nothing in common with our idea of a personality-soul. The interaction of the life-soul with the free-soul in a dualistic soul-conception throws further light upon this profound divergence. In the alternation with the free-soul the life-soul is little more than the more or less personally conceived biological life-factor. Sometimes, as among the Fox, the relation between the souls implies the subjection of the life-soul to the supervision of the free-soul.[48] In a number of cases the life-soul is at the same time the principle of consciousness, ego-soul, as among the Huron, Wintu, Havasupai and other tribes.[49] But such examples illustrate already a first stage in the development towards a unified soul-conception.

If it is desired further to stress the delimitation of the life-soul from the conception of the personality-soul, one may adduce two circumstances that seem to render impossible all thought of identity between the two conceptions. The one of these is that in a number of cases the life-soul disintegrates to form several life-souls. The other is that the life-soul is sometimes interpreted as a vital force having a neutral, altogether impersonal colouring.

Behind the belief in the many life-souls we generally find the notion that the physiological symptoms of life are to be referred to special function-souls which give expression to them. It is these souls in particular that deserve the designation "organ-souls".[50] They are, however, on this account in no way identical with the organs animated by them; in this respect, what has been said concerning the general life-soul is also applicable to them. Nor does their existence exclude the simultaneous occurrence of a general life-soul.[51] The following examples throw further light upon these special souls of the body.

According to the Eskimo on Greenland, "chaque homme a beaucoup d'âmes, c'est-à-dire une petite âme dans chaque membre, dans chaque articulation du doigt et de l'orteil, dans chaque poignet, dans chaque articulation du genou, etc. Une douleur dans un membre signifie que son âme en est sortie". But in addition to this, man has two larger souls in the neck and in the diaphragm, and one of these must be the general

[48] Michelson, op.cit., 358. Cf. also McIlwraith, op.cit., 97 (the Bella Coola).
[49] See above, pp. 108 sq. under A and C 2.
[50] Wundt, op.cit., 79, 114 sqq.; Straubinger, op.cit., 406.
[51] Boas 1940 b, 599 sq. Wundt's thesis to the effect that the many organ-souls have sprung from a primary unitary body-soul conception is not borne out by our data (Wundt, op.cit., 116 sq., 256).

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life-soul.[52] While the loss of the latter is connected with great risk to life, there is no danger in the departure of one of the small souls.[53] This emerges clearly from Cranz's description of the soul-belief prevalent among the West Greenlanders. He complains that the natives' descriptions of the soul are "so materiell, dass sie ab- und zunehmen, zertheilt werden, ein Stück verlieren und wieder reparirt werden, oder sich gar auf eine Zeitlang aus dem Leibe verlieren kan, so dass schon mancher, wenn er auf eine weite Reise gegangen ist, seine Seele zu Hause gelassen hat, und doch immer frisch und gesund geblieben ist".[54]

Despite its peculiarly etherial nature, the life-soul among the Bella Coola consists of "four intangible elements which unite to form the immaterial whole. One of these parts, including the voice, is located in the throat, another in the trunk, a third in the legs, and a fourth in the feet; the body is thus divided into four quarters. The connection of these with one another and with the spirit, the mental director of life, is a matter of advanced Bella Coola theology on which opinions differ".[55]

Bancroft asserts that "some Oregon tribes gave a soul to every member of the body".[56]

Among the Wind River Shoshoni, *mugua* is the general life-soul, but as life-soul it does not stand alone. For "more specific vital functions (such as the breath or the heart) may not only form the focus for *mugua's* life, but they may also be associated with the activity of more or less emancipated 'corporeal souls' ".[57]

According to the Navajo, the movements of the body are due to the "wind-people". "In the spirals on the ends of the thumb and fingers are located the Winds which move the legs and feet, black Wind on the thumb, blue on the forefinger, yellow on the middle finger, white on the third, spotted on the little finger. These Winds stay in the body directing its movements until death and then emerge through the spirals". In addition to these there exists "one big Wind", which fills the body and constitutes a superior life-soul.[58]

[52] Thalbitzer 1930 b, 88, 92. Cf. also above, p. 56 (Holm's description). According to Rasmussen, all the life-souls together constitute one united life-soul (Rasmussen 1921, 12).
[53] Cf. § 16.
[54] Cranz 1765 I, 257.
[55] McIlwraith, op.cit., 98 sq.
[56] Bancroft 1875 III, 515. Cf. Brinton 1868, 237.
[57] Hultkrantz, op.cit., 28.
[58] Wyman, Hill & Osanai 1942, 14 sq.

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In this connection one may ask oneself whether the eye-design on the Northwest Coast has not directly or indirectly to do with such notions.[59] Niblack reports that "in the Haida drawings an eye is placed in the breast, in the ear, paw, tail, etc., of figures, presumably on the belief that each member of the body has the power of looking out for itself or controlling its own movements".[60] Niblack is here, of course, actually referring to the eventual occurrence of smaller organ-souls. In the modern interpretation of the eye-ornamentation the above possible interpretation has attracted but slight interest or been altogether overlooked.[61] "The typical eye design", writes Boas, "is presumably related to the circle and dot and may have developed from the double tendency of associating geometrical motives with animal forms and of the other, of standardizing forms derived from animal motives as ornamental elements".[62] Here the profane interpretation is somewhat self-sufficient.

In a way, however, Boas is not entirely unaware of the possibility that religious motives may have existed for this art, for he is of the opinion that totemistic ideas inspired the art of the north-west American Indians.[63] But one may question whether this art does not also express trains of thought and immediate impressions associated with the soul-belief. One is tempted to believe that at least in some cases the eye-design has had such an import.[64] Garfield is of the opinion that the drawing of an eye or a face in the eye of a painted figure symbolizes "the vital force or life principle", unless—as is sometimes the case—it is only a conventional motif without special significance.[65]

Finally, some words concerning two body-souls which can scarcely be classed with the category of special souls or organ-souls. These are the life-soul ("the being whereby one lives") and the growth-soul ("the thing whereby one grows") among the Quileute. Frachtenberg, who has collected the data concerning these conceptions, regrets that he has not been able to get a clear idea of the rôle played by the first-mentioned

[59] Concerning this design, see Boas 1927, 252 sqq. It occurs chiefly in northern British Columbia and southern Alaska, but is not found farther south (see Boas, op.cit., 281, 287 sq.). Cf. also Schurtz 1895, 13 sqq., Smith & Spier 1927, 47 sqq.

[60] Niblack 1890, the text of Pl. XLIV. Cf. Schurtz, op.cit., 20 (Virchow's interpretation).

[61] It is remarkable that Wundt, who mentions the eye-design in his soul-analysis, does not relate it directly to the soul-belief (Wundt, op.cit., 107).

[62] Boas, op.cit., 280. Cf. also Adam 1949, 38 sq., 199 sq.; Adam 1923, 16 sqq., especially 19.

[63] Boas, op.cit., 281.

[64] Cf. e.g. Niblack, op.cit., Pl. LI, Fig. 280, and the accompanying text, 322 sq.

[65] Garfield & Forrest 1948, 3.

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soul. It seems, however, to be separated from the body and to have the appearance of the free-soul, and to reside between the free-soul and the growth-soul; if it is lost, it may be restored by a competent shaman. If, on the other hand, the growth-soul should escape, it cannot be restored, and its departure marks the advent of death.[66] May it be that the life-soul has been duplicated, since it is on the one hand presumed to control man's physiological functions and on the other hand has nevertheless acquired the capacity of the free-soul to leave the individual?

We thus see that the pluralism of the life-souls has often constituted a living reality for belief. Where such a pluralism exists, it is a guarantee that the conception of the life-soul is not a conception of a personality-soul. Yet another circumstance supports this assumption, viz. the frequently striking tendency among the natives to associate the life-soul with ideas concerning the life-stuff and life-essence. We shall here make a closer study of the expressions for this tendency and its consequences.

If the conception of the more or less personified soul constitutes the one pole in the conceptual complex developed around the notion of the life-soul, the other pole is constituted by the idea of the life-soul as an impersonal, fluid essence. This material aspect in no way includes the actual essence of the life-soul. We are here confronted with a pronounced product of contamination, a psychologically natural confusion between life-soul and life-essence.

Theoretically, we can distinguish between life as a sign of existence, a qualitative conception (marked in the more primitive view of the external soul), life as life-stuff, a quantitative idea, and, finally, life as an actively operating cause of all vital manifestations, thus the dynamic conception of the life-soul. We shall here investigate the relation between the two last-mentioned conceptions, the life-stuff and the life-soul. For the Indians, the concepts tend for the most part to merge into one another, although in certain cases they are able to maintain a clear distinction between them.

First some instances of the clear distinction between the two concepts.

The Bella Coola distinguish between the life-soul, which animates the body and is more or less conceived as separate from the same, and the breath, *sininits*. "The word signifies more than the material act of breathing, it denotes the actual physical state of being alive".[67]

[66] Frachtenberg 1920, 334 sqq.
[67] McIlwraith, op.cit., 95; cf. op.cit., 97 sqq.

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Morice indicates that some West Athapascans make a terminological distinction between "the vital principle" on the one hand and "the outward sign of life, breath, and, by extension, life itself" on the other hand.[68]

Very subtle is the distinction an Oglala shaman drew between *niya*—as we have already seen, the life-soul—and the concept *ni*. "A man's *Ni* is his life. It is the same as his breath and that which gives him his strength. It is the *Ni* which keeps the inside of a man clean. If the *Ni* is weak, he cannot perform this office and if it goes away the man dies. *Niya* is the ghost or spirit which is given to a man at birth and is that which causes the *Ni*".[69] It is, however, an open question as to whether the same distinction has been observed in the popular belief.

That the same rough difference between "life" and life-soul was observed by the Navajo has already been instanced.[70] It may be added that the Navajo have formulated a special term, *'áji*, which signifies "manifestation by breath and sound of the life and power of a being, that which keeps one powerful, that which one is plus what he has secured through ritual"—as Dr. Reichard points out, the last-mentioned ritual refers to the ritual act called "breathing in".[71] There is, further, a special designation for life-force and another for the life-force supplemented with the effluent power of the ritual.[72]

The Pima distinguish between the respiration and its motive power, the soul. "The soul is in the center of the breast. It makes us breathe, but it is not the breath".[73]

But even if such a theoretical distinction occurs—at least in certain contexts—this difference is certainly not maintained consistently in the long run. Not even a trained thinker like the speculative Oglala shaman can indefinitely maintain the distinction between the concepts *ni* and *niya*.[74] The notions of life-soul and life-stuff have originated in two disparate psychic experiences, on the one hand the impressions of psychic activity behind the manifestations of life, on the other hand the perception of the variations in the life-force, i. e. in the potential vital resources (in consequence of the varying ages and states of health among individuals), in which connection, especially through association to the

[68] Morice 1911, 640. Cf. above, p. 155.
[69] Walker 1917, 156.
[70] See above, p. 151.
[71] Reichard 1950 I, 33; Reichard 1944, 51 sq. Cf. below.
[72] Reichard 1944, 52.
[73] Russell 1908, 252.
[74] Cf. Walker, op.cit., 86 sq., 156.

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fluid, life-maintaining breath, the life-force takes on its concrete character. It has, however, not been possible to keep the conceptions once arising in this way distinct, except in some few cases (and even here not with complete consistency). The quantitative conceptions that have been bound up with the idea of the life-stuff have been transferred to the idea of the soul. The latter has in this way been changed, with the consequences that the life-soul sometimes appears in the light of an impersonal *fluidum* which may be disposed of to another living being, and sometimes as a quantitatively measurable capacity, a graduated life-force. It is sometimes possible to make out clearly from our literary instances that it really is the life-soul that is conceived in this way. But one is just as often uncertain as to whether it is the life-soul that is referred to or not.

The following examples will show how the general notion of the life-stuff has developed in North America, and how it has been interwoven with the idea of the soul.

As regards, first, the tendency of the life-soul or of life to "flow over" into other beings as impersonal matter, we find this tendency more frequently in fairy-tales and legends than in what has been noted down concerning practical everyday belief. Yet there is no reason to doubt that the conceptual element in these legends has been the object of sincere religious belief.[75] As a typical example of the appearance of the above-mentioned motif in the popular tradition we may choose a narrative from the Cheyenne. Some men on a journey found a weak and hungry old wolf and gave him food. Grateful for their benevolence, the wolf said: "I will give you my life. You will live on this world your full lives. You will go all over the world, and have success in war. You will live free dom danger and sickness, until your old age is passed".[76]

As has already been mentioned, the notion of the life-stuff is frequently connected with the breath (the breath-soul). It is often the breath which is transferred from individual to individual as a vital *fluidum*. The following custom is related from the Ingalik: "Sometimes a dying person will send for one to whom he wishes to pass on his powers. Then the dying one looks to the North, breathes on the other and spits on

[75] I shall defer the theoretical discussion of the value of the traditional material from the point of view of the student of religion until I come to deal with the eschatology.

[76] Kroeber 1900, 188; see also above, p. 83. Cf. a similar example from the Tsimshian (Boas 1916, 150 sq.).

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him (spittle is a part of you)". An Ingalik woman said to the young man who reported this: "I think a great deal of you. I could do almost anything for you and I would like to give you some of my power, but if I did, I would die within the year. I must live for my children—providing the Good One see fit for me to live".[77]

A similar infusion of the breath is known from the Southwest region right down to the Tehuantepec Isthmus.[78] It is especially characteristic for the Pueblo region.[79] One has, however, a feeling that the procedures of inhalation and exhalation have here a more restricted, so to speak "partitive" import: life is conceived as a quantitative entity, expressed through the breath, and the donor does not jeopardize his life-force by dispersing it. It should be added that in this region the ritual breathing sometimes assumes a completely new significance. The breath is not only the symbol of life among the Zuni, points out Dr. Bunzel. "It also is the means by which spiritual substances communicate and the seat of power or mana. Inhaling is an act of ritual blessing. One inhales from all sacred objects to derive benefit from their mana".[80] The breath is here a basis for such widely differing conceptions as life-soul and life-force, *mana* and natural qualities.

Where the transference of the breath aims at strengthening the life-potency of the recipient without the donor's life on this account being jeopardized, it is most natural to think of the conception of the life-stuff. The idea of the life-stuff as a transferable entity in the sense indicated occurs not only among the Pueblo Indians, but also among other Southwest peoples.[81] But it is at the same time interwoven with the idea of the life-soul. Among the White Mountain Apache, where the life-soul and the breath are identical, "an individual receives life from his mother—a part of her life".[82] Outside of the Southwest culture the breath-soul appears to be a more closed conception, even when it is

[77] Parsons 1921—1922, 70; cf. Parsons, op.cit., 65 sq. Cf. also Chapman 1921, 305 (according to Chapman, the exhalation seldom has consequences for the donor).
[78] Cf. Parsons 1936 a, 313.
[79] Parsons 1939 I, 419 sqq. Cf. above, p. 142.
[80] Bunzel 1932 a, 481. Thompson is of the opinion that the motif of reviving the dead by breathing upon them which occurs in the traditions of, inter alia, the Seneca, Ojibway and Southern Paiute constitutes in the majority of cases "a clear example of sympathetic magic" (Thompson 1929, 319). The original texts reviewed are of such a kind that it is useless to speculate as to whether the breath here includes a life-force which is transferred to the dead person, or whether it contains *mana* and for this reason has a supernatural effect.
[81] See Parsons 1939 II, 1007 note (the Tarahumare), above, p. 161 (the Navajo), and below (the White Mountain Apache).
[82] Goodwin 1938, 36.

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represented as a material *fluidum*, i. e. as akin to the notion of the life-stuff.[83]

But it must not be imagined that the life-stuff is manifested only through the breath. The Winnebago celebrated a successful campaign with a scalp-feast, at which they tried to acquire the life-force of the deceased. "If we trample upon it (= the scalp)", declared the person who had issued the invitation to the feast, "all the goods of life that were still coming to him when he was killed will be transferred to us ... So all you women and men see to it that you dance with all your strength. Do not take this matter lightly, for we obtain life thereby, we were told".[84] We are told also that "the dancers and the feasters, indeed all who had counted coup, tried to obtain some of the dead enemy's residuary life. All tried to add some new life to their own".[85] Whatever the life-stuff may be here, however it may have been conceived, one thing is certain: it was not identical with the breath. It appears rather to have been conceived as a *fluidum sui generis*.

The foregoing examples of the character of fluid, alienable substance ascribed to the life-soul also illustrate the ease with which it may be conceived as a measurable, quantitatively determined capacity. The life-soul is of course in a certain sense also the life-force—i. e. the force for life, movement, function[86]—and through ideational association with the life-stuff man's life-soul becomes a quantitative entity, whose varying strength may be assessed according to his outer behaviour, chiefly, of course, through the effect of his physical feats. One must, however, keep this profane conception of force distinct from the conception of the supernatural power.[87]

The variations in the potency of life or the life-soul (it is often difficult to decide which of the two notions is referred to, or whether a distinction has been drawn between them at all) may be further illustrated by the following instances taken at random.

According to the Polar Eskimo, every person is at birth equipped

[83] Cf. the instance from the Ingalik, above, pp. 162 sq. The following instance is particularly illustrative. An old Shawnee woman was watching over her dying grandchild, a young girl. When the girl's breath became shorter, the grandmother rushed up, seized a pillow and flung it against the child's face, and then pressed it down on the face. The parents sat silent and still, but the missionary who was present remonstrated with the old woman, aghast. She, however, answered: "Me catch her spirit, it stay awhile, it not go away yet" (Spencer 1910, 393 sq.).

[84] Radin 1923, 380.

[85] Radin, op.cit., 381.

[86] See above, p. 151. "We will fight as long as life and strength in us will permit", was the resolve of the old Fox warriors in a, from the military point of view, desperate situation (Jones 1911, 230).

[87] See further § 22. Cf. also below, the Shoshoni instance.

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with a certain quantum of "vital force", which ebbs away with advancing age.[88] The life-soul of the Iroquois develops the whole of its strength in wrath and passion, when it drives away "the rational soul".[89] The life-soul of the Oglala had, inter alia, the function of giving "the power to influence others".[90]

The Bella Coola Indian is helpless without his vital principle; "without it there can be neither strength nor growth". The life-soul grows with the body: "As a person becomes older, so does this element grow, always taking the exact shape and form of the body". In spite of the fact that, as we have seen, the breath expresses roughly the neutral, general aspects of the life-idea, life-force and vitality are referred not to the breath but to the life-soul—at least if we are to believe McIlwraith. "It is the life (-soul) that suffers whenever the skin is broken. Any wound may prove dangerous, but particularly one that cuts either of the invisible lines along which vitality flows from the little finger to the little toe. An injury to one of these channels spreads rapidly and is in many cases fatal".[91]

Also among the Shoshoni of Wyoming the life-soul is sometimes conceived as a graded life-force. But this life-force has a peculiar form of expression: the quantity of life-stuff in a person is determined as manifoldness, so that a human being with much life-force is conceived to possess several life-souls. "If *mugua* (the life-soul) was strong, one might shoot at the body as much as one pleased", declared a Shoshoni woman; "but since this was scarcely practicable, *mugua* was fragile. In the old war-like days bullets might even pass through strong warriors, without their sustaining any injury, so they must have had several *muguas*..."[92] As may be seen, the conception of the life-force here comes, nevertheless, very close to the conception of the supernatural power. We shall later discuss the cause of this (see § 22).

Concerning the Achomawi, de Angulo relates that "ils disent eux-mêmes: la vie c'est la même chose que la puissance".[93]

Like the Bella Coola, the White Mountain Apache believe that the life-soul grows with the body.[94] "A baby's life is small and in proport-

[88] Rasmussen 1908, 126 sq.
[89] JR XLII, 51. Among the Fox, on the other hand, it is the free-soul or the "large soul" that plays such a fatal rôle: when it becomes all too large, its owner is seized with the lust to kill (Michelson, op.cit., 358).
[90] Walker, op.cit., 87.
[91] McIlwraith, op.cit., 97 sq.
[92] Hultkrantz, op.cit., 21.
[93] de Angulo 1928, 152.
[94] Cf. also the "growth-soul" among the Quileute (see above, pp. 159 sq).

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ion to its size; as the body grows, life grows".[95] We have already seen that the Lipan Apache consider the life-soul to be in part identical with the lightning.[96] They say, too: "When this lightning burns out, the wind comes out and you are gone". "He burned down" is a common expression among them concerning a person who has died, and an Indian made the following comment upon this expression: "It is just as it is when a candle burns out or a fuse gives out".[97] The life-force flees, and the life is gone.

Finally, it may be worth noting that conceptions like those mentioned above occur also among the peoples just south of the North American cultural boundary, e. g. among the Tarascans. "An old person, who has begun to lose some of his vigor, is often spoken of as only half alive. Similarly, very small children are often regarded as not fully alive".[98]

The contamination between life-soul and life-essence which is more or less clearly traceable in the above examples is presumably rather common in North America. When we now proceed to the discussion of the notions of the physical anchorage of the life-soul, we shall find that in some cases there is a connection between the conception of life-force and the organ containing the life-soul.

Although, as we have seen, the life-soul is not identical with any part of the living organism, but, on the contrary, manifests its independence of the latter, it is not infrequently connected with some physical organ which it either especially animates or in which it has taken up its abode.[99] At bottom, this is the same thing: the life-soul resides preferably where the symptoms of life are most in evidence. The commonest points of association for the life-soul are therefore the pulses and the blood, the heart, the bones (which manifest the body's capacity for movement) and the head (from which the body-movements are directed).

The pulse-soul is in North America best known from the Yuman peoples. The pulses are thus the "foci" of the life-soul among the Yuma

[95] Goodwin, op.cit., 36.
[96] See above, p. 155.
[97] Opler, op.cit., 123.
[98] Beals 1946, 207. Cf. further § 28.
[99] Boas is of the opinion that the necessary condition is that the life-soul is conceived as substantial object (Boas 1940 b, 604 sq.); this seems, however, not to be necessary.

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and the Maricopa.[100] The Maricopa call the pulse the "little heart"—the heart is here also (the seat of) a soul.[101]

Like the pulses, also the warm, circulating blood reveals the presence of the life-soul—or the life-souls. This does not mean, as has often been said, that the blood *is* the soul. Properly seen, the blood constitutes only the seat of the life-soul, not the life-soul itself, which is also sometimes directly stated in our sources.[102] It is only in shamanistic speculation that one can find hints of a relationship of identity—i. e. it would appear that the soul-idea proper has here been ignored and replaced with an elastic life-concept; at least this is the case in the following passage from the mythology of the Medicine-dance among the Mascoutens: "When the Great Spirit created mankind he dipped his finger in water and put it in their mouths. Therefore, water is life. It has perpetual motion; it is the blood in our bodies. It is the life in our hearts. Our hearts are only wind and water moving".[103] Our impression is that the soul (probably the "heart"), as being inconvenient in the developed cosmic symbolism has been replaced by more easily managed phenomena associated with the vital functions, inter alia, the blood.

Thus in the actual popular soul-belief the blood is not the life-soul itself.[104] On the other hand, we have several instances showing the blood to contain the life-substance, the life-stuff, the life-force, especially from the legend literature.[105] After the death of the individual this "life" may represent himself.[106] But this occurs only in exceptional cases. Among the Lenape the blood may acquire an independent existence of its own after the death of the body, but it does not then represent the person himself, the deceased. "The Indians say", reports Harrington, "that the blood in the dead body draws up into globular form and floats about in the air as a luminous ball, but this is not the real spirit".[107] According to Speck, the life-soul connected with the blood

[100] Forde 1931, 179; Spier 1933, 296; Spier 1936, 21.
[101] Spier 1933, loc.cit.; Spier 1946, 71.
[102] Boas 1932 b, 224 (the Kwakiutl); Speck 1931, 25 (the Delaware); Beals 1946, 202 (the Tarascans).
[103] Skinner 1924, 217, 221.
[104] Cf. also Leach 1949 I, 148.
[105] See e.g. Curtin & Hewitt 1918 I, 95 sq. (the Seneca); Voth 1905, 139 (Hopi). To this circle of conceptions may also be added the many examples of the fact that North American Indians do not drink the blood of killed animals, as the blood contains the life of these animals (see e.g. Frazer 1927, 240 sq., with references to Morice, Petitot and Adair). "Life" is here a complicated mystical reality, at once both life-stuff and symbol for the animal's dangerous, mystical power. Cf. below § 17, concerning the blood.
[106] Boas 1895 b, 214 (the Rivers Inlet).
[107] Harrington 1913, 228; Harrington 1921, 53 sq.

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becomes after death a wandering ghost, that injures the living by afflicting them with paralysis.[108]

Other internal organs with which the life-soul or the life-souls may be associated are the gall-bladder, the lungs and the heart. From a German source Clements quotes the statement that the Ojibway think themselves able to localize the soul (it must be a matter of the life-soul) to the gall-bladder; he adds: "This may or may not be related to the Siberian theory that the soul resides in the liver".[109] The last-mentioned notion occurs among the Buryats, Yakuts, Chukchee and Koryaks.[110] Such a reconstruction of historical connections strikes me, however, as both unnecessary and impossible.

The Bella Coola, Luiseño and Navajo imagine that the life-soul resides in the lungs.[111] In the Bella Coola narrative "The Black Bear" we read, concerning the Bear woman: "Since she had taken her heart and lungs from her chest, an arrow shot into her body would not kill her".[112] This seems to be a question of a life-soul, at the same time as one glimpses the connection with the so-called external soul.[113] It is certain that the breath-soul among the Navajo resides in the lungs—a natural place for such a soul.[114]

The Ute consider that one of the souls—it is uncertain which—has its abode in the stomach.[115] The Creek conceived the life-soul to reside in the intestines.[116] The Hopi point to the region above the navel as "the place where the breath of a man lives".[117] Among the Tepehuano the soul dwells between the stomach and the chest.[118] It is presumably the life-soul that among the Haida, Arikara, Pima and some Gosiute is located in the chest.[119] In the majority of cases the life-soul alleged by native informants to be connected with the chest is probably in point of fact localized to the heart.

The heart is without doubt the most important centre for the life of the body in the imagination of most North American peoples. Prob-

[108] Speck 1931, 25.
[109] Clements 1932, 236; Bartels 1893, 204.
[110] Clements, op.cit., 234.
[111] The Bella Coola and Navajo, see the following footnotes; Luiseño, see Du Bois 1908, 89.
[112] Boas 1898 a, 127.
[113] See below, pp. 333 sq.
[114] Stewart 1942, 319.
[115] Stewart, op.cit., loc.cit.
[116] Hewitt & Swanton 1939, 157.
[117] Beaglehole 1935, 12.
[118] Lumholtz 1904 I, 314.
[119] Swanton 1905 b, 42 (the Haida); Curtis 1909 V, 63 sq. (the Arikara); Russell 1908, 252 (the Pima); Steward 1943, 348 (the Gosiute).

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ably this has been the case from time immemorial. Very likely the so-called life-line on North American rock-drawings—a line connecting heart and mouth in human beings and animals—is intended to symbolize the breath-soul associated with the heart; if this is so, these drawings constitute the oldest documents concerning the Indians' soul-belief. Let us discuss this subject for a moment.

The usual explanation of the life-line is and has been that its significance has to do with hunting magic,[120] for the life-lines of the rock-drawings (in America and elsewhere) have been connected with other drawings closely akin to these and with indisputable magic-projective import, e. g. the animal scenes of the palaeolithic European rock-paintings, where arrow-heads are represented on the bodies of the game.[121] This view is strongly supported by Hoffman's reports concerning hunting magic among the Ojibway. When an Ojibway shaman wants to secure hunting success for his hunting client "he will draw with a sharp-pointed bone or nail, upon a small piece of birch bark, the outline of the animal desired by the applicant... Frequently the heart is indicated by a round or triangular figure, from which a line extends toward the mouth, generally designated the life line, i. e., that magic power may reach its heart and influence the life of the subject designated".[122] It is precisely on the outskirts of the Ojibway region that the most numerous and most typical life-line drawings on rock in the whole of North America are to be found.[123]

The interpretation of these drawings as having to do with hunting magic is doubtless often correct; and the North American rock-drawings of the life-line in animals show a close connection with old circumpolar hunting and gathering culture.[124] But this does not mean to say that the life-line does not in the first place represent the actual central life-apparatus, the life-soul. The magic, we conclude, resides in the representation as such, with enhanced effect through the representation

[120] Cf. Gjessing 1944, 57 sq.

[121] Cf. e.g. the rock-paintings in the Niaux grotto, from Magdalenian time.

[122] Hoffman 1891, 221 sq.

[123] The rock-drawings in Pipestone, Minnesota. See figures in Winchell 1911: Pl. IV no. 28, p. 563 fig. 4, Pl. VIII no. 1, 13, 17, 43, 49, p. 566 fig. 7. See also Mallery 1894, p. 88 fig. 50; Steward 1937, pp. 415 sqq.: fig. 1 i, 2 r, 3 a. Cf. the similar Ojibway drawings, Mallery, op.cit., p. 482 fig. 670, p. 495 fig. 700, p. 496 fig. 701, p. 765 fig. 1288.

[124] Gjessing mentions Minnesota, Virginia, Arizona and New Mexico as the regions with the richest finds of these life-line drawings in Indian North America (Gjessing, op.cit., 58). These areas are probably connected with the corresponding areas in Alaska, East Asia, Siberia, Scandinavia (Gjessing, op.cit., 59 sq.).

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of the vital organs; sometimes the magic is further confirmed by representing an arrow pointing towards the heart and the life-line.[125]

That the life-line is a pictorial symbol for the life-soul is hinted in reports of modern Indian popular belief. Thus the sign for the life-soul ("heart and soul") among the Wind River Shoshoni reminds one of the life-line.[126] It would seem that the modern Pueblo Indians have best preserved and kept alive the symbolism of the life-line. Franz Boas writes that "the Pueblo Indian paints the form of a deer with a fair degree of perspective accuracy, but adds to it a line running from the mouth to the heart as an essential symbol of life".[127] The Oraibi (Hopi) generally place a feather-string, *pühtabi*, from the chest above the heart to the mouth of one recently deceased; the string is called the "breath-leg".[128] When anyone is initiated into the Hopi Indians' Antelope society the master of the ceremonies swings a corn-cob fetish towards him with a movement from the head down towards the heart, and pronounces his blessing on him and his desire that he should enjoy long life.[129]

Also other examples might be adduced, chiefly from the Pueblo area.[130] They are all of them significant, since they are connected with a tradition that has been eternalized in the rock-drawings. For the life-line is found on rocks in the immediate neighbourhood of both the Shoshoni and Hopi Indians[131] and the rock-drawings have been executed up to recent times by members of these tribes.[132] It is thus natural to assume that these pictures eternalize the same life-soul idea that has been so widespread in modern Indian popular belief.

But let us proceed to the direct testimonies concerning the heart's significance as life-power, life-giver!

A scrutiny of the ethnographical material of statements noted down concerning soul-belief reveals that the heart has very frequently been

[125] Cf. Gjessing, op.cit., 58 fig. 18: Indian drawing. As the life-line is drawn on an anthropomorphic figure, one must assume that the magic—inasmuch as it is there at all—may have been directed against some enemy with annihilating intent.

[126] Hultkrantz, op.cit., 22.

[127] Boas 1927, 78.

[128] Stephen 1936, 827; Voth 1901, 103 note.

[129] Voth 1903, 310; cf. also Stevenson 1904, 505 (Zuni).

[130] The Zuni are of the opinion that the summer wind is the breath of the rain-gods, and these gods "do not breathe from the mouth but directly from the heart" (Stevenson, op.cit., 21).

[131] Concerning the Wind River Shoshoni, see Hultkrantz, Ms.; concerning the Hopi, see above, p. 169 note 124. Cf. the animal-drawings among the Hopi in modern times (see Parsons 1939 I, 424 note).

[132] Steward, op.cit., 411 sq.

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assumed to be the seat of the life-soul or its centre of activity in North America. This is, however, more evidently the case in certain cultural areas than in others. Thus we have no positive instances at all from the interior and east of Canada. This lack is particularly marked in the Athapascan material; it therefore seems logical that the heart-soul has been noted only sparsely among the Athapascans of the Southwest (the Navajo and Apache).

The Eskimo, on the other hand, have connected the heart and the life-soul,[133] as have many of the peoples along the Northwest Coast.[134] East of the continental watershed our instances come actually only from some Algonquin groups belonging to the coastal and central Algonquin.[135] This is probably due largely to the fact that the soul-conceptions prevailing among the Eastern and Southeastern peoples have been only in part recorded. But it is surprising that the Plains area, which has been so carefully investigated in recent times, should not have yielded more.[136] An exception must here be made for the Wind River Shoshoni; they localize the life-soul to the heart, but as Shoshoni they should in this matter be grouped with the Basin peoples, of whom several have had the same view concerning the localization of the life-soul.[137] The tribes in North and Central California have also frequently localized the life-soul to the heart.[138] The same localization recurs among the Yuman peoples,[139] and we find it in at least a couple of the South Athapascan and Piman peoples.[140]

Finally, we have many instances from the Pueblo region, where the

[133] Cf. Thalbitzer 1930 a, 138.

[134] The Niska (Boas 1895 a, 582; Boas 1916, 544); Nootka (Sapir 1921, 594; Drucker 1951, 156); Bella Coola (Boas 1898 a, 127; cf. also above, p. 168); Coast Salish (Barnett 1938, 136; Barnett 1939, 265; Hill-Tout 1907 b, 336; Hale 1846, 209); Inland Salish (Ray 1932, 169). Cf. also the Haida (above, p. 168).

[135] The Delaware ("the source and centre of life": Brinton 1885, 71); Ojibway (Hoffman, op.cit., 222); Menomini (Skinner 1913, 85; Skinner 1921, 72; Sauk (Keating 1825 I, 232); Fox (Jones 1907 b, 269; Jones 1911, 218).

[136] Cf., however, the Arikara (above, p. 168).

[137] The Wind River Shoshoni (Hultkrantz, op.cit., 21, 22, 23 sq.); Paviotso? (Park 1938, 39); Ute? (Opler 1940, 145; Stewart 1942, 319); Southern Paiute (Kelly 1939, 157 sq.; Stewart, op.cit., loc.cit.); Tübatulabal (Voegelin 1938, 62). Cf. also the Gosiute (see above, p. 168).

[138] The Klamath (Spier 1930, 101); Modoc (Bartels 1893, 204; Curtin 1912, 80, 371); Yuki (Foster 1944 a, 206; cf. Gifford 1939, 353); Coast Central Pomo? (Loeb 1926, 296); Yokuts (Kroeber 1907 a, 242; Gayton 1948 II, 206, 237).

[139] The Kamia? (Gifford 1931, 70; cf., however, op.cit., 81); Yuma (Forde 1931, 179); Maricopa (Spier 1933, 296; Spier 1946, 71); Havasupai (Spier 1928, 331); Walapai (Kroeber 1935, 203).

[140] The Navajo (Matthews 1897, 91); Cáhita (Beals 1943 b, 55); Tarahumare (Parsons 1939 II, 1008). Cf. also the Pima (above, p. 168, and Bancroft 1875 III, 526 note 44). Also the Tepehuano are possobly to be included here (above, p. 168).

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life-soul occurs encapsuled in an unitary soul-conception.[141] "In Pueblo ideology the heart is the life", declares Dr. Parsons, "and considerable attention is directed ritually and in tales to the heart: 'heart' is given to ritual objects or persons or 'heart' is renewed, cleansed, or replaced. Witches steal the 'heart'. Medicine may be made from heart".[142] Here we find the association between life-soul, life-force and supernatural power in the heart, which is so typical in the imaginative world of the Pueblo peoples (see § 22).

The distribution to be deduced from our data does not, unfortunately, afford any unequivocal clue to the "history" of the heart-soul. One is struck, however, by two things: on the one hand the almost one-sided western distribution of the heart-soul, and on the other hand the tendency within the Southwestern culture-groups to stress particularly the connection between the life-soul and the heart. It is in the Southwestern culture that the conception undoubtedly attains its maximum intensity, with its peak in the Pueblo ideology. In "the significance of the heart as the seat of life" Alexander sees one of the links between the Pueblo peoples and the Mexican high-culture.[143] In this cultural nexus is included the whole of the Southwest, if one takes the Mexican conceptions of the heart as life-centre (see also § 27) together with the vaguer, general belief in a connection between the heart and *the life* that is held by the native groups of the Southwest.[144] The "life" is here the common denominator for such disparate conceptions as on the one hand the life-soul, the life-stuff, the life-force, and on the other hand the ego-soul and the free-soul.

That in this way the heart becomes a point of contact for the most widely differing "spiritualistic" conceptions is well known to us from the ethnographical literature of the entire world. It is rather natural that in his attempts to concretize mystically conceived properties man should try to anchor them in a central basis. And it is just as natural that this basis should be the heart; for the speculative mind the heart appears as the given centre with which to associate all the properties

[141] San Juan (Parsons 1929, 65); Cochiti (Dumarest 1919, 157, 166); San Felipe (White 1932 b, 42 sq., 47); Sia? (Stevenson 1894, 47, 67); Santa Ana (White 1942, 173); Isleta (Parsons 1939 I, 546); Laguna (Parsons 1920, 118 sq.); Acoma (White 1932 a, 138); Zuni? (Bunzel 1932 a, 481); Hopi? (cf. Parsons 1939 I, 424 sq.).

[142] Parsons 1939 I, 423; cf. op.cit., 96.

[143] Alexander 1916, 195, 285.

[144] Concerning the rôle played by the heart-soul in the Southwest, see also above, p. 146.

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constituting man's life, being and capacity.[145] In primitive North American as also in Occidental symbolism the heart has in a metaphorical sense come to stand as a concept for the central, the important in existence. The Cheyenne, for example, mention the presumed centre for all directions as "the heart of the world",[146] and the Kootenay refer to the conical centre of the fishing buck as the "heart".[147]

The beating heart manifests the presence of life and is therefore the chief residence of the life-soul, as we have seen above. But the movements of the heart are also connected with our psychic reactions—among the Huron and the Iroquois, as we shall see later, the heart is characteristically enough associated with desires and wishes. The soul bound to the heart can therefore frequently constitute the organ of the psychic life itself, the ego-soul.[148] In North America the heart-soul is, true, more often the vital soul than the ego-soul; but the connection between ego-soul and heart is not on this account rare.[149]

That the free-soul, which ever since it originated has always been an extra-physical soul, has its seat in the heart may appear an inner contradiction. And it may probably be taken for granted that only philosophical speculation has paved the way for the idea of such a connection. Presumably, the fixation of the free-soul to the heart has in the majority of cases followed the pattern of the life-soul and ego-soul.[150]

The opinion has been held that the heart-soul—i. e. the body-soul attached to the heart—was originally identical with the heart. And it is, certainly, true that it is often referred to quite simply as "the heart". But otherwise, the North American ethnographic facts decidedly militate against the theory of identification. Even if the body-soul is referred to as "the heart", a distinction is drawn between the physical substrate—the medium for the soul's activity—and the soul itself.[151] It is nowhere claimed, on the other hand, that the heart-soul *is* the heart. And the

[145] According to Father Boscana, the Juaneño locate the soul in the heart, "since it is the principal place in man" (Harrington 1934, 51).
[146] Llewellyn & Hoebel 1941, 75.
[147] Chamberlain 1906, 101.
[148] Arbman, op.cit., 168 sq.
[149] See further § 15.
[150] See further § 16.
[151] This is the case among the Nootka (Sapir 1921, 594); Sanpoil and Nespelem (Ray 1932, 169); Coast Yuki (Gifford 1939, 353); Southern Paiute (Kelly 1939, 157 note 20); San Juan (Parsons 1929, 65). Cf. the excellent example from Nicaragua (1528), quoted by Tylor from Oviedo (Tylor 1871 I, 390).

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natives have a definite view of the material, non-spiritual structure of the physical heart.[152]

This strict boundary between the material and the spiritual (in a relative sense) characterizes the connection of the heart with the life-soul, but is dissolved altogether as soon as the heart is coupled with the notions of life-fluid and life-force, powerful qualities (e. g. courage, endurance, strength of will) and supernatural power.[153] It is probable that according to the pattern of the life-soul and ego-soul these different potencies have been conceived as concentrated to the heart. But whereas the life-soul only acts in the heart and with the heart as long as the latter is a part of the entire human organism, the other potencies associated with the heart continue to act independently of the heart's connection with the organism. It might be said that the heart *contains* them, as if they were a material fluid. A logical practical application of this attitude is the custom of eating the heart of a dead person in order to acquire his vitality, qualities or supernatural power. The life-soul, which animates the heart, has nothing to do with these customs, although, as we shall see, there may appear to have been a connection between the heart-soul and cannibalism in South California.[154]

A similar view has also been applied to the "bone-soul", another of the forms in which the life-soul manifests itself, associated with the bones and the bone-marrow. Also concerning this soul it has been incorrectly asserted to be one with its physical basis.[155] Independently of this, and just as erroneously, it has been claimed to be the sacrificial offering in a sort of sacramental meal.

In North America the bone-soul is best known from the Iroquoian peoples. It is here obviously a form of the life-soul. The identity of the life-soul among the Iroquois may, it is true, strike one as rather uncertain, since in one place Hewitt gives it a name that is also used with reference to the ghost, and in another case mentions it by a name that is distinct from the designation for the ghost.[156] The truth of the matter seems to be that the name for the deceased person—which signifies "bone"—has been transferred to the life-soul.[157] "Thus, by this identific-

[152] See instances from the Eskimo (Thalbitzer 1930 a, 138, Thalbitzer 1930 b, 88); Yokuts (Kroeber 1925, 513); Southern Paiute (Kelly 1939, 157 note 20); Northeastern Yavapai (Gifford 1936, 318); Sia (Stevenson 1894, 144).

[153] Cf. below, pp. 226 sq.

[154] See § 27.

[155] Wundt, op.cit., 85.

[156] Hewitt 1895, 114; Hewitt 1902, 45.

[157] Brébeuf assumes the contrary: according to him, the designation of the soul has been transferred to the bones of the dead (JR X, 141, 287).

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ation of the words for soul and for bone, it is shown from the evidence of language, confirmed as it is by common tradition, that the Iroquois regarded the bones of the dead, the skeleton, as the final resting-place of the sensitive or animating soul".[158] But also another conclusion is within the bounds of possibility, viz. that even during the life-time of the individual the life-soul had its special seat in the bone-marrow.[159] Hewitt speaks also of "the sensitive soul, which is regarded as part and parcel of the body, and whose seat is in the marrow of the bones".[160]

From other peoples we have no reliable data concerning the soul's abode in the bones during a person's life-time, unless we are to reckon as indicative some data in the legends. In a narrative from the Jicarilla Apache concerning the Fox and the man-eating Bear we are told that "Fox not only cut the flesh from the legs of Bear, but also broke the bones with his knife, thus killing the dreaded man eater".[161] It would seem, however, that the idea of the significance of the bone-breaking has been transferred directly from the hunting peoples' ideology regarding the bones of the slain animals. As is well-known, these tribes consider the retention of the bones (and preferably also their arrangement in anatomical order) to constitute a guarantee for the resurrection of the game.[162] In the case under discussion one may, if one wishes, associate the mystical properties of the bones with the ideas concerning the life-stuff.

Gatschet has associated the belief in the bone-soul with secondary burial, i. e. the custom of "cleaning" the bones of the deceased after they have lain in the grave for some time. He is of the opinion that behind this custom lies "the idea that *the real seat of the human soul is in the bones.* Thus when the bones of the deceased are swallowed in drinking, their souls are revived and continue to exist in other human beings. This is also the reason why the Tonkawe Indians of Texas have the singular expression *to become bones* for *to be born.* In Tonkawe this is *ni'kaman yeke'wa,* and *ni'kaman,* bone, is derived from a radix, *to break.* This would point either to the breaking of bones to extract the marrow (the Tonkawe were anthropophagists),[163] or it refers to the joints found on many bones in the skeleton".[164]

[158] Hewitt 1895, loc.cit.
[159] Wolf 1919, 43.
[160] Hewitt 1895, loc.cit.
[161] Russell 1898, 262.
[162] See Frazer 1925, 256 sqq.; Thompson 1929, 308 sq., 346 sq.; Hatt 1949, 69 sq.
[163] Cf. Gatschet 1891, 27.
[164] Gatschet 1888, 237 sq. Gatschet's theory has since been taken up by Loewenthal (Loewenthal 1913).

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Gatschet's theory is certainly not correct. Secondary burial has presumably nothing at all to do with the bone-soul, but is a case of continuity-magic aiming at ensuring the resurrection of the individual.[165] The notion of a resurrection of the body is not, true, among the more common beliefs in North America.[166] But it does nevertheless occur as a faint echo of the magical trains of thought characterizing, as we found above, the attitude of the hunter to the slain animal.[167] It is thus a matter of an exceedingly crass resurrection belief.[168]

This in itself is sufficient to make us lose interest in the Tonkawa instance. Gatschet's interpretation of the expression in question may be correct, but one looks in vain for any binding proof that the soul should have anything to do with it. The cannibalism occurring among the Tonkawa Indians has not necessarily any connection with their soul-beliefs.[169]

Sometimes the life-soul may have its seat in a very superficial part of the body, especially if it is thought of as concentrated to the head. It may be present in a person's look, it may have its abode between the brows or in the nape of the neck. But there is never, on the other hand, any mention of its existing in the hair. The hair contains the life-force,

[165] Cf. Riggs 1883, 149; Spence 1914, 127, 245 sq.; Preuss 1923—24, 296; James 1927, 344. Brinton finds points of similarity with fertility magic (Brinton 1868, 254, 257. Bahnson's objections (Bahnson 1882, 167) may be dismissed without further ado—cf. below, note 167.

[166] The resurrection of the body is frequently denied, e.g. by the Massachuset (Schoolcraft 1851 I, 286); Ottawa (Kinietz 1940, 297); Sauk (Keating 1825 I, 232); Coeur d'Alène (Teit 1930, 183); Klamath (Spier 1927 b, 53); Walapai (Kroeber 1935, 149, 199). The Winnebago and Yana conceived the resurrection of the body as a supernatural possibility (Radin 1926, 27 sqq.; Sapir & Spier 1943, 282). On the north-west coast, however, stories of the dead coming back to life are common (Gayton 1935, 280).

[167] A man rises from the dead if his bones are set in order (the Menomini: Skinner & Satterlee 1951, 380 sq.; Tsimshian: Boas 1916, 127, 130; Chilcotin: Farrand 1900, 46; Assiniboin: Lowie 1909 b, 169); sometimes the bones arrange themselves of their own accord (the Wyandot: Barbeau 1915, 160). Common methods for the restoring of life are to throw the bones into the water (the Kwakiutl: Boas & Hunt 1906, 209, Boas 1910 c, 201, Boas 1935, 105; cf. also the Bella Bella: Boas 1932 a, 55; Quinault: Farrand 1902, 112; Western Mono: Gayton 1948 II, 274 note 231), or to jump over them (the Lillooet: Teit 1906, 278; cf. Hill-Tout 1905, 198; Cowichan: Hill-Tout 1904, 388 sq.).In Smohalla's religion the notion of resurrection through the bones seems to have occurred (Mooney 1896, 722 sq.). From the Northwest Coast, too, there are myths telling how men were created from bones (the Chimariko: Dixon 1910 b, 304; Modoc: Curtin 1912, 45).

[168] Besides the belief in resurrection with a *renewed* body there is also the belief in resurrection with the *same* body, viz. in connection with experiences of apparent death. There is, on the other hand, no notion of a *glorified* body in genuine Indian beliefs concerning resurrection; this is a notion belonging to Jewish, Christian, Islamitic, Iranian and Asiatic Indian beliefs (Edsman 1947, 2).

[169] See further § 27.

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as among the Omaha,[170] and it sometimes represents the individual himself after his physical decease.[171] But it does not constitute, as far as I have been able to find, a seat for the life-soul in North America.[172]

The localization of the life-soul to the head may appear to be a peculiar conception. But if we bethink the fact that the impulses to different vital reactions proceed from organs situated in the head, and that the head itself manifests in many ways the life of the body, the notion does not, perhaps, strike one as so strange. The beliefs of the Arikara bear eloquent witness to the ways in which the life-soul is connected with the head: it appears in the spoken word, in a look, in the death-rattle of a dying person, in the movements of the muscles.[173] That the nape of the neck should be considered the seat of the life-soul may seem natural;[174] but it is certainly rather strange that the Navajo should have conceived the vital principle of the Coyote to reside in the nose.[175] Without doubt we have here to do with a peculiar form of the conception of the external soul identical with the life-soul.[176] The mythical frame gives us reason to assume, moreover, that in the narrative concerning the localization of the life-soul in the Coyote we have an illustration of the humour that in the west of North America has developed around the figure of the trickster.[177]

It is, however, not so very common for the life-soul to have its seat in the head. Even direct proofs of this localization in our sources may sometimes prove to be erroneous, owing to a wrong interpretation on the part of the investigator.[178] In some quarters the actual localization of the life-soul to the head has been facilitated by the fact that this soul has become identical with, or has come to play the same rôle as one of the souls generally localized to the head: the ego-soul or the free-soul. Thus, among the Wintu the life-soul has its abode behind the

[170] Fletcher & La Flesche 1911, 124; Alexander, op.cit., 302. The hair is at one and the same time life-stuff and mystical possession of the individual. Cf. below, pp. 296 sq.

[171] Cf. above, pp. 119 sqq. (the Dakota). See further § 17.

[172] See below, p. 297.

[173] Curtis 1909 V, 63 sq.

[174] While this is the case among the Mexican Tarascans (Beals 1946, 202), it seems in general rather to have been the free-soul that was located in the nape of the neck (see below, p. 251; see also pp. 223 sq.).

[175] Matthews 1897, 91.

[176] Cf. § 21.

[177] Hill 1943, 20; Hill & Hill 1945, 317.

[178] See Hewitt & Swanton 1939, 157, concerning the linguistic confusion between the words for head and heart in the Creek language. Bendann's assumption that the Omaha conceived the head to be the seat of life is not confirmed by the source she adduces (Bendann 1930, 94; cf. Fletcher & La Flesche, op.cit., 124).

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ear, since it is probably also an intellectual principle.[179] And the life-soul among the Wind River Shoshoni resides between the eyebrows, as it has increasingly come to take over the function of the free-soul.[180]

In the foregoing the breath has not been listed among the points of association for the life-soul. But, as has been remarked earlier, the breath is not considered as a physical substrate—it *is* the life-soul.[181] True, in a number of cases it is possible to get the impression that the breath has functioned as a physical "organ" for the life-soul; the Juaneño, for instance, couple the free-soul with the heart, the life-soul with the breath.[182] But such a simple statement does not do justice to the actual beliefs held. Examples may be adduced from Greenland to Nicaragua in which the life-soul, as breath, has been connected with the heart. North American data pointing in this direction are known from the Eskimo, Haida, Coast Salish, Klamath, Modoc, Yuki, Coast Pomo, Maidu, Tübatulabal, Sauk, Cochiti, Santa Ana, Laguna, Acoma, Zuni (?), Hopi, Cáhita, Tarahumare and Tepehuano.[183] It is worth noting, too, that the Cáhita use the same word for heart and breath.[184]

The soul is thus attached to the heart, but its essence is the breath.[185] It may here be in place to refer once more to the life-line symbolism discussed earlier in the foregoing. This is to-day particularly in evidence in the Pueblo region, i. e. the culture-province in which the connection between breath and heart appears most clearly.

We have already had repeated occasion to observe how the life-soul shows tendencies to encroach on the spheres of activity for other souls. It is of course tendencies of this kind that in the long run pave the way for a fusion of souls and for the final unification of the concept of the soul.

If we recapitulate and summarize our observations of the participation

[179] Du Bois 1935, 79.

[180] Hultkrantz, op.cit., 19, 21, 21 note 11, 23. Among the Modoc the life-soul is manifested in the eyes themselves, at least in legend (Curtin 1912, 34).

[181] See above, p. 150.

[182] Kroeber 1925, 644.

[183] See the source-notes above, pp. 171 sq., the foot-notes, supplemented with the following: Cranz 1765 I, 257 (the Eskimo); Hill-Tout 1899, 707 (the Haida; the interpretation is hypothetical); Curtis 1913 IX, 88 (the Coast Salish); Powers 1877, 259 (the Modoc); Jones 1939, 16 (the Sauk); Goldfrank 1927, 35 (Cochiti); Parsons 1939 I, 46 note (Laguna); White 1932 a, 66 (Acoma); Voth 1912, 99 (Hopi). Among the Hopi, however, the breath generally has its seat above the navel (Beaglehole 1935, 12).

[184] Beals 1943 b, 55. Cf. also the Yuba River Maidu (Loeb 1933, 188).

[185] What would appear to be a more natural point of association for the breath than the heart is the lungs (the Navajo: Stewart 1942, 319).

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of the life-soul in this process, we get the following picture. Sometimes the life-soul is identical with the ego-soul[186] or shares the seat of the latter.[187] This ought not to surprise us, since both the body-souls are at bottom branches from the same main trunk.[188] And the life-soul sometimes has the same possibilities as the free-soul, and enters upon the functions of the latter. The breath has certainly often promoted the fusion between life-soul and free-soul. But an approach between life-soul and free-soul without the mediation of the breath-soul is not out of the question, even though in connection with such an approach the best contact is brought about by the mediation of the breath-soul (see § 14). We found above that the free-soul and the life-soul have a common point of association through the localization of both to the heart,[189] and we shall soon see that in the case of the condition known as "soul loss" both can fulfil the same function as the departed soul—for the life-soul the identity with the breath-soul may in this connection sometimes be a necessary condition for the change of activity, but it is certainly not necessarily always the case.[190]

In these glimpses from the process of expansion of the life-soul one often observes the presence of the breath-soul. Its significance in this connection can scarcely be overestimated. In its essence it is without doubt originally a life-soul. But for reasons that we shall consider more closely it has almost always tended to depart farther and farther from its original function. It represents the perfect transition between the life-soul and the other types of soul entering into the psychic dichotomy. Its peculiar position and significance in the speculations of many peoples concerning the soul motivate a closer study of the paths taken by its development.

14. The breath-soul in speculative belief

In its more primitive sense, i. e. the notion of a life-soul identical with the breath, the breath-soul is difficult to define as a soul-entity inasmuch as it is conceived, according to the circumstances, as either a general expression for the life-soul or a specialized part of this life-

[186] See above, p. 157.
[187] See above, p. 173.
[188] See further § 15.
[189] See above, pp. 172 sq.; cf. p. 177.
[190] See above, pp. 153, 156. Cf. also below, p. 205 note 190, and § 16.

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soul. The alternation in the meaning is without doubt connected with the association of this soul with the idea of the life-stuff (see below). Whether we accept the one or the other of these alternating significances, the breath-soul emerges as a dominant soul-type in North America. Boas, it is true, gave it as his opinion that "this particular idea is not strongly developed among the American aborigines".[1] But this view, which was perhaps based upon the scanty information to be got from the contemporary ethnographical material, is, at least as regards North America, no longer justified. Even if it is difficult to form a definite opinion concerning the occurrence of the breath-soul in some quarters, e. g. in eastern North America, we may venture, with reference to a copious source-material from most parts of North America, to assert that the association of the life-soul with the breath has been extremely common over the entire continent. In this case there is complete agreement with the conditions obtaining among the peoples of the Old World.[2]

There can be no doubt but that the breath-soul, this fine materialization of the conception of the life-soul, is in itself a psychologically secondary soul-formation. It probably originated through the life-soul being bound to the breath, whose at once etherial and vitally essential character promoted the association. We have here to do with the fusion of two conceptions, life-soul and life-essence, whose general relation to each other we have already discussed.[3]

The breath is primarily a concretization of the idea of the life-stuff, an almost visual, tangible image of the fluidally conceived life flowing through the body. The original independence of the breath from the life-soul has been noted in the foregoing (§ 13). We recapitulate: 1. Many peoples make a strict distinction between the breath and its motive force, the life-soul—a distinction which strikes one as psychologically and functionally primitive, and which in several places, as among the Oglala, has been taken further and deepened.[4] 2. The fully developed breath-soul often occurs as a kind of finer material stuff which can be transferred to other persons without prejudice to the owner.[5] It is impossible that a life-soul should have been conceived in this way from the beginning, in a rôle so inessential to, indeed, conflicting with its function and purpose.

[1] Boas 1910 b, 617.
[2] Cf. Widengren 1945, 314 sq.
[3] Cf. above, pp. 161 sq.
[4] See above, pp. 160 sq.
[5] See above, p. 163.

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The following circumstances seem to have linked together the breath and the life-soul:

1. The breath is a conception of life, etherial and yet concrete, and for this reason a good basis for the life-soul. The concretion acquired by the life-soul through its identification with the breath probably made it, at least in a number of cases, more readily acceptable to thought and belief.

2. The breath is a more defined reality than other conceptions of a life-stuff. It is thus never identical with any physical organ.[6] The fusion between soul and life-stuff therefore culminates in the conception of the breath-soul.

3. As a symptom of life the breath easily becomes a source of life in the popular imagination. If the breathing stops, the life-motor stops. The Sinkaietk expressed "dead" with the phrase "can't breathe any more"—a good illustration of their view of the central vital function of the breath.[7]

This final identification between life-soul and breath—which has implied, inter alia, that the latter has come to be regarded as the substance of the life-soul—is everywhere so common, even where the original distinction is at times theoretically maintained,[8] that we must in the sequel regard the breath as an undifferentiated entity with both life-stuff and life-soul aspects.

The conceptions concerning the breath-soul have had far reaching consequences for Indian speculation and, in the last analysis, for Indian religious belief, for the breath-soul has become the central focus in two different thought-systems. On the one hand we find a mystically oriented speculation disemboguing in an "emanatistic" (see below) view related with pantheism; on the other hand a rationally oriented speculation whose result has been the transformation of the breath-soul to unitary-soul. In the former speculation the life-stuff aspect frequently predominates over the soul-aspect, although it is difficult here to distinguish them from each other; in the latter speculation, on the other hand, the soul-principle predominates. We shall here try to follow both of these lines of thought, beginning with the first-mentioned.

[6] Cf. above, p. 150.
[7] Spier 1938, 168. Cf. Wyman, Hill & Osanai 1942, 38 (the Navajo).
[8] Cf. above, pp. 161 sq.

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The mystically oriented speculation may be best characterized as a monistic doctrine of correspondence developed around the breath-soul and identifying this with the essence of the god head.[9] An essential prerequisite for this speculation is probably that the breath should be regarded as in its essence akin to or even identical with the wind, the air or other atmospheric reality.[10]

On etymological grounds Brinton constated such a conceptual connection among some peoples and then extended its validity to "all nations" in America, which as far as we know is by no means susceptible of proof. "The breath is nothing but wind", he writes. "How easy, therefore, to look upon the wind that moves up and down and to and fro upon the earth, that carries the clouds, itself unseen, that calls forth the terrible tempests and the various seasons, as the breath, the spirit of God, as God himself?"[11] The same viewpoints are also expressed by Hagar, who thought it possible to constate that "in most American Indian languages the word for 'soul' is allied to those for 'air', 'wind', 'breath', the breath being thought to represent the animating principle derived from the Cosmic Spirit, or Soul... The individual soul was regarded as part of this Cosmic Soul which formed the principle deity of the American Indians".[12]

The authors adduced are probably in the main correct, even if their pronouncements are characterized by simplification and generalization. They seem above all to have overlooked the exclusive nature of this speculation—this has certainly not been so popular as they suppose. Nor, probably, did it resolve itself into a real pantheistic belief, i. e. a pantheism in the sense that man is conceived to manifest an at bottom impersonal divine being identical with the innermost essence of things (cf. the Upanishads). Our account in the following will give information on this point. As we shall find, the emanation is generally limited, it being only the breath of the deity that is looked upon as man's, and in these circumstances it is rather difficult to speak of pantheism.[13] But one does also find attempts being made to see man in a total sense as a part of the divinity (e. g. the Lenape). As, however, the deity retains his personal character, and as it is difficult to decide whether he is

[9] Brinton 1868, 49.
[10] It is not the free-soul which is in the first place identical with the wind, as Alexander opines (Alexander 1916, 281).
[11] Brinton, op.cit., 49 sqq.
[12] Hagar 1908, 433. Cf. also Alexander, op.cit., 272.
[13] It is just as little a matter of pantheism when Jahve breathes his breath ("wind") into man (Gen. II: 7).

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really conceived as identical with the creature or whether he is only conceived as the source of all life, it is uncertain whether the term pantheism is justified even here. To avoid misunderstanding, I prefer in the sequel, in the majority of cases, the designation *emanatistic* rather than pantheistic to characterize this speculation.

However: the conception of the breath-soul identical with the wind and a more elevated notion of the deity appear to be the chief foundations for the emanatistic speculation.

The notion that the breath-soul is a part of the wind sweeping over the world is found in several places in North America. Among the Kaska, the breath-soul is referred to as "the wind".[14] The Haida have presumably drawn a parallel between the breath and the air and identified the two, for the life-breath is to all appearances represented as being akin to the clouds, the atmospheric essence in concentrated form.[15] "When the clouds hang low the Haidas believe that a soul is being snatched away, and expect to see one of their number shortly die".[16] The Tsimshian believe that twins control the weather; they therefore pray to the wind and the rain: "Calm down, breath of the twins!"[17] The Wishram belonging to the Chinook group and their neighbours, the Yakima of the Shahaptin language family, seem also to have identified the breath and the wind.[18]

A Sauk chief declared that his body was "a substance animated in some way by the air"; he did not, however, draw any far-reaching metaphysical conclusions from this, but considered that death implied the complete extinguishing of existence.[19] In the speculation of the Mascoutens medicine-men there are allusions to the identity of the breath with the wind; and the wind, it is said, is the breath of the earth-goddess.[20] G. A. Dorsey relates that four poles in the sun-dance lodge of the Arapaho Indians represent the gods of the four corners of the earth. "They cause the wind to blow, and human life is dependent on them for their breath. In fact, all life is dependent on the 'breath of the air', which comes from the Four-Old-Men", which is to say, the poles mentioned above.[21]

In a myth from the Seneca we are told that the breath of the West

[14] Honigmann 1949, 202, 203.
[15] Cf. the Dakota, below.
[16] Hill-Tout 1899, 707. Cf. above, p. 178, note 183!
[17] Boas 1916, 545.
[18] Spier & Sapir 1930, 238; Brinton 1868, 50; Bancroft 1875 III, 515.
[19] Jones 1939, 16 note 18.
[20] Skinner 1924, 217, 221. Cf. above, p. 167.
[21] Dorsey 1903, 113.

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Wind penetrated a woman and made her pregnant.[22] Hewitt remarks that "this is the statement of an early form of anthropic parthenogenesis; its enduring implication is that air (wind) — that is, breath — is the source of life".[23]

An Omaha Indian declared that a dead person goes to the four winds.[24] And the Osage are of the opinion that a dead man is taken to the realm of the dead by the four winds.[25] At death, declares the medicine-man of the Oglala, the life-soul "is like smoke and it goes upward until it arrives at the stars".[26] The life, *ni*, "is a man's breath. It is the spirit of smoke. It is the spirit of steam. It is the spirit of the sweat-lodge".[27]

The winds, according to the Pawnee priests, are "from the breath of Tirawa (the sky god) and they give life to man", that is to say, "the breath by which he lives".[28] "At death, the soul goes off the way a cloud comes up and disappears, or the way a wind blows up and dies down".[29]

The Wind River Shoshoni, too, use the same word for air and breath.[30]

The Athapascan Kato in north-west California refer to dying with the terms "wind drop-out" or "wind thrown-out".[31] The Juaneño in southern California regarded the breath as an emanation of the atmosphere[32]. A Cahuilla Indian, by his own account, hit upon the notion that the soul must be the breath by himself; but "breath is just like wind, so the winds which we hear at night are the spirits of the dead".[33]

According to the White Mountain Apache "the last breath of the dying person remains on earth in the form of a little wind".[34]

Like many other North American peoples, the Navajo have a single word to denote life, breath and wind.[35] Although a theoretical distinction is drawn between life and life-soul,[36] the breath, as "man's wind",

[22] Curtin & Hewitt 1918 I, 461 .
[23] Curtin & Hewitt, op.cit., II, 809 note 377. Cf. Osgood 1937, 161 (the Tanaina).
[24] Dorsey 1894, 420 sq.
[25] La Flesche 1939, 140.
[26] Walker 1917, 156.
[27] Walker, op.cit., 159.
[28] Fletcher 1904, 29 sq.; Dorsey & Murie 1940, 101.
[29] Dorsey & Murie, op.cit., 102.
[30] Hultkrantz 1951, 29.
[31] Loeb 1932, 14.
[32] Bancroft, op.cit., 525.
[33] Hooper 1920, 342.
[34] Goodwin 1938, 36.
[35] Reichard 1950 I, 33.
[36] See above, pp. 151, 161.

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seems *de facto* to correspond to both concepts.[37] Whereas Reichard mentions the breath as being a substrate for the life-soul, the Navajo myth concerning the genesis of man tells us that the breath is the very essence of the soul.[38] Of the first human beings we are told that "It was the wind that gave them life. It is the wind that comes out of our mouths now that gives us life. When this ceases to blow we die".[39] The great, central life-soul, "the big Wind", that streams through the body, "is part of the sun or dawn and looks like light, and goes back to the sun ... at death".[40]

Among the Piman tribes the Cáhita identify the wind and the breath-soul.[41]

That the Pueblo peoples have seen in the breath an emanation of the cosmic wind should not surprise us, since we have already seen how as a conception of life etc. the breath has been organized in accordance with the well-developed ritual apparatus of these peoples.[42] Among the Acoma, man's breath is a part of the atmosphere.[43] The Zuni identify the breath with the wind and with the light.[44] The Hopi believe that the whole universe is filled with the same breath — thus a systematic "pan-psychism". A Hopi Indian of high cultic rank pointed out: "The universe is endowed with the same breath — rocks, trees, grass, earth, all animals, and men".[45] Among the three last-mentioned peoples we find a feather-symbolism which is extremely interesting in this connection: the feather (on the prayer-stick) is a messenger between the divinity and man, and it is said to represent the breath of life.[46]

The connection in the Pueblo culture between man's breath and the atmospheric manifestations — wind, air, cloud — finds what is perhaps its foremost expression in the notion that after his death the individual becomes a cloud-being. It must in this connection be borne in mind that among the Pueblo peoples the breath-soul is an unitary soul, i. e. it

[37] Cf. Reichard's note concerning the intimate connection between "breath" and "motion" (Reichard 1944, 51).
[38] Reichard 1950 I, 34; Matthews 1897, 77 sq.; cf. Wyman, Hill & Osanai 1942, 14, 38.
[39] Matthews, op.cit., 69 (cf. op.cit., 137); Wyman, Hill & Osanai, op.cit., 14 sq.
[40] Wyman, Hill & Osanai, op.cit., 15.
[41] Beals 1943 b, 55.
[42] Cf., in the foregoing, especially p. 163.
[43] White 1932 a, 134. Cf. above, p. 142.
[44] Parsons 1939 I, 422; Bunzel 1932 a, 481; Alexander, op.cit., 186.
[45] Stephen 1936, 706.
[46] Acoma (Parsons 1918, 177 note 1); Zuni (Bunzel, op.cit., 481, 482); Hopi (Parsons 1925, 75 note 121). The same symbolism occurs among the Pawnee, as Fletcher has shown in her account of the Hako-ceremony. Alexander calls the feather "the universal symbol of life" (Alexander, op.cit., 232; cf. op.cit., 306 sq.).

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represents the individual himself and his life, and it therefore also becomes his surviving principle. The transformation of the breath-soul into a cloud thus implies that the dead person himself becomes a cloud-being.[47] "They just impersonate clouds with their breath, but they are people", say the Zuni of their dead.[48] "Rain or snow is the breath of the dead and the dancers ask the dead who have come in the clouds to send down their breath".[49] Among the Hopi the face of one newly dead is painted with cloud-symbols, a sure sign of the connection between the dead and the atmosphere.[50] Reports from the Pueblos in New Mexico indicate that they have conceived a person's breath to have flowed together or merged with winds and clouds in an almost impersonal way when the vital activities have ceased for ever.[51]

One investigator is of the opinion that only a few of the dead among the Pueblo peoples have merged with the clouds.[52] This is certainly not correct; the assumption is perhaps based upon the fact that the dead are often confused with the supernatural *katcinas*, which are by no means always identical with the cloud-spirits—a circumstance that we cannot go into in detail here.[53] There can be no doubt but that the majority of the dead have been conceived as clouds; we have numerous evidences of this, besides those mentioned above.[54] In some cases the character of the clouds is specified more closely: they are designated as rain-clouds,[55] thunder-clouds.[56]

[47] Curiously enough, however, a Hopi pronouncement indicates that a distinction was drawn between the dead person and his breath (Parsons 1925, 77 note 124).

[48] Bunzel 1933, 193.

[49] Parsons 1917 I, 174.

[50] Parsons 1939 I, 70.

[51] Picurís (Harrington 1928, 393); Laguna (Parsons 1920, 87 note 2). Cf. also the Haida instance related above!

[52] Underhill 1946 b, 155; cf., however, op.cit., 156: all the dead send rain and clouds.

[53] For the connection between cloud-spirits, the dead, *katcinas* (or *kachinas)* and Catholic saints, see especially Parsons 1924 a, 146, Parsons 1939 I, 173 sq., II, 965 sq., 1120 sq., 1149.

[54] Taos? (Parsons 1936 b, 109; Parsons 1939 I, 171); Picurís, see above; Tewa (Spinden in Haeberlin 1916, 29; Parsons 1929, 268 sqq.); San Juan (Parsons 1929, 64); Nambé (Parsons 1929, 68); Laguna, see above; Zuni (the dead wear cloud-masks: Stevenson 1904, 21; cf. Parsons 1939 II, 1100); Hopi (a cotton-mask on the corpse turns the dead person into a cloud: Parsons 1925, 75; Voth 1905, 117, 119; see also Voth, op.cit., 116 sq.; Stephen 1936, 826; Kennard 1937, 491; Earle & Kennard 1938, 2; Titiev 1937, 251 note 13; Titiev 1944, 108). Cf. also Senter & Hawley 1937, 133.

[55] Apart from the references in the preceding note, see: Tewa (Parsons 1929, 269); Cochiti (Dumarest 1919, 173 sq.); Zuni (Bunzel 1932 a, 483; cf. Parsons 1939 I, 170); Hopi (Parsons 1925, 61 note 99; 94).

[56] Taos (Parsons 1936 b, 109 note 220; Parsons 1939 I, 171); Laguna (Parsons 1920, 87 note 2); Zuni (Stevenson 1904, 20 sq., 110, 149 note); Hopi (Parsons 1939 I, 163 sq.).

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The causes of the dead appearing as clouds or in the clouds have been made the subject of much speculation. The Indians themselves have attempted to explain this; but these attempts seem only to show that the original motives are no longer living among them. Among the Zuni, where the dead appear behind cloud-masks, "the clouds are produced by the breath of the gods and smoke", and the Hopi hold the view that ceremonial smoking among the living hastens the formation of clouds.[57] The Hopi are also of the opinion that the dead can easily be changed into clouds because on account of their spiritual food—"they never eat the food, but only the odor or the soul of the food" — they can remain floating in the air.[58]

Opinions differ widely among scientific writers on the subject. "It occurs to me", writes Dr. Parsons, "that the Zuñi belief that the dead return in the clouds may have originated in the Catholic belief in heaven. At any rate it was certainly not denied by it".[59] Haeberlin has indicated that by going to the underworld the dead have come to merge with the spirits of fertility that are at home in this region—and the rain-clouds of course occupy a central position in the mythology of fertility.[60] Titiev goes a step farther when he declares that: "It is the acquisition of supernatural power that provides the basis for the equation of the spirits of the dead with Katcinas or Clouds".[61] It would perhaps be more correct to say that as cloud-beings, beings of the underworld and supernatural beings the dead have been associated with the cult of fertility typical for an agrarian culture. The appearance of the dead person in the shape of a cloud, both when he leaves this life and later, appears to be due to the fact that his breath-soul is identical with his personality, and after death becomes a part of the atmosphere.[62]

It has thus been shown that the breath-soul is in several places in North America conceived as a part of the air or wind that fills the atmosphere; and that in the Pueblo region it has been thought to take the soul of the individual back to the wider spheres whence it proceeded, though without the identity of the personality, or at least the individuality, being effaced.

[57] Stevenson, op.cit., 21; Voth, op.cit., 117.
[58] Voth, op.cit., 116.
[59] Parsons 1918, 181 note 2.
[60] Haeberlin 1916, 28.
[61] Titiev 1944, 171.
[62] The notion of the dead man in the whirlwind that is common especially in the West in North America is practically never extended to the idea of a collective of dead persons, as is the case with the notion held by the Pueblo peoples concerning the dead person in the clouds; and the continuity with the breath-soul is less apparent.

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The idea of the identity between the breath and the wind is the first condition for a speculative development leading to the belief in the identity between man's breath and the breath of the deity, the cosmic wind. The second condition is that speculatively gifted individuals—frequently, but not always, these are to be found in organized associations of medecine-men and priests—shall have worked upon both soul-conceptions and the concept of the deity. If one scrutinizes more closely our examples adduced above, one finds that the most remarkable instances of correspondence between the breath and the winds of the universe derive from shaman circles or from communities with important cultic organizations. It is presumably in these same milieus that the fully developed conception of a high, cosmic divinity has originated.

Before proceeding in our account with a description of the last phase in the development sketched here, we must consider the problem as to whether in North America the speculation about the breath offers the only path to emanatistic belief, or whether one may assume that this belief may have evolved in several ways. We thus pose the question: have there existed other speculative tendencies, comparable in their nature, importance and results with the speculation about the breath? And, further, has there existed a religio-ecstatic meditation that has been able to stimulate the monistic trends?

Of these alternative possibilities the last-mentioned, on closer reflection, must be discarded. It is rather improbable that mystical experiences paved the way for the emanatistic speculation. But when the latter had once been developed, and with it the advanced conception of the deity, mystical experiences were doubtless adapted to the new situation. "I prayed to Earthmarker", declared a Winnebago Indian. "And as I prayed I was aware of something above me and there He was! That which is called the soul, that it is, that is what one calls Earthmaker. Now this is what I felt and saw. All of us sitting together there, we had all together one spirit and I was their spirit or soul. I did not have to speak to them and get an answer to know what had been their thoughts. Then I thought of a certain place far away and immediately I was there; I was my thought".[63] Here there is no mention of the breath stimulating the belief in the cosmic correspondence, but it is probable that this was the case.[64]

Our first question now remains. It is obvious that the breath is not

[63] Radin 1937, 278; Radin 1920, 441 sq. The occasion of this experience was a Peyote meeting.

[64] See below, pp. 193 sq. Cf. Collier 1948, 141.

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the only element in man that has been made the point of departure for emanatistic speculation. Another element is the blood (the water), whose rôle in the higher mystery-dogmas of the Mascoutens we have already discussed.[65] A third element is the life-spark, the fire. Tenskwatawa, the Shawnee prophet, appears to have asserted that "the life in your body and the fire in your lodge" are identical.[66] The correspondence has in this case not been referred to a divine source; one seeks in vain for any communication to the effect that the prophet considered the fire to be identical with the life of the supreme God.[67] But one cannot reject the possibility that in one or more cases the cosmic-monistic speculation was based upon such reflections.

Nonetheless, the probability is that it was the ideas concerning the breath-soul that were of decisive significance for the learned speculation regarding man as a part of a cosmic divinity. And this partly because the breath may constitute the nucleus about which an unitary soul-concept may profitably crystallize—the soul as breath, vital principle and ego-principle. And partly because through its identity with the air and the winds it offers solid ground for the speculation concerning the relation between the breath and the deity, and, finally between the ego and the deity.

The most representative (and the surest) examples of this cosmically oriented speculation will now be given, independently of whether it is demonstrable or not that the speculation has been based upon the idea of the breath-soul. Such an unabridged account should be able to give us a reliable idea of the rôle played by the breath-soul in the origin of emanatistic speculation. As we shall find, the breath occurs in several cases—indeed, in the majority—as the cosmic element in man. We shall revert to the question as to how far it also represents man himself or the ego-principle.

The data which follow here thus illustrate the belief, occurring at all events in priestly circles, in the identity between man's life and that of the deity, if a genetic viewpoint is applied. This belief in a correspondence must be kept distinct on the one hand from real pantheistic

[65] See above, p. 167.

[66] Tanner 1830, 155 sq. This passage is frequently quoted (Lubbock 1882, 241, Mooney 1896, 678, Alexander 1916, 47, Alexander 1920, 727, Frazer 1923, 157, Hartland 1895 II, 43). Frazer and Hartland (who misinterpreted the fire as an external soul) regard the speaker as the prophet himself, which is incorrect.

[67] Concerning the Supreme Being among the Shawnee, cf. Trowbridge 1939, 40, and Voegelin 1936.

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examples of a cosmic universal soul, for, he opines, North American native philosophy everywhere assumes that the entire universe is filled with the same vital essence or soul-stuff.[82]

In point of fact, the Iroquois have as far as I know not had any emanatistic speculation at all; some vague hints in the cosmogony concerning the birth of the breath of life in a cosmic marriage must not be regarded as indicative.[83] Several reports from other eastern groups, on the other hand, show that in some places, where the deity has sometimes been characterized as the master of life or of the breath, a certain identity has been conceived as existing between the life of man and that of the deity. I am here thinking chiefly of the Lenape and the Creek.

After having observed that the Lenape believe in the immortality of the soul, Zeisberger writes, inter alia: "Some believe their souls to be in the sun, and only their bodies here".[84] Is it impossible to conceive that a vague emanatistic conception is concealed behind this confusing pronouncement? Brainerd, cited by Harrington, writes that the natives regarded the Sun as the creating deity. "Others at the same time have a confused notion of a certain *body* or *fountain* of *deity*, something like the *anima mundi*".[85] An Indian had seen this divinity in a vision, "clothed with the day"; the whole world "was drawn upon him, so that *in* him, the earth, and all things on it, might be seen".[86] Brinton calls this divinity "the mystery of Light".[87] As Schmidt has remarked, this concept of the deity is unusually elevated;[88] Widén sees the explanation of this in influence from Swedish Christian missions.[89] This is probably in part correct. The incipient pantheism that evidently characterized the Lenape conception of the deity is therefore perhaps not the product of a solely autochthonous religious development. But we cannot be absolutely certain of this. The concept of the deity is well integrated with the splendid ritual apparatus designated as the Big House ceremony, which can scarcely be said necessarily to presuppose a Christian model.[90] It is thus by no means out of the question that a

[82] James, op.cit., 338, 340 sq. To this should be added the marginal note that James further "simplifies" the matter by identifying life-soul and free-soul (James, op.cit., 338).
[83] Cf. Alexander 1916, 35, and above, pp. 183 sq.
[84] Hulbert & Schwarze 1910, 131.
[85] Harrington 1921, 22.
[86] Harrington, op.cit., 23.
[87] Brinton 1885, 65.
[88] Schmidt 1929, 448.
[89] Widén 1937.
[90] Speck 1931. Brainerd was informed that the emanatistic doctrine came from the teaching of the medicine-men (Brinton, op.cit., 66).

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so far discovered, and to contradict nothing".[75] If one is sufficiently blithe about abstracting from the data actually given, it should be possible to get even more than this out of the soul-beliefs of the Canadian Indians!

There are, on the other hand, definite proofs of an earlier emanatistic speculation among one primitive Canadian nation, the Abnaki. For this is what an Abnaki Indian told Miss Curtis: "In our old religion we believed that the Great Spirit who made all things is in everything, and that with every breath of air we drew in the life of the Great Spirit".[76] This is, however, an exception from the rule, perhaps influenced by the philosophy of the white missionaries.

In the maize country of the Eastern Woodland area the natural conditions for an emanatistic speculation existed: medicine societies and other cultic organizations were natural milieus for the development of a cosmic philosophy. And here, too, we find emanatism. It is here developed around the breath, but has nothing to do with the misleading hypotheses concerning an universal hypostasis of force built up by Jones and to a certain extent also Hewitt on the basis of the power-conceptions of *manitou* and *orenda* (cf. § 22).

Unfortunately, an author of James's repute has developed these hypotheses further and used them as a basis upon which to build up a theory of North American soul-belief in general.[77] He is far removed from the world of reality when he makes of the *orenda* of the Iroquois a general, divine life-force, "the vital essence permeating men and animals and plants, stones and stars, the earth, fire, and wind".[78] James is of the opinion that *orenda* "corresponds more or less to the Iroquoian concept of the soul considered as a vital principle".[79] The misunderstanding is double: on the one hand the *orenda*-concept does not represent the notion of a super-individual, cosmic power, but rather the idea of an individual, supernatural power;[80] and on the other hand this supernatural power has nothing in common with the life-soul.[81] The *orenda* of the Iroquois is according to James only one of several

[75] Chapman 1921, 301.
[76] Curtis 1907, 4, 11.
[77] Cf. above, p. 13.
[78] James 1927, 341.
[79] James, op.cit., 340.
[80] Radin 1915, 270 sqq., 273 sq., 277. See further Arbman's criticism of Beth's interpretation (Arbman 1931, 336 sq., 342). Cf. also Schmidt 1930, 154, 158; Leach 1950 II, 830.
[81] Hewitt 1902, 44 sq. Concerning *orenda*, see further Hewitt 1903, 134; Hewitt 1910 a, 147 sq.

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concept of the deity adopted by the cult developed into the notion of an immanent deity, on the way to becoming a monistic world-soul, of which man's soul is a spark.

One finds similar trains of thought, if on a less magnificent scale, among the Mascoutens; as we have seen, they regard man's breath as an outpouring of the breath of the earth-goddess.[91]

Definite conceptions of a connection between the individual and a Supreme Being have likewise existed in the hierarchically advanced Southeast culture. According to the Creek and the Chickasaw, the souls of the good Indians betook themselves after death to a supreme divinity called "Master of Breath" (or Breathmaker).[92] Regarding this latter, Spence says that he "appears to be the personification of the wind, the name being onomatopoetic".[93] "The sound of the name represents the emission of breath from the mouth. He was the god of wind, and, like many another divinity in American mythology, his rule over that element was allied with his power over the breath of life—one of the forms of wind or air".[94] That this explanation is correct emerges also from Hewitt's notes. "The term *hisakita*, 'the breath', was applied to the agency of the great prophet above, but, according to one statement, was also applied to the life spirit".[95] Whether this life-soul also represented the person after death is an open question. One gets the impression that this was not the case.[96]

The Seminole Indians' name for the supreme God, Hisakitamisi, signifies also "master of breath".[97] Although they are to a large extent direct descendants of the Creek, it would be over-hasty to take it immediately for granted that they shared the latter's ideology. The Supreme Being by no means manifests his own life in man wherever he is called "master of breath" or "master of life".

The emanatistic mode of thought recurs in several of the Sioux peoples. We have already seen it documented among the Winnebago.[98] If anyone should chance to imagine that this mode of thought is of young date among the Winnebago (introduced, for example, with the Peyote

[91] See above, p. 183.
[92] Swanton 1928 b, 481 sqq., 484, 512 sq., 514; Swanton 1946, 773. Cf. also Schoolcraft 1860 V, 269 sq.
[93] Spence 1910 b, 568. Cf. Brinton 1868, 50. Spence's opinion that this concept of the deity is found also among the Choctaw seems unfounded—cf. Swanton 1931, 194 sqq.; Bushnell 1909, 28.
[94] Spence 1914, 122.
[95] Hewitt & Swanton 1939, 157.
[96] See above, p. 88. Cf. below, p. 470.
[97] Mac Cauley 1887, 520.
[98] See above, p. 188.

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cult), he is mistaken. In an ancient myth concerning the origin of death four sacred beings proclaim: "Into your bodies Earth-Maker has placed part of himself. That will return to him if you do the proper things".[99] What is here referred to is the breath of life, which Earthmaker has breathed into man.[100] It is tempting to imagine that the Biblical narrative of the creation was known long ago by the Winnebago. But Radin observes that Christian influence on the notion of the deity has not been very marked.[101]

If one may believe Miss Fletcher, the soul of the Omaha Indian is a part of the divine universal soul. "Wakonda stands for the mysterious life power permeating all natural forms and forces and all phases of man's conscious life".[102] In accordance herewith "man is viewed . . . as one of many manifestations of life, all of which are endowed with kindred powers, physical and psychical, and animated by a life force emanating from the mysterious Wakonda".[103] In the same way we are told that "the life . . . which informs man is continuous and unbroken, emanating from the great mystery, Wakonda".[104] It is probably, in the last analysis, in the conviction that such an emanative belief exists among the Omaha that Miss Fletcher refuses to endorse the assertion that they believed in more than one soul.[105]

But the question is, whether she has understood the religious beliefs of the Omaha aright. Her account has been accepted by, amongst others, Brinton and Boas, as well as—of course—by James, with his interest in the possibilities of pantheistic interpretations.[106] But other writers have raised objections. Radin, for example, accuses Miss Fletcher of having "confused interpretations with facts".[107] Radin asserts that "there is nothing to justify the postulation of a belief in a universal force in North America".[108] Arbman agrees with Radin's view; like the latter, he sees in *wakonda* only sacredness, often characterizing a deity or a group of divinities.[109] Nor, probably, is there any reason to understand *wakonda* as a general, mystical power; in so far as Miss Fletcher wants to assert this, she is shooting sadly wide of the mark. Her data, at all

[99] Radin 1909, 312.
[100] Radin, op.cit., 307 sq.
[101] Radin 1923, 285.
[102] Fletcher & La Flesche 1911, 597; cf. Fletcher 1910, 897 sq.
[103] Fletcher & La Flesche, op.cit., 599.
[104] Fletcher & La Flesche, op.cit., 589.
[105] See above, p. 117.
[106] Brinton 1897, 60 sq.; cf. op.cit., 47; Boas 1910 a, 366; James 1927, 347 sq.
[107] Radin 1915, 276.
[108] Radin, op.cit., 277.
[109] Arbman 1931, 342 sq. Cf. Radin 1951, 69.

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events, do not justify such an interpretation. It is, on the other hand, certain that *wakonda* has been a collective designation for the divine powers, i. e. the bearers of *wakonda*-power.[110] Miss Fletcher seems consistently to want to under-estimate the independent activity of the polytheistic figures.

But this does not, however, exhaust the whole content of the *wakonda* concept. From the Omaha Dorsey states that "some of the old people say that their ancestors always believed in a supreme Wakanda or Mysterious Power".[111] "The principal Wakanda is in the upper world, above everything".[112] The older members of the tribe told Miss Fletcher that at the puberty-fast "the appeal was to Wakonda, the great power. There were other powers—the sun, the stars, the moon, the earth—but these were lesser; the prayer was not to them".[113] Miss Fletcher emphasizes that the thunder, the animal-spirit, the mythical monster etc. "may be spoken of as wakondas, but they are not regarded as *the* Wakonda".[114] She assures us that "these two uses of the word are never confused in the minds of the thoughtful".[115]

In other words, the term *wakonda* has been ascribed to several gods, but to one in particular, judging by all the evidence, a sky or sun god. Presumably he is a relic of the belief in Supreme Beings that developed in the advanced prehistoric culture whose modern centre has lain in the Southeast.[116] He is not mentioned by name, since he is an abstract, badly anthropomorphized deity, a concretion of the divine. He is most frequently referred to as the Creator, "the source of all things".[117] He cannot be imagined, but the natives are assured of his existence: "each person thought in his heart that Wakanda existed".[118] As Söderblom and Radin have shown, such vaguely outlined figures originate with philosophical thought.[119] The Osage, who are closely related to the Omaha, claim still to remember how after long seeking for the origin of life their forefathers finally "came to the thought that it issues from an invisible

[110] Fletcher & La Flesche, op.cit., 129 sqq.
[111] Dorsey 1894, 366.
[112] Dorsey, op.cit., 372.
[113] Fletcher & La Flesche, op.cit., 129.
[114] Fletcher & La Flesche, op.cit., 599.
[115] Fletcher, op.cit., 897.
[116] Cf. also Swanton in AA 30 (1928). Spinden characterizes the sun-cult among the Natchez as "perhaps a survival of Mound Builder religion" (Spinden 1940, 465). Dorsey refers to the fact that Wakonda is now the designation for the Christian God (Dorsey, op.cit., 366). It would be difficult to understand how this could be the case if no earlier, concrete association of an equivalent kind had existed.
[117] Fletcher & La Flesche, op.cit., especially 49, 570, 597.
[118] Dorsey, op.cit., 372.
[119] Söderblom 1914, 175; Radin 1927, 365 sqq.

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creative power to which they applied the name 'Wa-kon-da' ".[120] One divines that here, precisely as in the case of the four-soul concept, we have in the belief in a Supreme Deity a product of deepened religious speculation. Such speculation presumably created Wakonda as an abstract, cosmic being of part immanent, part personal character, a *fons et origo vitae*. It is not a question of a pantheistic divinity, but it is very possible that man was conceived as a part of his being, as Miss Fletcher asserts.

There are signs indicating that the shamanistic speculation among the Dakota arrived at a similar view of the relation of the soul to the deity.

Ch. A. Eastman, himself a Santi Dakota, assures us that his fellow-tribesmen believed "that the spirit which the 'Great Mystery' breathed into man returns to Him who gave it, and that after it is freed from the body, it is everywhere and pervades all nature..."[121] In view of Eastman's academic training and his idealistic attitude to the old Indian life on the Plains, it is difficult to attach much importance to this pronouncement. Otherwise, his statements remind one of the data with which we are familiar from another branch of the Dakota peoples, the Oglala of the Teton Dakota.

In Oglala shamanistic speculation, of which Walker has given a detailed account, Wakan Tanka is mentioned as "the Great Mystery", "the Great God".[122] This divinity reveals himself in gods, spirits and demons of various rank; he is manifoldness, and yet unity. "The shamans know how this is, but the people do not know", declared the medicine-man Finger. "It is *wakan* (a mystery)".[123] All man's souls are *wakan*.[124] Their connection with the great mystery is also evident: they are simply included therein.[125] "The word *Wakan Tanka* means all of the *wakan* beings because they are all as if one".[126]

One may of course ask oneself whether Wakan Tanka is not merely a collective concept for everything divine, a collective designation for gods and spirits. This, however, seems not to be the case.[127] We met with the same vaguely developed concept of the deity among the

[120] La Flesche 1930, 530.
[121] Eastman 1911, 156; cf. op.cit., 14 sq.
[122] Walker 1917, 79.
[123] Walker, op.cit., 155.
[124] Walker, op.cit., 156; cf. also op.cit., 152.
[125] Walker, op.cit., 79 sq.
[126] Walker, op.cit., 152.
[127] Cf. Radin on Wakan Tanka: "Clearly this is explicit monotheism avowedly mystical" (Radin 1924, 47).

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Omaha above (and the Ponca, Osage); and it appears to be characteristic for other Plains peoples than the Sioux.[128] But it is especially typical for the Siouan tribes. Thus it occurs among the Hidatsa,[129] Dhegiha (i. e. the Omaha and some tribes related to them)[130] and the Dakota. Several Dakota groups—the Sisseton, Wahpeton, Oglala and Assiniboin —call this divine being Wakan Tanka. Among the Eastern Dakota he appears as a clearly theistic creative deity,[131] frequently ranked above other gods, who manifest his essence;[132] but for the most part he is a *deus otiosus,* who has performed his creative tasks and has now retired from the affairs of the world.[133] At times, however, even the Wakan Tanka of the Eastern Dakota becomes vague in outline,[134] and among the Assiniboin and Teton Dakota this is the rule. Wah-con-tun-ga or Wakoñda is for the Assiniboin the Creator, who perhaps dwells in the sun and speaks in the thunder (the latter according to De Smet); but at the same time he is the great Mystery: "They think Wakoñda pervades all air, earth, and sky; that it is in fact omnipresent and omnipotent . . ."[135] Yet this ubiquity by no means implies that this god Wakoñda is identical with e. g. the thunder-god or the sun-god; in the sacrificial rites all three of them are distinguished![136]

We find the same in connection with the religious beliefs of the Teton Dakota. Miss Deloria describes the Supreme Deity here as an immaterial, ubiquitously active Power, who is worshipped in various shapes. But she is uncertain concerning the deeper import of the conception.[137] In her analysis of the Wakan Tanka concept Miss Densmore remarks: "The

[128] Cf. e.g. the Blackfoot (McClintock 1910, 167, 169 sq.; Chief Buffalo Child 1928, 245). Concerning the Plains Indians' concept of the deity in general, see De Smet 1905 III, 1064 sq., Alexander 1916, 82 sqq. Cf. also Mc Gee 1897, 181 sq.

[129] Among the Hidatsa proper (Matthews 1877, 47 sq.); but not, on the other hand, among the Crow, who are split off from the Hidatsa (Lowie 1922, 315 sqq.). Presumably, the concept of the deity held by the Mandan agreed with that held by the Hidatsa (Catlin 1841 I, 135; cf., however, op.cit., 157).

[130] The Chiwere, too, (amongst others, the Iowa and the Winnebago) believed in a creating god, but this Earthmaker (among the Iowa also called Wakanda) appears not to have had the elastic shape of the deity as conceived by the other Sioux peoples (the Winnebago: Radin 1923, 285 sq.; Iowa: Skinner 1920 a, 189).

[131] The Wahpeton: Skinner 1920 a, 273 sqq.; Sisseton: Skinner 1919 b, 383 sqq. Cf. Forbes 1894, 413.

[132] Wallis 1919, 323 (the Wahpeton); Dorsey 1894, 432.

[133] Eastman 1849, xxiv, 71 sq.; Prescott in Schoolcraft 1852 II, 195; Lynd 1889, 151. Note that the Earthmaker of the Winnebago is a reactivated *deus otiosus.*

[134] The Taku Wakan that S. W. Pond compares with the Christian's God is an abstract, impersonal manifestation of the divine, possibly Wakan Tanka as ultimate source of power—but it is difficult to arrive at complete certainty on this point (cf. Pond 1908, 424 sq.; see also Walker, op.cit., 79 sq.).

[135] Denig 1930, 486; De Smet 1905 III, 936.

[136] Denig, op.cit., 488, 491.

[137] Deloria 1944, 51 sq.

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exact significance of the term in the mind of the Sioux is as difficult to formulate as the exact meaning of the word God in the mind of Christians".[138] The Indian Red Bird characterized Wakan Tanka as "a mysterious power greater than all others".[139] The medicine-man Brave Buffalo called him "the maker of all".[140] "We know that all the creatures on the earth were placed here by Wakan'tanka", said the old heathen Chased-by-Bears to Miss Densmore. 'We talk to Wakan'tanka and are sure that he hears us, and yet it is hard to explain what we believe about this... We believe that he is everywhere, yet he is to us as the spirits of our (deceased) friends, whose voices we can not hear".[141] Wakan Tanka emerges as a rather unformalized divinity, scarcely anthropomorphous, but weakly individualized. Yet he is an individual, as appears not least from Walker's reproduction of the Oglala shaman Sword's account of his conversion: "When I believed the Oglala *Wakan Tanka* was right I served him with all my powers... In war with the white people I found their *Wakan Tanka* the Superior, I then took the name of Sword and have served *Wakan Tanka* according to the white people's manner and with all my power".[142] It would seem that Sword did not find any great difference between the heathen concept and the Christian God. Or in other words, the heathen Wakan Tanka was conceived as a Supreme Deity, an individual.

Dorsey, though he does not doubt that he is an individual god, believes, with Pond and Riggs, that we have here to do with a Christian conception of the deity.[143] And, certainly, one can in many quarters read Christian influences in the shaping of the Wakanda or Wakan Tanka concept in modern times.[144] But the concept itself and the ideas associated with it are old; Miss Densmore declares that "the unvarying opinion of the old men is that the Sioux have always believed in Wakan'tanka".[145] One can, naturally, never exclude the possibility of French trappers and *coureurs du bois* having affected the notion of the deity as squawmen in former times. But the uniformity of the concept of the deity among the different Sioux peoples of the Plains is striking,

[138] Densmore 1918, 85 note 2.
[139] Densmore, op.cit., 86.
[140] Densmore, op.cit., 207 sq.
[141] Densmore, op.cit., 96.
[142] Walker, op.cit., 159.
[143] Dorsey, op.cit., 365, 434; Pond 1889, 217 sq.; Riggs 1869, 61 sqq. See also Radin 1951, 108.
[144] Cf. the Iowa (Skinner 1920 a, 189 note 32), Sisseton (Skinner 1919 b, 385).
[145] Densmore, op.cit., 85 note 2. Cf. also Lynd, op.cit., 152 note, and Rev. H. I. Westropp's letter to E. H. Blair, Blair 1912 II, 284.

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which seems to support the assumption of a considerable age. The Assiniboin separated from the other Dakota (that is, in particular the Yanktonai) before 1640, and they have since that date allied themselves more with the Cree than with their Dakota kinsmen; but their concept of the deity shows the same special features as that of the Teton Dakota! One is also struck by the resemblance between the latter's Wakan Tanka and the Wakonda of the Omaha. In both cases the same word covers both the conception of a vaguely personified supreme divinity that the natives believe they recognize in different natural phenomena, e. g. the sun and the thunder, on the one hand, and the conception of independent divinities behind these phenomena on the other hand. Here shaman speculation is at odds with popular belief; among the Oglala the attempt has been made in the shaman speculation to combine manifoldness and unity into a coherent system, whose tendency—though not the result—is pantheistic.[146]

On account of the general character of Wakan Tanka, the Supreme Deity, we find among the Teton no pronouncements concerning his specific properties. "In old times", writes Miss Densmore, "the term Wakan'tanka was not used in ordinary conversation, because it was held too sacred to be spoken except with due reverence and at a proper time".[147] He is associated now with the one, now with the other sphere of activity. His connection with the thunder is well attested.[148] But he reveals himself also in the sun, "the Chief of the Gods".[149] Both Walker and Deloria mention Taku Skan-skan, the sky-god, as the great mystery in one of its most adequate representational forms.[150] This god, "the source of all power and motion", is for us of particular interest. For he gives to every man his souls at his birth and receives them again on his death. One of his names, Nagi Tanka, is translated by Walker as "Great Spirit"; from the viewpoints applied here it would be more correct to translate the phrase as: the great soul. *Nagi,* as we know, is the name for the free-soul among the Oglala.[151] A well-developed speculation concerning the correspondence between macrocosmos and microcosmos evidently characterizes the higher regligious system of the Oglala.

[146] Pantheism here understood as the conception of the deity as universal essential substance with a semi-developed personality. Cf. above, p. 182.

[147] Densmore, op.cit., 85 note 2.

[148] Dorsey, op.cit., 366. It is interesting to note that among the Winnebago the conventional translation of Wakandja is "thunder-bird" (Radin 1923, 282).

[149] Densmore, op.cit., 85 note 2, 86; Walker, op.cit., 81.

[150] Walker, op.cit., 81 sq.; Deloria, op.cit., 51.

[151] See above, p. 91. The word means "primarily the *shade* or *shadow* made by any material thing in the sunlight" (Riggs 1893, 213).

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The monistic emanatistic speculation is also found among another Plains people, the Pawnee, whose supreme God is, however, more personal and less diffuse than the Supreme Being as conceived by the Dakota.[152] As we have already seen, man's life is understood by the Pawnee priests as a part of the sky-god's breath.[153]

Tendencies in the same direction may also be traced in the Pueblo culture. One gets the impression that the speculation sought different channels in the eastern and western parts of the Pueblo region. In the east, the conceptions connected with the breath do not seem to play any rôle. White points out that it is interesting to remark that in San Felipe maize is identified with the heart and the heart-soul, "as in another connection an ear of corn is identified with the Mother", i. e. the goddess of motherhood, death and fertility.[154] Reference is here evidently being made to a sort of panvitalism proceeding from the goddess. It is not out of the question that a similar speculation occurred in other places in the eastern Pueblo area, where the earth-goddess is conceived as creatrix, guardian of the crops and ruler of the dead.[155]

In the western Pueblo area the emanatistic speculation is based upon the connection between the breath, the wind and the deity.[156] Among the Acoma, where the breath is regarded as part of the wind, it is said that the breath of life is the breath of the mother-goddess.[157] The Zuni Indians' androgynous creator, typically enough referred to as "He-She", is according to Mrs. Stevenson "the symbol and initiator of life, and life itself, pervading all space".[158] The word for life among the Zuni means, literally, "daylight".[159] Further, the life-symbol, the breath, is here identified with the wind, as we have already seen.[160] The puzzle seems to indicate that the Zuni may possibly have believed that the soul constituted the divine element in man.

It is remarkable that the Zuni identification of life and light recurs among the Navajo, according to whom the life-soul is also a part of the sun to which at death it returns.[161] It is probably not out of the

[152] See Dangel 1929.
[153] See above, p. 184. Cf. Fletcher 1904, passim.
[154] White 1932 b, 48. Concerning this goddess and the souls, cf. Bunzel 1928, 288, 290.
[155] See below, p. 401.
[156] The speculation has, on the other hand, no modern connection with the current popular belief that the dead reveal themselves in the clouds (see above, pp. 185 sqq.).
[157] White 1932 a, 66.
[158] Stevenson 1904, 22. Cf. Cushing 1896.
[159] Bunzel 1932 a, 481.
[160] See above, p. 185.
[161] See above, p. 185.

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question that the Navajo took these advanced ideas from the Pueblo peoples, whom, as we know, they have imitated in so many other respects. In this connection it is perhaps the ideas of the Zuni that provided the model—among the Zuni the sun-cult played a prominent rôle; and above all the sun was regarded as the chief incarnation of the creator and therewith as the source of life itself.[162]

The cosmic speculation concerning the soul appears to exist in another quarter where we had scarcely expected it, viz. in northern California. In a Modoc myth we are told how Isis, the divine hero, takes his child's life by transferring its breath to himself. "The breath is mine", declares Isis; "I have taken the breath into myself".[163] Perhaps one may here trace the first clumsy attempts to give expression in mythical form to emanatistic trains of thought. As emerges from the text, the breath forms the elementary point of departure for the speculation.

In southern California, too, these trains of thought appear, to be more exact, among the Shoshone Luiseño. We find here a remarkable, grandiose, cosmic speculation, of which, unfortunately, only some relics remain. We have already made the acquaintance of these ideas in our attempt to reconstruct the dual soul-belief of the Luiseño.[164] We found, amongst other things that the same symbol was used to designate the life-soul in man and the Milky Way above him. A cruciform grass dummy, *wanawut*, that was used in the initiation rites at puberty, is said to connote both the breath and the home of souls after death, the Milky Way. "The main wanawut would be in the sky, but we do not see it. We send our spirits to it in breathing, groaning invocation".[165] What is, then, this invisible *wanawut?* If one devotes a more detailed study to the impressive Luiseño cosmogony one finds that the Milky Way is a form in which the male creative element is revealed which has finally crystallized out as the heavenly father.[166] Thus when we are told that *wanawut* refers to "the spirit above",[167] it must in the last analysis be the heavenly father that is so designated. The breath-soul, *piwish*, in man has constituted a part of the male, cosmic deity.

Kroeber remarks that in the Luiseño cosmogony there is "a remark-

[162] Stevenson, op.cit., 22 sqq.
[163] Curtin 1912, 37.
[164] See above, p. 96.
[165] Du Bois 1908, 85 sq. The groaning sounds mentioned here have a ritual-symbolic significance. They seem "always to occur in threes and to have symbolic reference to the spirit or soul" (Kroeber 1925, 673).
[166] Kroeber, op.cit., 677.
[167] Du Bois, op.cit., 100.

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able attempt at abstract conceptualizing, which, though it falls short of success, leaves an impression of boldness and of a rude but vast grandeur of thought". He finds that it is more reminiscent of Polynesian narratives of the creation than of other North American cosmogonies.[168] Kroeber otherwise inclines to the view that the marked belief in a creating divine pair—also characteristic for other South Californian peoples[169]—is perhaps related to corresponding notions in the Southwest culture (among the Pueblos and Navajo).[170] Now one does of course generally reckon the South Californian area as a part of this culture in the wider sense.[171] Kroeber has also attempted to show that several of the culture-elements which are common to the Indians of South California and the Pueblo area belong to a period before the appearance of the specialized Pueblo culture.[172]

It may perhaps be asked whether Christian impulses—particularly influences from the Spanish Mission—do not lie behind the developed cosmic symbolism of the Luiseño Indians. The initiation procedures are known to have been connected with the so-called Chingichnish religion. The latter, which obviously derives from the Gabrielino on Santa Catalina, was introduced at a rather late period, and its main figure, Chingichnish, is described as an enthroned, omnipotent Jahve.[173] Kroeber, who at first asserted the independent origin of this divinity in Indian heathendom,[174] seems now to consider him as a reflex of Christian dogma.[175] This is probably the case. It is, one imagines, also probable, as Kroeber asserts, that the Chingichnish religion further developed the "soul mysticism" of the Luiseño.[176] But it should be observed that Chingichnish properly has nothing at all to do with the cosmogony, either among the Juaneño or the Luiseño, but that he is placed abruptly and without any mediation in the primeval mythology.[177] And the *wanawut* ceremony is supervised not so much by Chingichnish as by the heavenly father himself.[178] It is thus probable that it belongs to an older phase of the religion, and that the philosophy

[168] Kroeber, op.cit., loc.cit.
[169] E.g. the Juaneño, Gabrielino, Mohave (Kroeber, op.cit., 788 sq.).
[170] Kroeber 1902, 284.
[171] Beals 1943 a.
[172] Kroeber 1923, 133; cf. op.cit., 135.
[173] Kroeber 1925, 656.
[174] Kroeber, op.cit., loc.cit.
[175] Kroeber 1948 a, 567.
[176] Kroeber 1923, 138 sq.
[177] Cf. Harrington 1934, 13, Kroeber 1925, 637 sq., 677 sq.
[178] Du Bois, op.cit., 109.

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with which it is connected is a product of speculative thinking from heathen times.

It may perhaps be possible to prove that the ritualistic and speculative tendencies in the wider Southwest culture are connected with the Mexican high-culture, especially in its sub-archaic phase.[179] On this underlying culture basis several centres of development have been formed. We find these among the Maya, Nahuatl, and Pueblo peoples. If we consider especially the remarkable emanatistic speculation, we find this represented in three places in this wide culture-belt: among the Luiseño, among several of the Pueblo peoples (and the Navajo), and among the Aztecs. As Brinton has pointed out, "with the Aztecs, *ehecatl* expressed both air, life, and the soul, and personified in their myths it was said to have been born of the breath of Tezcatlipoca, their highest divinity, who himself is often called Yoalliehecatl, the Wind of Night".[180]

If we now summarize the results gained through this investigation, we find that the identity of the soul with the breath can be shown to occur almost everywhere where it is life-soul or unitary soul, i. e. in the overwhelming majority of the cases listed here.[181] Only the reports from the Lenape and Omaha make it uncertain which soul is referred to. Nowhere do we find reliable evidence that any other element than the breath has formed the basis of the speculation.[182] We have, on the other hand, examples in the higher speculation of the elementary microcosmic factor (the breath?) gradually disappearing and being succeeded by a diffuse concept of the individual, among e. g. the Oglala characterized by all the soul-constituents being actually said to constitute a part of the deity.

It is thus evident that the monistic philosophical trend that endeavoured to identify the soul or man as an original part of the deity proceeded in the majority of cases from the rather common identification between life or life-soul, breath and wind. In its more developed form this speculation belongs to cultures with a complicated, "higher" social structure, where the concept of the deity has attained the necessary cosmic dimensions, and where (which is also the necessary condition

[179] Kidder 1936, 148 sqq. Concerning the Southwest culture from a ritualistic point of view, cf. Underhill 1948.

[180] Brinton 1868, 50; cf. op.cit., 235, note 1. It should be added, however, that Ehecatl was also the designation for Quetzalcoatl as god of the wind; cf. e.g. Soustelle 1940, 67, Vaillant 1947, 176, 183.

[181] The breath as life-soul: the Creek, Winnebago, Pawnee, Modoc, Luiseño, Navajo. The breath as unitary soul: the Mascoutens, the western Pueblo peoples.

[182] Cf. above, p. 189.

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for this) a priestly hierarchy or other speculatively oriented, preferably organized, social group has been formed. Only in some cases (chiefly among the Lenape, Omaha and Oglala) does one glimpse pantheism as the conceivable (but never attained) consequence of the system of thought. Both in these and in other cases the divinity is, despite his identity with man's vital essence, a more or less clearly defined theistic conception. In its tendency this type of speculation is thus emanatistic rather than theistic.

If the breath-soul is the divine reflex in man and if it at the same time appears as a vital principle, and also—namely in the more advanced cultures—as the principle of both life and consciousness, this proves that it has constituted the factor around which in some cases an unitary soul has developed. The emanatistic speculation has presumably furthered this development. We will now, finally, give a survey of the demonstrable causes of this metamorphosis of the breath-soul.

In our account of the occurrence of the unitary soul in North America (see § 12) attention was drawn to the important circumstance that the unitary soul, the final product in the history of the Indian soul-conceptions, sometimes reveals features of the life-soul.[183] In this connection it was pointed out that this does not necessarily imply that the unitary soul has been developed on the basis of this special soul. What may probably be considered as certain, however, is that it played an important rôle in the development leading to the monistic soul-concept. It is naturally impossible to relate in detail the course of this development in the individual cases. A general reconstruction of possible courses is, however, not out of the question, since in the first place we can apply the argument of psychological probability, and in the second place we have, in a couple of cases, access to information concerning historical changes, as among the Wind River Shoshoni and among the Canadian Athapascans.[184]

The process that has taken place in such cases must have been enabled either by the free-soul losing its actuality—as among the Pueblo Indians, where its dream and trance functions have been suppressed[185]—or else by the life-soul having properties rendering its expansion possible.[186] The properties referred to must be of such a nature that they easily mediate the transition to the states typical for the free-soul and

[183] See above, p. 145.
[184] Hultkrantz 1951, 29 sq., 42; Morice 1906, 209; cf. below.
[185] See above, p. 146.
[186] Cf. above, pp. 178 sq.

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the principle of consciousness: instability and emancipation, relative immateriality, tendency to identification with the ego or with some higher element, which facilitates the identification with the ego. Such qualities are found in the life-soul when it has been combined with the life-stuff and manifests itself as a breath-soul.

The breath-soul is the soul of great possibilities. It is at one and the same time material and immaterial, bound by matter and yet free. When Wundt combined the breath-soul with the idea of the free-soul he did so on good grounds: both are relatively unsubstantial and unstable.[187] From the psychological viewpoint the conception of the free-soul is of course identical with the memory-image of the dead person projected to supernatural reality; and the airy, etherial shape of the deceased is like a condensation of the human breath.[188] The surviving soul and the breath-soul thus have qualifications favouring a meeting and merging. But the fusion takes place only when the situation is suitable for this—when speculation has started or the dualistic front has been weakened. Among the Sinkaietk the missionaries have tried to change the function of the life and breath soul by making it the surviving soul, but the original soul-dualism has remained intact, and the attempt has obviously failed.[189]

In another way, too, the breath-soul manifests its intimate association with the free-soul. Among the Wind River Shoshoni, for instance, it is the life-soul instead of the free-soul that departs in cases of illness, especially in case of serious illness, where the respiration is only faintly perceptible; obviously, the latter circumstance is an essentially contributory cause of the belief in the temporary absence of the life-soul.[190]

The transition of the breath-soul from life-soul to free-soul may be demonstrated with an example from the Kaska. As we have found, these Athapascans used formerly to distinguish strictly between the

[187] See below, p. 388.

[188] Concerning the conception of the dead person in comparison with the conception of the free-soul of the living individual, see further below, pp. 395 sq.

[189] Spier 1938, 168. Cf. also above, p. 45.

[190] Hultkrantz, op.cit., 21 sqq., 25 sq., 31. It should, however, here be pointed out that the loss of the life-soul need not necessarily be connected with the weakening of the respiration. The Eskimo on East Greenland are of the opinion that sickness in any part of the body is due to the absence of the soul that resides in this part of the body, and not to the absence of any general life-soul (see above, p. 56). It can thus not be the breath that is here referred to. The matter may best be expressed by saying that a life-soul departs when it no longer functions, i.e. no longer maintains the entire body or the part of the body it animates in life and power (see further § 16). The general life-soul is in this connection as a rule identical with the breath.

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breath of life and the free-soul.[191] To-day it is only the first-mentioned, as the "wind", that is looked upon as the soul. "Some people also reported the spiritual existence of the shadow, but did not clearly differentiate this concept from wind".[192] The shadow-soul has become but the relic of a conception, without functional connection with the soul which temporarily leaves the body in dreams, and which is identical with the newly emerged unitary soul.[193] It appears probable that the life-soul, in its character a breath-soul, has emancipated itself from its immediate physical functions and in consequence of its airy consistency been assimilated with and finally absorbed the conception of the free-soul. Only so can one explain that it operates as a dream-soul without the respiratory apparatus ceasing to function.[194] The life-soul would never have been able to "defeat" the well-developed dream-soul if the breath-soul had not been capable of performing the functions of both the dual souls.

An interesting fixation of the breath-soul as free-soul in a dualistic soul-union occurs, as it would appear, among some Shoshonean groups. Thus the breath-soul seems to play the rôle of the free-soul among the Paviotso and Ute.[195] Among the Hamilton Shoshoni the unitary soul is identical with the breath, and appears frequently as a free-soul.[196] Among the Wind River Shoshoni, who probably possessed a well-developed dualistic soul-belief, the breath-soul referred now to the body-soul, now to the free-soul.[197] In this case we can adduce at least three plausible explanations of why the breath-soul—and secondarily the life-soul, *mugua* — have become both life-soul and free-soul. Firstly, the airy consistency of the breath-soul has made it possible to use it as a free-soul. Secondly, the faintness of the respiration in certain conditions — e. g. deep coma — has given rise to the belief in the temporary absence of the life-soul, and therewith also to its association with the extra-physical free-soul.[198] Thirdly, and finally, the breath-soul has among the Shoshonean peoples been very early associated with the ego-soul.[199]

This brings us to the problem of the transition of the breath-soul

[191] See above, p. 62.
[192] Honigmann 1949, 202.
[193] Honigmann, op.cit., 203. Cf. the Arikara, above, p. 134.
[194] Cf. above, pp. 113 sq., 140.
[195] See above, pp. 93 sq., 95 note 13.
[196] See above, p. 135.
[197] Hultkrantz, op.cit., 28 sq.
[198] See above, p. 205.
[199] Cf. below, p. 207.

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to a principle of consciousness. This transition is not, *in et per se*, remarkable—it is even not necessarily a matter of a "transition" at all. The ego-soul is in the majority of cases regarded as a body-soul—as a soul connected with the organism and representing certain psychic functions, above all in the spheres of consciousness, understanding, will and emotion (see § 15). Just as the ego-soul and the life-soul thus frequently merge, so also the breath-soul may form a substratum for the two of them, i. e. be identified with them both (even if from the genetic point of view it is more closely connected with the conception of the life-soul). Thus among the Navajo, for instance, the central life-soul half and half constitutes also an ego-soul, since it "governs speech".[200] Whether we account it as ego-soul or life-soul, it is identical with the breath or "the wind" in man. It is certainly as an ego-soul that after death the breath functions as the surviving principle of the individual.[201] Another Athapascan people, the Chipewyan in Canada, regard the breath-soul and the thought-soul (an aspect of the ego-soul) as one and the same potency.[202]

It may sometimes seem as if the breath-soul is nearer to the ego-soul than to the life-soul. Among the Shoshone the linguistic connection between the breath and the ego-soul is intimate, and, at least among the Wind River Shoshoni, there is also an actual ideational connection between the two concepts.[203] Can it have been the observation that the consciousness is dependent upon the respiration (as a concretion of the life-soul) that gave birth to this association?

A third reason why the breath-soul comes to be understood as a principle of consciousness is of course to be found in its acquired identity with the free-soul or the surviving soul. Both of these souls (in principle one and the same conception) represent the consciousness of the individual when the body is insensible or dead.

Finally, the emanatistic speculation referred to earlier probably exercised a decisive influence upon the development of the breath-soul. As soon as the breath-soul is looked upon as a higher, divine element in man, it becomes the focus of the highest individual values; no-one should therefore be surprised if it also therewith becomes the bearer of the ego-consciousness. We have pointed out in the foregoing that a development of this kind probably took place among the Oglala.[204]

[200] Wyman, Hill & Osanai 1942, 15. See also below, p. 219.
[201] Wyman, Hill & Osanai, op.cit., 14, 38; cf. also Matthews 1897, 77 sq.
[202] Birket-Smith 1930, 79.
[203] Hultkrantz, op.cit., 28 sq., and note 22.
[204] See above, p. 203.

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with the ego-soul such qualities as comprehension, understanding, memory, force of will, feeling.[9] Among the Cherokee the soul expresses chiefly the mind, the nature of the mind; in derived verbal forms we find "such concepts as thinking, feeling, being conditioned, being disposed, being in a certain state of mind, and, in the ritual language, even 'causing' ".[10] The Navajo Indians, finally, believe in a particular soul which stands for "mind, will power, volition, reason, awareness".[11]

It is difficult to say to what extent the unitary ego-soul of the above-mentioned comprehensive type had earlier a more restricted scope for its activity, e. g. only the will or desire—just as it is hard to say to what extent a comprehensive unitary ego-soul can become thus restricted. Both possibilities present themselves, and neither can be rejected. Where it is expressly stated that the ego-soul is the will or desire we have, certainly, frequently enough only to do with a stressing of the most important or striking spheres of action of the general ego-soul—perhaps more due to the immediate impressions of the field-researcher than to the actual Indian conception in question. But since, as we shall find, the belief in the general, relatively undifferentiated ego-soul has not existed for many peoples, and has been replaced by a belief in several smaller, specialized ego-potencies, it is *in et per se* not unreasonable to suppose that there have also occurred unitary ego-souls that have only brought out one aspect of the conscious life (even if these may prove to be relics of a more general ego-soul or the remains of a set of special souls). Whether the ego-soul has been understood now in a wider sense, and now in a more restricted sense, has probably in the last analysis been due to the channels taken in different quarters by the reflections concerning the experiential content of the ego.

We shall now proceed to discuss the various functions of the ego-soul. On account of the difficulties of definition mentioned in the foregoing we do not distinguish between the cases in which a certain function attaches to an ego-soul which also demonstrably fulfils several other ego-soul functions, and the cases in which an ego-soul has possibly only the one function in question. In some cases an otherwise pronounced ego-soul proves to be connected with certain purely physical functions. As to whether or not such a soul should be referred to as an ego-soul might of course be debated; the sharply marked

[9] Jenness 1935, 18 sq.
[10] Mooney & Olbrechts 1932, 141.
[11] Reichard 1950 I, 34; cf. Matthews 1897, 137.

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peculiarity of the ego-soul explains why we find it now split into several potencies, now taking up an exaggeratedly independent, at times superior attitude towards its owner.

For the most part the ego-soul is mentioned in terms that in their terseness give the appearance of an elementary and unequivocal character. This is the impression that one easily gets when, for example—as is often the case—, the ego-soul is presented as simply "the mind". The Carrier are stated to have two body-souls, of which the one is described as a life-soul while the other is said to be the mind;[4] it is tempting to interpret this "mind" simply as the sum total of our psychic states and acts in general. But such an interpretation would be over-hasty. It is, altogether, inadvisable to draw conclusions concerning the nature of the ego-soul from such a vague term as "the mind".[5] One is forced to ascertain in each individual case whether the ego-soul that is referred to as mind does include all the aspects of the ego-soul listed above, or whether it gives merely a one-sided expression to a single one of the categories of consciousness.

In the great majority of those North American cases in which we are better informed concerning the character of the ego-soul, it appears as a complex phenomenon which, if it does not yet cover everything that we put into the conception of the ego, does nevertheless represent a number of different aspects of the conscious life. A few examples will suffice to show what a wide register the ego-soul may have in some cases.

Among the Eskimo (in any case those on Greenland), the term *isuma* covers such widely differing and finely nuanced phenomena as temper, thinking, thought and meaning (import).[6] The ego-soul of the Kootenay is the seat of thinking, willing and feeling; one and the same word stands for "he thinks, wills, wishes, desires".[7] The Naskapi-Montagnais have a soul-aspect that expresses the mind in the sense of "intellect, comprehension". It is, however, also connected with desire; desire appears to be its dynamic force.[8] The Ojibway on Parry Island combine

[4] Jenness 1943, 535; cf. Morice 1910, 230.

[5] It is, for the rest, not always so certain that "mind" is the adequate rendering of the Indian designation. The latter may of course cover quite a different conception than the ego-soul. A number of the Southern Paiute have possessed a soul that Kelly refers to as "mind"; but we do not know whether this really had the character of the ego-soul (Kelly 1939, 163 note 31; Kelly 1936, 141 note 16). Such uncertain cases are, unfortunately, rather numerous.

[6] Thalbitzer 1930 a, 137, 138.

[7] Chamberlain 1906, 95, 101.

[8] Speck 1935 a, 41, 184 sq. See further below, § 22.

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[10] Mooney & Olbrechts 1932, 141.
[11] Reichard 1950 I, 34; cf. Matthews 1897, 137.

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difference we make between physical and psychic seldom exists for the Indians.[12] The majority of the more detailed instances of ego-soul from North America are of such a kind that the concept ego-soul must be said to be very comprehensive.

The chief function of the ego-soul is to activate thoughts and reflections; it is then generally characterized as understanding, as a reason or intellect soul.

Both the Eskimo and the Indians round the Great Slave Lake refer to the ego-soul in this capacity as "thought", "thinking".[13] A powerful mental activity is a characteristic feature for the Chipewyan soul of which Birket-Smith has given an account.[14] Among the Naskapi the ego-soul is associated with the apprehension.[15] The Ojibway (on Parry Island) ascribe to their ego-soul the same function, but besides this they stress its connection with the understanding and memory; "the soul is the intelligent part of man's being, the agency that enables him to perceive things, to reason about them, and remember them".[16] Of the two souls represented among the Menomini, the one is "the intellect, which resides in the head".[17] The Huron have several ego-souls; one is "possessed of reason", another "thinks and deliberates on anything".[18] The Iroquois have a special soul, functioning "as the agent or means of knowledge, the essence that acquires knowledge". By the side of this intellect-soul there is another, which Hewitt renders as "the mind, the intellect".[19] He asserts, on linguistic grounds, that "the mind specifically was regarded as that agency, that power of the soul, which could 'see itself, take cognizance of itself, know itself', hence, the faculty of consciousness. It is used to signify the present thought, the thoughts which succeed one another, the habitual thought or cast of mind, and lastly, the principle of thought, that

[12] Cf., however, § 29.
[13] The Eskimo: see above, p. 209; the Slave Lake Athapascans: Mason 1946, 33.
[14] Birket-Smith 1930, 79.
[15] See above, p. 209.
[16] Jenness 1935, 18. The ego-soul is not, however, alone in representing these functions: also the almost double-ganger-like shadow-soul plays an important rôle as a cognitive soul by—as it is put—"enlightening the soul"; Jenness interprets this as being a matter of "the sensation and perception that precede reasoning and knowledge" (Jenness, op.cit., 19). The matter might be better expressed by saying that precisely as double-ganger and guardian spirit the shadow-soul is a forewarner, the cause of intuitive assurance and divination. Jenness's instances speak in favour of such an interpretation. Cf. further below, § 25.
[17] Skinner 1921, 43.
[18] JR X, 141.
[19] Concerning the difference between these souls, see Hewitt 1895, 112 sq. Cf. also Lafitau 1724 I, 360.

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is, the soul itself".[20] The intellect-soul among the Creek is called "the good spirit", "his talent", "his ability", "his genius"; it gives rise to "thought, planning, devising".[21] According to the Coeur d'Alène the heart is the seat of "thought and right-doing".[22] Among the Eastern Pomo, *miyuk*, "knowledge", is the name of a soul which is probably an ego-soul.[23] The ego-soul aspect among the Zuni is translated as "thoughts".[24] That the Navajo ego-soul as it has been described by Reichard also gives expression to such psychic realities as reason and attention has already been stressed.[25] Possibly a differentiated part of this soul is the principle for evil thoughts (and evil actions), conceived as a little concrete substance inside man.[26] Also the "thought-soul" of the Cora Indians is a concretely conceived, inspirative factor.[27]

As the principle of understanding, thinking and memory, the ego-soul is an important part of man's equipment. Wherever the intellect is represented as an independent potency, the intellect-soul is an inherent quality for a normal individual and one which he cannot do without. When the Fox ascribe to the words, sentences, thoughts pronounced by the individual an intellectual potency of their own, the capacity of being understood, which is conceived in a purely material sense as entering the mouth of the listener and thereby becoming a part of him, this is merely an exceptional case. "We often fail to grasp the meaning of the spoken word. The reason of the failure is that the sense hovered in front of the mouth, and flitted away before finding an entrance".[28] The rule, otherwise, is that the "intellectual" ego-soul functions as the operative factor in communications between persons; the business of understanding is a part of the activity of the ego-soul itself.

In its intellectual aspect the ego-soul is therefore generally a capacity that man cannot do without. Its value for the individual becomes most apparent when it is damaged or lost.

[20] Hewitt 1895, 113; Hewitt 1902, 44. The fusion between thought as potency and thought as the product of thinking that Hewitt mentions here as characteristic for Iroquois belief was earlier pointed out by Lafitau and Charlevoix (Lafitau 1724 I, 359 sq.; Charlevoix 1744, 351). That also other peoples have had this linguistic usage emerges from several of the instances of intellect-souls adduced above. See also Hultkrantz 1951, 33, note 34.
[21] Hewitt & Swanton 1939, 157.
[22] Reichard 1947, 48 note 1.
[23] Loeb 1926, 290.
[24] Bunzel 1932 a, 481.
[25] See above, p. 210.
[26] Wyman, Hill & Osanai 1942, 11.
[27] Preuss 1912, XCVI sq. Cf. Arbman's interpretation (Arbman 1927, 178 sq.).
[28] Jones 1911, 219 sq.

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The ego-soul may be injured in various ways. It may, for example, through the intervention of supernatural powers, come to have a special, anormal mode of action. "Crazy Buffalo", a malicious Oglala demon, "may possess a person and if he controls the spirit, the person is insane; or, if he controls the ghost, the person is paralyzed".[29] Among the Western Mono a shaman could send a ghost into a person and make him insane. "It entered that man's head, covering up his mind so he knew nothing".[30] Several similar instances might be adduced.[31]

The intellect-soul may also be injured by its position in the body being changed in an unsuitable way, as reports from the Nootka and Shoshoni seem to show. It is presumably the "principle of intelligence" described by Sapir,[32] which Boas characterizes in the following way: "As long as it stands erect the person to whom it belongs is hale and well; but when it loses its upright position for any reason its owner loses his senses".[33] Corresponding notions are found in the soul-beliefs of the Wind River Shoshoni. When a member of this tribe has a headache it is said that his ego-soul "is raised up". As a rule, however, headache as well as confusion of ideas and madness are ascribed to another, more powerful cause: the soul has left the body. It is possible to lose one's soul through, for example, a fall from horseback. In mild cases this may entail a headache, in severer cases it may result in mental aberration.[34]

That mental aberration is a consequence of losing one's soul is a belief that is instanced not only among the Wind River Shoshoni. It occurs all over North America (see § 16), but appears to be specially typical on the Northwest Coast, where ghosts and spirit-animals steal away men's souls. "Why are you making an uproar, ghosts? You who take away men's reason!" is a passage in a Kwakiutl song.[35]

[29] Walker 1917, 89. It will be remembered that among the Oglala, "spirit" is both free-soul and ego-soul, whereas their "ghost" is a life-soul.

A high Oglala god, the invisible sky-god, is, like the above-mentioned demon, "supposed to have a controlling influence over intellect, instinct, and passion"; "he can rob a man of the use of his rational faculties" (Pond 1889, 231; cf. above, p. 199).

[30] Gayton 1948 II, 277.

[31] Cf. the following cases of insanity in consequence of contact with and "possession" by the dead: the Sinkaietk (Spier 1938, 169); Nez Percé (Spinden 1908, 253); Wintu (Du Bois 1935, 67); Dakota (Dorsey 1894, 489); Lipan (Opler 1945, 133 sq.); Navajo (Wyman, Hill & Osanai, op.cit., 30, 34).

[32] Sapir 1921, 594.

[33] Boas 1891 b, 596.

[34] Hultkrantz, op.cit., 39 sq.

[35] Alexander 1916, 262.

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By a Haida tradition we are told that a man "was supposed to be deprived of his senses by land otters".[36] Chamberlain, who cites this tradition, comments that "the idea that loss of the senses or craziness is caused by the land-otter is common to several of the Indian peoples of the North Pacific Coast".[37]

We have, unfortunately, no guarantee that in all the cases in which there is talk of "loss of senses" it is really the limited ego-soul that is referred to. It is actually easier to prove that loss of the free-soul results in madness.[38] In such cases, however, it may be as among the Wind River Shoshoni: the free-soul is at the same time ego-soul, or, to express the matter more precisely, it plays the rôle of the ego-soul. When among the Wind River Shoshoni a medicine-man stole away a person's free-soul the latter might feel this as if he himself *wished* to go to the medicine-man. "It is not usual for a separable soul to become in this way the expression for the desire or will of the waking individual". The free-soul is here—in this connection—also an ego-soul.[39] This naturally does not mean to say that the lost mental capacity is always associated with the fate of the free-soul. In one or at most a few cases it is possible to constate that the mental aberration is really traceable to the loss of a genuine ego-soul.[40]

The ego-soul is thus absent when the individual is mad or (as among the Wind River Shoshoni) has a headache, i. e. is in part without the ability to think rationally. But a drunk person is also, like one suffering from mental aberration, without reason; and the Ojibway have drawn the logical conclusion from this. "An insane man has lost his (ego-)soul and, therefore, has no reason. A drunken man, or a man just recovering from a bout of drunkenness, is temporarily in the same condition; his soul moves at a distance from him, so that he consists of body and shadow only and remembers nothing of what occurred during his drunkenness". This leads to fatal consequences for the next generation. "In his son this disharmony between soul and body may take the form of stuttering, especially if the father lay torpid and memoryless for a day or two after each bout".[41]

[36] Swanton 1905 a, 225 note 19; Swanton 1905 b, 26 sq.
[37] Chamberlain 1913, 474. It may be added that in many places the land-otters are also ghosts, viz. of the drowned; see the collection of data in Birket-Smith 1938, 508, 513 sq., 522.
[38] See below, pp. 232, 286.
[39] Hultkrantz, op.cit., 39.
[40] See below, p. 287: the Puyallup-Nisqually. A summary of the causes of insanity according to North American Indian belief is given below, pp. 285 sq.
[41] Jenness 1935, 18.

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In its intellectual aspect the ego-soul supplies the individual with not only the gifts of understanding, but also memory. The memory seems to be more specifically associated with the ego-soul than the consciousness as such: whereas the consciousness is also borne by the free-soul, when it appears as alternating ego-principle, the memory appears not with the same self-evidence to form a part of the equipment of the free-soul. It is not at all uncommon for the extra-physical soul in the pursuit of its active functions to be unable to remember the way back to the body it has left (see § 30).

Loss of memory is therefore probably also in the first place loss of the ego-soul. Such a view appears to be behind a well-known myth-motif in the Central and Eastern Woodland, which in this connection we cannot overlook. Among the Coast Algonquin, the Iroquoian peoples and the Central Algonquin the profound fear and dread of the dangerous dead have nourished wishful thinking concerning their disarming, and this wishful thinking has been projected into the eschatological mythology, where it has been realized: a guard on the road to the realm of the dead deprives the recently deceased person who passes by of his brain by taking it out or smashing it.[42] It is without doubt a matter of a preventive measure, intended to hinder the dead from thinking of the living and returning to them.[43] Hewitt, certainly, does not share this view; but his theory does not seem to be well founded. He asserts that the Iroquois proceeded in their argument from the self-evident circumstance that one could lose consciousness through a blow on the head: "hence, it was also believed that the removal of the brains from the head rendered the sensitive or animating soul stupid and implacable and capable of committing excesses in the way of preying on the living. This view is recognized in the common Iroquoian tradition that on the way to the land of disembodied spirits there dwells a person ... who makes it his business to take the

[42] This idea occurs among the Penobscot, Huron, Iroquois, Ojibway, Menomini, Sauk, Fox and Winnebago (the latter of Siouan stock). The Sauk and perhaps the Fox believed that "the brain-smasher" must be avoided by the dead, since with his measure he deprives them of their existence altogether. As Joffe has remarked, this is not a primary conception (Joffe 1940, 274 and note 14). In my opinion it has arisen as a direct reflection of the descriptions in certain tribal traditions of the guard's treatment of the living travellers who have tried to have a peep into the realm of the dead. I shall discuss this further in my coming work on North American Indian eschatology.

[43] Cf. Speck 1935 b, 19 (the Penobscot); Michelson 1925, 358, Joffe, op.cit., loc.cit. (the Fox); Radin 1923, 144 (the Winnebago). Cf. also Jenness 1943, 536, 537 (the Carrier, Babine).

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brains from the dead, some say to eat them, others, to keep them".[44] To judge by all the evidence, Hewitt is not reporting an actually existing connection between the myth and the fear of the revenant, he is constructing one. But he is undoubtedly giving a topsy-turvy version of the matter when he derives the dangerousness of the dead from an episode in a myth which has rather the opposite import. He is, too, presumably mistaken when he lets the life-soul figure in the myth. Hewitt's conclusions are unsatisfactory because, inter alia, he has not had access to the Algonquin comparative material.

But is the myth of the brain-smasher everywhere integrated with the notion of the loss of the ego-soul? Perhaps it can be documented that another soul has been connected with the loss of the brain, or that this has not had anything at all to do with soul-loss? The first objection is easy to dispose of. The brain is, it is true, mentioned in the Ojibway myth as "the seat of the shadow".[45] But as I have tried to show earlier, there appears precisely in this case to exist a sort of fusion between the shadow-soul, i. e. the free-soul, and the ego-soul.[46] Considered from the objective and functional viewpoint, it was probably the ego-soul, not the free-soul, that was referred to.— On the other hand, probably the removal or smashing of the brain has not everywhere been consciously associated with the loss of a soul-potency. It is likely that the myth-motif originated among a people for whom the seat of the intellect-soul was the brain (e. g. the Menomini), but that through diffusion it afterwards became known among other tribes without the original association between brain and soul being preserved.[47]

The intellect-soul—i. e. the soul which activates the understanding, thoughts, the memory—must sometimes be strictly distinguished from the intelligence, talent. In the former case we have a potency behind the phenomenon explaining its existence; in the latter case we have a potency within the phenomenon, explaining its strength. The distinction reminds one of that we made earlier between life-soul and

[44] Hewitt 1895, 111 sq. The eating of the brain is mentioned already by Le Jeune: "... they say that the Devil feeds upon their brains, and puts in place of them withered leaves of trees; hence these poor souls are foolish and heedless, having no brains" (JR XVI, 193).

[45] Jenness, op.cit., 109, 110. Jenness cautiously refers to the brain as "the brain of the soul".

[46] See above, p. 78.

[47] A classical parallel to what we have discussed here: the belief that a deceased person was without consciousness and ego-soul was also current in Homer's Greece (Ehnmark 1948, 7).

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life-force. Among the Eskimo on Greenland *isuma* stands for the "mind"-soul in man, whereas *sila* constitutes his intelligence, conceived as a being.[48]

When thought and understanding are translated in active terms the ego-soul appears as volitional soul, "will power". We have seen the ego-soul earlier in this form among the Kootenay, Ojibway and Navajo.[49] The Kwakiutl think that people who do not know what they are to do have "many minds".[50] Among the Crow the will-power seems to form the centre or core of the concept of the soul; for Lowie writes concerning their word for soul: "It is used in speaking of a person's will power and is clearly connected with the word for 'shadow' ".[51] Such a concentration of the soul's activity to the will occurs also among the Eskimo in the Cape York district. An Eskimo from this region told Rasmussen: "The soul makes you a man. It alone gets you to will, act, be energetic. It is this which drives the whole of your life, and this is why the body will collapse when the soul leaves it".[52]

The ego-soul is also responsible for the emotional states and reactions felt by the individual. Among the Tlingit the body-soul conception is represented by the emotive soul, "what feels".[53] The Hidatsa soul, "the mentality", presumably expresses the nature of a person's disposition, his temper, in a wider sense.[54] In this it comes close to the *isuma* of the Eskimo, which also has this import.[55] Among the Creek the life-soul is an ego-soul, inasmuch as it gives rise to "sentiments, passions, feelings of good and evil"—characteristically enough, the free-soul, on the other hand, is the seat of mental activity and understanding.[56] Among the Ojibway on Parry Island the ego-soul is "the soul that experiences pleasure, grief, and anger".[57]

Just as in a certain aspect the ego-soul can govern feelings of this kind, it is also able to promote wishes and desires. The intellect-soul of the Naskapi, *nictu't (sem)*, also appears as "wish power"—i. e. it does not inspire the wish, it realizes it.[58] This would not be possible if the

[48] Thalbitzer 1930 a, 137, 138 sq.; Thalbitzer 1930 b, 98 sq. Cf. above, p. 190.
[49] See above, pp. 209 sq.
[50] Boas & Hunt 1902, 243, 258 sq.; cf. Boas 1935, 71.
[51] Lowie 1922, 380.
[52] Rasmussen 1925, 15.
[53] Swanton 1908, 460.
[54] Curtis 1909 IV, 143.
[55] See above, p. 209.
[56] Hewitt & Swanton, op.cit., loc.cit.
[57] Jenness, op.cit., 18 sq.
[58] See above, p. 209.

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Naskapi soul-conception had not developed towards the concept of a powerful guardian spirit (§ 25). Among the distant linguistic kin of the Naskapi, the Ojibway, the wish-soul sometimes, on the contrary, manifests its impotence. Here it is the shadow—a hybrid between ego-soul and free-soul[59]—that must assert the ego-potency in its wish-aspect. We quote Jenness: "Occasionally the shadow may divide or become double; one part may wish to co-operate with the soul and body, the other seek to travel or go hunting. The man then becomes a centre of conflicting desires. His two shadows contend for the mastery, his struggling soul remains aloof from the body awaiting the issue, and the body itself falls sick. There is generally no cure for this condition and the man dies".[60] As Jenness has pointed out, the psychiatric designation for this condition is neurosis.[61]

Most interesting are the data concerning the wish-souls of the Iroquoian peoples. The Huron, writes Father Brébeuf, have a special name for the soul "in so far as it bears affection to any object"; this name occurs in such phrases as "that is what my heart says to me", or "that is what my appetite desires".[62] The Iroquois use two different terms to denote the ego-soul as wish-soul. The meaning of the one term has gradually been distorted.[63] The second term has until recent times designated "the mind considered as the seat of sentiment", or "regarded as the agent or seat of desire, purpose, intention, sentiment, of a longing for something".[64] In these cases it is obvious that the wish is regarded as a—certainly in a high degree independent—quality in the life-soul.[65] At the same time, among both the Naskapi and the Iroquois, for the rest, there is a close linguistic connection between wish-soul and intellect-soul. The latter indicates that the wish-soul is a differentiated ego-soul; the former indicates its place in the scale of souls. It is close to the life-soul.

Similarly on the boundary between physical and psychic soul is the soul that we may designate as the speech-soul: it enables our speech, "governs our tongue".[66] Swanton points out that the Haida use the

[59] See above, p. 78.
[60] Jenness, op.cit., 20.
[61] Jenness, op.cit., 25 note 2.
[62] JR X, 141.
[63] Hewitt 1895, 113. Its original import is preserved in the wish-soul of the Huron (cf. Hewitt 1902, 44 and JR X, loc.cit.).
[64] Hewitt, op.cit., 112.
[65] See above, pp. 84 sqq.
[66] Cf. the Nootka (Goldschmidt 1951, 351). Cf. also H
196 sq.; Preuss 1923, 18).

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same term for "mind" and "throat".[67] Alexander finds that this is "less strange, perhaps, when we reflect upon the importance of speech in any description of the mind's most distinctive power, that of reason".[68] The neighbours of the Haida living on the opposite side of Hecate Strait, the Bella Coola, conceived of a special life-soul in the throat, and to this soul belonged the voice.[69] Typically enough, as an independent potency it became an owl after death.[70] Although it is probably more life-soul than anything else, this soul is close to the ego-soul — we must bear in mind that the strict division between life and ego souls is in many cases not applicable. We find another example of speech-soul among the Ingalik, who believe in a soul that has been referred to by Osgood as a "speech soul".[71] Their southern kinsmen, the Navajo Indians, tell how the first human couple were provided by the powers with the breath of life, mind, and voices.[72] In the ritualistic speculation of these Indians there is an intimate connection between sound, speech, breath and power of movement.[73] Dr. Reichard asserts that according to Navajo belief "voice, speech, or language" constitute a combination between breath and sound. "With a clear voice, with control at the tip of the speech—that is, the mouth —a person is insured against error".[74] According to the Navajo doctrine the voice is an essential human quality, but it does not appear clearly whether it should be understood as a potency, as a real ego-soul.

Thus if the ego-soul may be viewed under several aspects, it is rather natural to assume that it—like the life-soul—may exist as a multiplicity, i. e. split up into several independent potencies. This possibility should not be remote, since the idea of the absolute unity of the ego does not occur where a dualistic soul-belief prevails. One might venture the assertion that the existence of soul-pluralism is the surest criterion of the absence of a strictly unitary ego-soul. Only a completely unitary soul can impart to the conception of the ego the right closed character. One should therefore not be surprised if

[67] Swanton 1905 b, 34.
[68] Alexander 1916, 262.
[69] McIlwraith 1948 I, 98.
[70] McIlwraith, op.cit., 99 sq.
[71] Osgood 1940, 472.
[72] Matthews 1897, 137.
[73] Reichard 1944, 51. It is said also that "the big Wind"—i.e. the life-soul— "governs speech" (Wyman, Hill & Osanai 1942, 15).
[74] Reichard 1950 I, 33 sq.

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in North American soul-belief one does not find only one ego-soul, but also several ego-souls, i. e. potencies behind the various acts and phases of the life of consciousness.

We must, then, first and foremost distinguish between inherent potencies and intrusive potencies. Only the first-mentioned, which are congenital and as a rule permanently connected with the individual, may be regarded as real ego-souls. The intrusive potencies do not belong to the individual as his self-evident property, and they sometimes exist only momentarily, just when a certain quality or psychic capacity is actualized.[75] Even when these potencies have a more permanent character, they may, through the nature of their effect upon the individual of whom they have taken possession, betray their alien origin. Harrison writes that "the ancient Haidas firmly believed that in every one's stomach existed a number of mice, and each mouse represented the wicked and restless soul of a departed relative. A man who was always quarrelling and fighting was supposed to have within him a soul who in his former life was addicted to such vices".[76] If Harrison's statement is correct, personal qualities have been ascribed to the activities of intruding beings.

We must also distinguish between momentary and constant ego-soul pluralism. The former is rather a product of spiritual disintegration, and appears when the will is divided, or a man's desires are conflicting.[77] One may speak of constant ego-soul pluralism when different aspects of the activity of the ego are ascribed to the activity of different spiritual potencies. It is this constant pluralism in which we are chiefly interested.

Although it is not always certain whether the ego-potency operative on a given occasion constitutes an aspect of an ego-soul or a free,

[75] Cf. above, p. 212.

[76] Harrison 1892, 21. Characteristically enough, these "souls" could also be active in dreams. "Chief Edenshaw, the superior chief of the Haida nation, now 90 years of age, calmly and quietly told me that one bright summer's morning, having got up very early, he went for a stroll over Rose Spit and came upon some women who were sound asleep. To his horror and great astonishment he saw that their faces were covered with mice. He sat down quietly and watched them. Presently he saw one disappear down a woman's throat, then another, and quickly no less than seven vanished down her throat. Out of the seven that had disappeared only one returned as he had evidently gone down the throat of one of his tribe instead of the throat of an enemy. This left six woebegone souls inside of this most unfortunate woman" (Harrison, op.cit., loc.cit.).

[77] Cf. above, p. 217 (the Kwakiutl), p. 218 (the Ojibway), and below, p. 234 (the Nootka). A similar way of regarding the matter was probably responsible for the expressions "to speak with a cleft tongue", "to have two tongues". These expressions, as we know, are applied to the liar (cf. Hultkrantz, Ms).

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separated conception, one sometimes gets the impression that the latter is the case. An actually conceived ego-soul pluralism does in any case seem to have occurred among the Huron, Iroquois and Creek. The Huron and Iroquois believed in the existence of two intellect-souls and one wish-soul, while the Creek assumed the existence of a thought-soul and a feeling-soul.[78] Whether we have here a case of a primary differentiation of the ego-soul, or whether this differentiation is the result of a process of splitting, is difficult to decide. As regards the Iroquois and Huron, linguistic considerations appear to favour both viewpoints. Thus one of the intellect-souls of the Iroquois is linguistically connected with the wish-soul, whereas it has no linguistic affinity with the other intellect-soul and an earlier existing wish-soul.[79] The splitting between intellect and wish souls among the three above-mentioned peoples has resulted in a sharply defined dualism; but this dualism appears to be secondary, and is obviously connected, as we have tried to show earlier, with the fact that the two souls have approached the free-soul and the life-soul respectively in an already existing dual soul-constellation. This of course does not imply that the two ego-potencies did not originally appear as separate souls. For linguistic reasons, however, it appears probable—at least as regards the Iroquois—that the differentiation, if of primitive origin, was made not according to our division of consciousness, but followed a principle of division referring more to quantity than to quality. Thus by the side of an intellect-soul there may have been a combined intellect and wish soul. On the other hand, a sharper line of division was probably drawn, in course of time, between the categories.[80]

One finds also, in certain quarters, an ethical principle of division; we shall revert to this later.

We have already seen that despite its diffuse, scarcely concretized nature, the ego-soul shows a certain connection with the body; especially does this apply to the speech-soul, the voice-soul.[81] Now it is self-evident that the ego-soul should, in all cases, have such a physical anchorage as to justify its classification as a body-soul. A detailed investigation of the conceptions of the ego-soul shows that the physical association does often occur, even if it is not so pronounced as in the case of the life-soul conception.

[78] Cf. above, pp. 86, 84 sq., 87 sq.
[79] See Hewitt's linguistic analysis, Hewitt 1895, 112 sqq.
[80] Cf. above, p. 218, and Hewitt, op.cit., 112 sq.
[81] Cf. above, pp. 218 sq.

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The dependence of the ego-soul upon the body is manifested in many ways: as the voice-soul it is the potency behind a physical organ; it remains in the body, grows with the body; it has its seat in the body; it merges with the life-soul. These characteristics do not of course belong, either collectively or separately, to all ego-soul conceptions.

It is sometimes emphasized that the ego-soul always remains in the body. Thus the Carrier at Bulkley River believe that the ego-soul never leaves the body during its life-time.[82] The same view is held by the Hidatsa.[83] The development of the ego-soul reflects that of the body, i. e. it develops with the body. According to the Menomini, the ego-soul grows with the body, and when a man has reached maturity he is completely controlled by it.[84] The *nappan* of the Mackenzie Eskimo is probably at least in part an ego-soul, for concerning it we are told, just as among the Menomini, that it "gradually develops in strength, experience, and wisdom", while the individual is growing.[85]

Like the life-soul, the ego-soul may have a physical basis, a "seat" in the body. Sometimes this is not precisely indicated. The "cognitive soul" of the Eastern Pomo resides insides the body, but it is not known where—either the localization has always been indefinite, or else it has been forgotten.[86] As a rule, however, the position of the soul's abode in the body is known. A specialized ego-soul like the speech-soul, which is on the border-line between physical and psychic vital activity, may with advantage be associated with the throat; but the ego-souls that give expression to more essential mental states are found in the head or in the heart.

As regards, first of all, the cases in which the ego-soul has been concentrated to the throat, these have been mentioned earlier.[87]

That the ego-soul should be located in the head or heart strikes us as perfectly understandable: the head is a natural centre for intellect and power of understanding, the heart an equally natural centre for various states of mind. Among the Zuni "the head is the seat of skill and intelligence, but the heart is the seat of the emotions and of profound thought".[88] Unfortunately, there are many other quarters in which the matter is not expressed in such simple and

[82] Jenness 1943, 535.
[83] Curtis 1909 IV, 143.
[84] Skinner 1913, 77 sq.
[85] Stefánsson 1913, 399 sq. Concerning the growing soul, see further § 28.
[86] Loeb 1926, 290.
[87] See above, pp. 218 sq.
[88] Bunzel 1932 a, 481. Cf. also the Cora (Preuss 1912, XCVI sq.).

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easily comprehensible language; the soul-beliefs of the Huron constitutes the nearest analogous case, followed by the soul-belief of the Creek and the Menomini, who, however, provide us with less definite instances (see below).

Instead, the commonest case is for the ego-soul to be situated either in the head or in the heart. As a rule it is probably the former case, where the intellectual ego-soul aspect predominates, while the latter occurs where the ego-soul expresses more feeling, desire and impulse than understanding and reason. This rule, of course, has its exceptions like any other rule. Whereas the head is only the seat of the intellect-soul—at least I have not found any instances of also the independent feeling or emotive soul being situated there—, the heart may be the point of association for both the intellect-soul and the emotive soul. This may be calculated to surprise; but the fact is that many primitive peoples consider that they think through the heart.

We find a splendid illustration of this Indian psychology in Spier's report concerning the way in which the Havasupai Indians understand the relation of mental activity to the body and to physical states. An Indian stated, inter alia: "The blood in my veins goes into my brain and my heart: when it enters my brain I think what I am going to do. My thought goes on all over my body. It (both blood and thought) causes my whole body to move about". The speaker added that the head was felt to be most engaged in the process of thinking. Two other informants, a man and a woman, assured Spier on the other hand that they thought with the heart. The man declared: "Most men say they think with their hearts: I say so too. Some say they think with their heads: they talk about who has the most brains".[89]

If we now study our data more closely, we find that the head is conceived as the seat of the ego-soul—i. e., as we have pointed out, the intellect-soul—among peoples from the most widely separated parts of North America.[90] Sometimes an indication is given as to where in the head the ego-soul can be localized: it is behind the ear, say the Wintu;[91] it is "in the back of a person's head, where you see the

[89] Spier 1928, 331; cf. Spier 1921, 514 note 1.

[90] The Great Slave Lake Athapascans (Mason 1946, 33); Menomini (Skinner 1913, 85; Skinner 1921, 43); Creek (Hewitt & Swanton 1939, 157); Wintu (Du Bois 1935, 79); Chemehuevi ? (Kelly 1936, 141 note 16—but cf. our reserve, above, p. 209 note 5); Navajo (Wyman, Hill & Osanai 1942, 11); Havasupai (Spier 1928, 331); Zuni (Bunzel, op.cit., loc.cit.). See also the references below, p. 224, notes 93, 94.

[91] Du Bois, op.cit., loc.cit.

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depression", explain the Navajo when mentioning their evil ego-soul;[92] and from notes from a number of other peoples it would appear that the intellect-soul has its quarters in the brain.[93] The localization of the ego-soul in the head reminds us that the free-soul—in so far as its position in the body is determined—is often associated with the head (§ 16). As we shall soon find, the intellect-soul and the free-soul often tend to combine with each other. The *navujieip* of the Wind River Shoshoni is both ego-soul and free-soul, and in both capacities it has its physical seat in the head.[94]

The head is thus the seat of the ego-soul of "intellect-type"; it is perhaps as well to add that this soul sometimes has an emotional tone, without its association with the head being abandoned on this account. The above-mentioned Shoshoni, for example, experience *navujieip* also as a wish-soul.[95] But it is in this case still a soul having its abode in the head. It is possible, as we have already seen, to find plausible reasons why the life-soul should reside in the head;[96] but it is hard to see why the emotive soul should be located there unless it is a subordinate detail in an ego-soul of predominantly intellectual character.

The ego-soul connected with the heart, on the other hand, may be of either predominantly emotive or predominantly rational type. The first-mentioned strikes us as easy to understand. The movements of the heart of course reflect the individual's emotional states; and the Indians know that the heart beats in connection with emotions of various kinds, while it contracts or "smarts" when one meets with disappointment and unhappy tidings. A Sinkaietk Indian who has become ill from great sorrow is said to be "broken-hearted".[97] It is in these circumstances not surprising if also the ego that governs the feelings has its central seat in the heart.[98] This is the case among the Lenape[99] and above all among the Huron and the Iroquois, who often assert the intimate connection between the wish-soul and the heart. The Huron frequently use the phrases "that is what my heart says to me,

[92] Wyman, Hill & Osanai, op.cit., loc.cit.
[93] Cf. the Huron (JR X, 153); Havasupai (Spier, op.cit., loc.cit.); Zuni (Hagar 1908, 434). Cf. also the discussion of the brain and the ego-soul above, pp. 215 sq.
[94] Hultkrantz 1951, 40.
[95] Hultkrantz, op.cit., 39.
[96] See above, pp. 176 sq.
[97] Spier 1938, 168.
[98] See above, p. 173.
[99] Brinton 1885, 71.

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that is what my appetite desires".[100] A potency localized in the heart is here understood as the genius of desire.

The difficulties of interpretation are greater when it is said to be an ego-soul of intellect-type that resides in the heart. "Our soul has its seat in our heart", say the Cherokee. "What we think starts in our heart, and the heart sends our mind out".[101] A person who is not in possession of all his faculties is said by the Dakota to "have no heart".[102] We have already seen how the Havasupai Indian indicates rationally why he understands the reasoning soul to be localized in the heart.[103] But is not his explanation a construction *a posteriori*, intended to account for an already existing tradition?

It appears probable that the connection between the intellect-soul and the heart is due chiefly to the fact that it is intimately connected with the emotive soul. We have, it is true, reports of individual cases in which the intellectual aspects have been so exclusively cultivated that the emotive aspect has disappeared;[104] but the source-material is here so sparse that we cannot venture to conclude that it does justice to the conditions actually obtaining. As far as one ventures to judge, thought and feeling have for the Indian way of thinking frequently not been completely differentiated out from the integrating process of consciousness; they have formed a whole even when the one has dominated the other or at a given moment been actualized at the expense of the other.[105] The emotive aspect of the ego-soul is sometimes less noticeable—then the ego-soul is often associated with the head; but if it is strongly perceptible, even if not predominant, the ego-soul may easily be located to the heart. As we have seen earlier (§ 13), the heart has become the focus for the most widely varying psychic and physical vital functions; even the free-soul has found its abode in the heart.

We may add that if in its intellectual aspect the ego-soul has its seat in the heart, this is also because thought is not understood as an

[100] JR X, 141. Cf. Hewitt 1895, 112 (the Iroquois).
[101] Mooney & Olbrechts 1932, 141, 306.
[102] Eastman 1849, 244. Cf. the Crow (Lowie 1935, 147, 156).
[103] See above, p. 223.
[104] Cf. the Nootka (Sapir 1921, 594); Kalispel (Vogt 1940, 164 sq.); Cœur d'Alène (Reichard 1947, 48 note 1); Dakota (see above, note 102); Havasupai (Spier 1928, 331).
[105] Cf. above, p. 209. This explains why we never hear of any special seat for the volitional soul: it is simply the ego-soul in a particular aspect. Among the Nootka, for example, the will is an active projection of the ego-soul dominated by intellectual aspects (Sapir, op.cit., loc.cit.).

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independent abstract conception. As a part of a greater whole it is coloured with emotional qualities; the thinking is judged according to its moral worth or according to its anchorage in the emotive deeps of the soul. "You have only spoken with your lips, not from your heart", says the Lenape Indian of one who says what he does not mean.[106] Among the Zuni, as we have seen, the heart is the centre for profounder thinking; "I shall take it to my heart" means, according to Bunzel, "I shall ponder it carefully, and remember it long".[107] The Zuni are also of the opinion that people can communicate with one another through their hearts: "heart speaks to heart, and lips do not move".[108]

Thus in the majority of cases the ego-soul is total as both intellect-soul and emotive soul when localized in the heart. A good example may be instanced from the Ojibway on Parry Island. Here the ego-soul is situated in the heart, and it is intellect-soul, perception and memory soul, volitional soul and emotive soul—"the soul that experiences pleasure, grief, and anger".[109]

The ego-soul is not, however, any more than the life-soul, identical with its seat, the head or the heart.[110] A comparison with the psychic qualities in their nature akin to the ego-soul is instructive. The qualities, too, are collected in the heart, especially those qualities which express strength of feeling, will-power, courage.[111] They should be regarded as physical attributes, not as independent potencies, although in respect of their content they are closely akin to the emotive soul. As an illustration of the close connection between such qualities and their organ we shall adduce some data concerning the fixation of courage, bravery, to the heart. In a Menomini legend we are told that "the hearts of brave men are small, while cowards, who run away when there is fighting to be done have large, soft hearts".[112] The Sauk Indians once found a fallen enemy who had "only a small piece of gristle" instead of a heart. "The possession of the small heart was what made him the brave man that he was".[113] Among the Western

[106] Heckewelder 1821, 217.
[107] Bunzel, op.cit., loc.cit.
[108] Stevenson 1904, 52.
[109] Jenness 1935, 18 sq.
[110] See above, pp. 173 sq.
[111] The psychic qualities may also be associated with other entities in man, e.g. the breath (see e.g. the Dakota, Dorsey 1894, 482). Cf. above, p. 163.
[112] Skinner & Satterlee 1915, 438.
[113] Jones 1911, 234. Cf. Jones 1900, 99 sqq.

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Yavapai a man without fear is said to have a "big heart", while a cowardly poltroon is considered to have a "little heart".[114]

Such an identity between the potency and its physical substrate will be sought in vain in the ego-soul. It is perhaps sometimes called "the heart", but it is for this reason not identical with the heart, which is its abode. We find a good instance of this in the notion of the ego-soul found among the Nootka.[115] The Kootenay employ the designation "the heart" as a collective term for the many varying aspects of the ego-soul; but we are not told that the physical heart, which is the seat of the ego-soul, is also identical with the spiritual "heart".[116]

The ego-soul has its firmest association with the body when it coincides with the life-soul. This occurs exceedingly often: first and foremost, of course, where an undeveloped unitary soul-formation has made its appearance without the ego-soul aspect being lost on this account (e. g. among the Athapascans of the Great Slave Lake and among the Naskapi); but also in a large number of cases in which a regular dualism in the form of free-soul—body-soul occurs.[117] Let us adduce some examples. Especially instructive is the pronouncement of the Wintu Indian concerning the body-soul: "It is your life; it makes you wake up from sleep; it makes you think things; without it you would be like a deaf and dumb person; it is what guides you all the time".[118] Among the Kamia the "heart" is the unifying designation for the elements constituting the individual's life and consciousness.[119] The *niya* of the Oglala is more than life and life-soul. "Its functions during the life of the person are to cause vitality, to forewarn of good and evil, and to give the power to influence others".[120]

The more immediate causes of this connection between ego-soul and life-soul are obvious: each of the souls gives expression in its own way to the collected vital functions of the individual. The transition between them is therefore natural and unforced. And the more closely welded with the life-soul the ego-soul is, the more it reveals the fundamental special feature of the life-soul, the dependence on the body (see § 13).

[114] Gifford 1936, 316. Cf. the bear-heart (Allison 1892, 313).
[115] Sapir 1921, 594.
[116] Chamberlain 1906, 95, 101. Cf. also the Dakota (see above, p. 225).
[117] See above, pp. 108 sq. (under A, C2).
[118] Du Bois 1935, 79.
[119] Gifford 1931, 81.
[120] Walker 1917, 87.

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The ego-soul is primarily an exponent of the body's own life. It would, however, be a distortion of the perspective if one were to assert that in consequence of its body-soul character the ego-soul must in all situations be bound to the body. For this is far from being the case. Like the breath-soul, the ego-soul is able under certain conditions to loose its moorings, at least temporarily, and to abandon its actual body-soul functions.[121] That this can take place is obviously due to the fact that the conception of the ego-soul includes elements which in the long run can release it from its dependence upon the body. It is especially in its intellectual aspect that it undergoes this change. The result may be a splitting of the ego-soul, inasmuch as its two dominating constituent parts, the emotive potency and the intellect-potency, orient themselves in opposite directions. Among several eastern American peoples the intellect-soul is intimately connected with the free-soul and often identical with this, while through its association with the life-soul the emotive soul is firmly anchored in the body.[122]

The factors enabling this distancing, so to speak, between the intellect-soul and the body are obviously to seek in the relative inessentialness of the former (from the viewpoint of the maintenance of life), its defective concretion, its mobility and capacity for self-projection. The two first-mentioned qualities are to a certain extent shared also by the emotive soul.

Let us define these factors more closely.

The ego-soul is sometimes alone in representing the body-soul in a dualistic relation.[123] It is then naturally in the highest degree bound to the body (although not as intellect-soul?). But where it operates together with a life-soul it easily happens that it assumes a position of secondary importance as compared with the latter. For as the third component in a dualistic soul-conception the ego-soul is undeniably of subordinate importance for the existence of the individual, indeed, inessential for this. It can, in other words, be dispensed with. The Navajo are of the opinion that very old people have lost their evil mind.[124] The Iroquois can at one and the same time have four or five ego-souls of intellect type, while on another occasion he may be without all of them.[125] The intellect-soul can be driven away by the storm-

[121] Cf. our cautious estimation of the ego-soul as body-soul, above pp. 221 sq.
[122] See above, p. 109 under C2. The majority of instances are adduced in § 8.
[123] See above, p. 108 under B3.
[124] Wyman, Hill & Osanai 1942, 17.
[125] Hewitt 1895, 108. Cf. above, pp. 49 sq.

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The intellect-soul (and probably the ego-soul in general) is characterized by its abstract and indefinable nature. If it is seldom conceived concretely, this is not (as in the case of the life-soul) due to the conception's dependence upon and fixation to the body,[128] but to something quite different: it has an abstract character, and its limits are vague. "No one knows the appearance, if any, of human mentality", writes McIlwraith of the Bella Coola, and makes reference to its slight importance.[129] If the appearance of the mind is mentioned, this is connected with the fact that in such cases mind and free-soul are conceived as identical (see below).

The intellect-soul is but little dependent upon bodily condition. It adapts itself without difficulty to goals far beyond the body, and it is also able to betake itself to them (for examples, see below). In this capacity for self-projection we have reason to see the chief and probably decisive cause of the detachment of the intellect-soul.

Summarizing, however, we may constate that all the circumstances mentioned here further the process of liberation of the intellect-soul. A soul that is not absolutely necessary for the immediate functioning of the body, that is so abstract as not to correspond to a definite, fixed image, and that in consequence of its special character does not reflect the state of the body but, on the contrary, extra-physical conditions, such a soul will have no difficulty in momentarily severing its connections with the body. It is therefore not surprising that in two of its shapes it has demonstrated a far-reaching detachment: as the soul of light trance and as the absent intellect-potency of the insane.

The ego-soul is completely abstract and independent of physical substrate when in mystical meditation it floats out of the limitations of the ego and merges in a higher spiritual dignity. We have seen earlier how in the Peyote vision the Winnebago Indian finds his thought identical with — if the term may be allowed — the soul-mass of the

[126] JR XLII, 51.
[127] Sapir 1921, 594.
[128] Cf. above, p. 153.
[129] McIlwraith 1948 I, 95.

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The ego-soul is sometimes active and independent of physical substrate when a mystical meditation leads us to the innermost of the ego and merges it into a higher mystical light. We have seen earlier how in the Jewish mystic the Shekinah, which finally becomes identical with — i.e. the term that is chosen — the soul-stuff of the

[126] [illegible]
[127] [illegible]
[128] [illegible]
[129] [illegible]

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cult-group.[130] And the Pawnee Indian "conceives it possible for a number of persons so to unite as to think and act as one spirit".[131] The mystical exercise is facilitated in the latter case by the fact that ego-soul and free-soul are identical.[132]

In certain anormal states of mind (insanity, mental confusion, frenzy), the ego-soul is conceived to appear as an extra-physical potency that has been lost to its owner (see § 16). As a rule, it then coincides with the free-soul (see below).

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The fusing of free-soul and ego-soul naturally has as a result that the ego-soul participates in all the qualities of the free-soul, and not least the latter's detached existence outside the body. It is interesting to note that in the measure in which the newly created soul acts as ego-soul, it now assumes a visible, concrete form. Among the Wind River Shoshoni the ego-soul is identical with both the life-soul and the free-

[130] See above, p. 188.
[131] Fletcher 1904, 290.
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[134] Cf. the missionary fathers in New France concerning the Huron and Iroquois, in California concerning the Luiseño.
[135] Lynd 1889, 155; Walker, op.cit., 86.
[136] McIlwraith, op.cit., 94.
[137] McIlwraith, op.cit., 515.

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soul, and it has its appearance in common with both: "a black little thing one cm long, thin as a hair".[138] The diminutive size of the ego-soul shows that its appearance has been modelled upon that of the free-soul.[139]

When the identity between ego-soul and free-soul is complete (which among some peoples is always the case, and among others occurs on certain occasions, see § 16), the ego-soul attains its full liberation from the body. It was asserted above that the ego-soul has tendencies that may split it into a body-soul and a free-soul, and that it is the intellect within the ego-soul that is identified with the free-soul.[140] And it is certain that whether the ego-soul is split or not, it is the ego-soul dominated by intellectual aspects that is combined with the free-soul.[141] To what can this development be due?

Four essential causes may be distinguished.

One very important contributory cause has been the quality in the intellect-soul that is expressed in the phrase "the flight of thought". We have already touched upon this.[142] Thought shows the same mobility as the free-soul—or a still greater mobility.[143] Just as dreams of distant places are interpreted as the journeys of the dream-soul to these places, so also thoughts of remote things (and especially eidetic day-dreams?) sometimes imply the removal of the thought-soul to them.[144] When the Bella Coola Indian thinks of a remote place "his spirit is responsible for the thought and some men even believe that it has travelled there".[145] In a popular Tlingit legend we are told how, like arrows, thoughts fly forth on the sunbeams.[146] This way of thinking also explains why the mind of the Zuni Indian can absent itself from the body to find out the secrets of other beings.[147] It also throws light upon the circumstance that in meditation the ego-soul can re-

[138] Hultkrantz, op.cit., 29.
[139] Cf. above, p. 153.
[140] See above, p. 228.
[141] One cannot, on the other hand, say that the ego-soul combined with the life-soul is always dominated by feeling.
[142] See above, p. 229.
[143] Reversing the order, it may be said that the free-soul is as quick as thought (Spier 1938, 169: the Sinkaietk).
[144] We constate here that the thought-potency not only drives, gives direction to and projects the thought, it also carries the thought in its flight. The double rôles of the intellect-soul thus remind one of those of the dream-soul (see below, pp. 270, 276).
[145] McIlwraith, op.cit., 94.
[146] Garfield & Forrest 1948, 31 sq.
[147] Hagar 1908, 434.

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be in process of being discarded. "Even the old people do not profess to know anything definite about mentality, which is important only as an attribute of the spirit (= the free-soul)".[155]

If through its anchorage to the life-soul the ego-soul has established its body-soul character and through its anchorage to the free-soul it has increasingly freed itself from the body, it has nonetheless in both cases remained an instrument for the psychic resources of the personality. In three respects, however, it demonstrates its limitation: it sometimes does not resume in itself all the manifestations of consciousness, and these are distributed among other souls (e. g. the Wind River Shoshoni); it sometimes exists only as the researcher's collective term for a number of souls, specialized or not (e. g. the Huron);[156] it generally functions only as the soul of the waking consciousness (e. g. the Carrier).

It is obvious that as long as in this way the ego-soul does not constitute the focus for the personality as a whole, the ego will be rather a vague concept. This is illustrated by the following fragment from the narrative of a Winnebago medicine-man concerning his experiences. "When I had grown up to be a lad, although one not large enough to handle a gun, a war party attacked us and killed us all. I did not know, however, that I had been killed. I thought that I was running about as usual until I saw a heap of bodies on the ground and mine among them. No one was there to bury us, so there we lay and rotted".[157] On the one hand the ego-experience is independent of the body, as the narrator at first does not notice that his body has died;[158] on the other hand the word "I" is used alternately of the soul and of the body.[159]

If one bears such facts in mind one easily understands that the ego-soul may undergo a development removing it from its direct ego-function. The potency that normally expresses the ego-consciousness may be strengthened and may detach itself from its primary function to become a *daimonion* in the individual. This development is accelerated when the ego-soul has become connected with the free-soul that has advanced to the rank of guardian spirit.

[155] McIlwraith, op.cit., 95.
[156] Cf. above, p. 221.
[157] Radin 1923, 315; Radin 1945, 7.
[158] Even if in the present case the experience is constructed, many parallel cases do actually exist from living reality. See § 29.
[159] Cf. also below, p. 239. See also St. Clair & Frachtenberg 1909, 37 (the Coos in Oregon).

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move itself from the body.[148] And finally, it explains why longing should sometimes be defined as absence of the ego-soul. Among the Cherokee the ego-soul is absent in "acute cases of lovesickness, homesickness, melancholy, and dejection".[149]

The second cause is that also the free-soul acts as a principle of consciousness, or at least as a cognitive principle; this takes place while the body is slumbering, in sleep, in trance. The free-soul is frequently the ego of the dream. But from being this it may easily expand to the point of standing for the individual's collected consciousness.[150] "The circumstance that the separable soul is absent during the period in which the individual is without consciousness—during sleep, trance or coma—is in itself sufficient to pave the way for the reflection that the separable soul is connected with self-consciousness".[151] And attention should here be directed to another circumstance: if in dreams the free-soul represents the consciousness, and the free-soul is lost—which of course sometimes happens—its loss may also imply the loss of the reason.[152]

The third cause is closely connected with the preceding. If the reason is lost, this may also imply that the ego-soul is lost. A lost ego-soul must obviously appear as an extra-physical soul, i. e. manifest the special features of the free-soul (see § 16). It is possible that in several cases the permanent free-soul has come to coincide with the ego-soul by being associated with the postulated extra-physical existence of the lost ego-soul.

As the fourth cause of the fusion between ego-soul and free-soul we may here adduce the tendencies proceeding from the free-soul conceived as an entity semi-independent of the individual. Already in its quality of double-ganger ("double") it gives premonitions and presentiments which affect the owner's understanding and thoughts.[153] The more, in consequence of its independence, the free-soul develops into a guardian spirit, the more it will intervene in the sphere of action of the "mind"-soul. Thus it has more and more taken over the functions of the ego-soul among the Bella Coola.[154] In practice, therefore, the Bella Coola have two ego-souls, the free-soul and "the mentality". The latter appears to

[148] Cf. above, pp. 229 sq.
[149] Mooney & Olbrechts 1932, 141; cf. Cranz 1765 I, 257 (the Eskimo).
[150] Cf. e.g. the Naskapi (Speck 1935 a, 46).
[151] Hultkrantz, op.cit., 41.
[152] Cf. above, p. 214. See §16 for a more detailed discussion of this point.
[153] Cf. above, p. 211 note 16.
[154] Cf. above, p. 230.

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It resides in the nature of the conception of potency that it should appear as a more or less independent being operating on its own. Father Brébeuf himself was able to constate that one of the intellect-souls of the Huron was *oki andaérandi,* "like a demon, counterfeiting a demon".[160] The Naskapi, whose "power of thought" manifests itself in, inter alia, desire, are able to attain by magic the changes they are aiming at: they establish contact with the cause of thoughts, the soul-guardian-spirit, the Great Man, who is stimulated with singing and the beating of drums.[161] The ego-potency is here understood as an attribute of the soul transformed into a guardian spirit. The latter is a power inside the individual, that must be placated and satisfied, at the same time as in many situations it represents the individual in a more direct way; amongst other things it is "the seat of the appetites, emotions, and passions, again in correspondence with the traditional terms, heart and mind".[162] Among the Ojibway the ego-soul is in its volitional aspect, in the same way as among the Naskapi, a powerful, half alien potency. "A weary Indian dragging his toboggan up a slope may feel that something is helping him along, pulling on the toboggan with him; it is his soul that has come to his aid".[163]

The Kwakiutl are probably also of the opinion that the mind has an independent nature. A Kwakiutl Indian who acceded to his wife's request to keep away from a certain fellow-tribesman expressed his attitude with the words, "then my mind met the wishes of my wife".[164] According to the Nootka, the Creator placed in the breast of the first human being a vertical pillar of ten faces superposed one on top of the other as the principle of consciousness. These faces still rule the spiritual life of the Indians to this day. "If all ten faces look in one direction, the man's will is strong; if five look one way, five the other, he is in a state of evenly-balanced hesitation".[165]

The ego-soul is thus a rather emancipated being, an in its way independent entity within the individual. As we see, this also implies that it tends to become a power-being—a tendency which in the case of the Naskapi, for example, is met by corresponding tendencies in the free-soul. The question which then arises is: how far and whither will this tendency of the ego-soul lead when it is allowed to act with-

[160] JR X, 141.
[161] Speck 1935 a, 184 sq. Cf. below, pp. 352, 385.
[162] Speck, op.cit., 43.
[163] Jenness 1935, 18.
[164] Boas 1930 II, 33.
[165] Sapir 1921, 594.

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out hindrance. It seems to emerge that in its extreme, more independent form the ego-soul on the one hand acquires supremacy over the other body-souls, and on the other hand recedes from the ego-conception proper to form, instead, a being more or less detached from the individual which controls his ego from a higher plane. It becomes an alien, superior entity, a "conscience". It should, however, be observed that the powerfully potentiated ego-soul, which is conscience or guardian spirit, frequently also appears as a free-soul—that in other words it may perhaps have emerged not merely from the ego-soul.[166]

The character of "leader-soul" occasionally ascribable to the ego-soul has been instanced in some few cases. It is probably the ego-soul that among the Quileute is referred to as "main, strong soul".[167] In a grown-up Menomini, who is begotten by a thunder-spirit, the normal mind even controls the divine nature.[168] The Wind River Shoshoni believe that the ego-soul "carries my dream, body and movements".[169] According to the Navajo, "all parts of man's body and spirit are co-ordinated by mind... Mind keeps body and spirit in adjustment".[170]

That the ego-soul may sometimes be conceived as alien to the individual's own self we have seen exemplified above. When the ego-soul is connected with the free-soul—guardian-spirit the distance is experienced with increased intensity, as is evidenced in part by the already adduced examples from the Naskapi and the Ojibway.[171] Among the Bella Coola "a sudden thought is caused by the intervention of a supernatural being"; obviously the free-soul in its mind-aspect is here referred to.[172] When among the Naskapi someone has eaten human flesh and thereby become a *witigo*, i. e. a cannibal, "his spirit would grow so strong that they would be afraid to attack him, so a conjuror could destroy him only by sorcery".[173] The soul here reminds one more of a possessing spirit than of an ordinary soul.

In its independence, detachedness and elevation the ego-soul may

[166] See below, p. 377.
[167] Frachtenberg 1920, 334.
[168] Skinner 1913, 77 sq. Among the closely related Fox, on the other hand, the free-soul is the controlling soul—evidently an aspect of the guardian-spirit function of the emancipated free-soul (Michelson 1925, 358).
[169] Hultkrantz, op.cit., 29.
[170] Reichard 1950 I, 34.
[171] See above, p. 234.
[172] McIlwraith, op.cit., 29, 95. Forgetfulness, on the other hand, is ascribed to the intervention of an abstract supernatural being not having the character of a soul, which steals the thoughts of the individual (op.cit., 58).
[173] Speck 1935 a, 45, 73. Cf. further § 27.

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very easily assume the character of a conscience, or at least of a principle of character. Through its dominance over the ego the soul is vested with a social responsibility, and it is naturally judged, according to its actions, as good or bad. Sometimes two ego-souls are postulated in order to be able to explain the alternation between good and evil in a person's mental life and actions. Thus the earlier mentioned "mentality" of the Bella Coola consists of two parts "one constantly urging to good deeds, particularly to activity in ritual matters, the other to evil".[174] The Navajo believe that "bad and good are both in the mind", and there is a special, concretely conceived principle for evil thoughts.[175] The good principle is without doubt a sort of conscience. This emerges as clearly as may be desired in the Navajo Indian's confession in the face of the powers of the universe: "I am ashamed before that standing within me which speaks with me", i. e. the good conscience.[176]

Also the ego-soul of the Coeur d'Alène functions as a conscience, as it would appear: the heart is the seat for "thought and right-doing".[177] And one is probably also justified in classifying in the category of conscience the *niya* of the Oglala, inasmuch as its function is "to forewarn of good and evil".[178]

The Great Man of the Naskapi, in many respects a fusion between ego-soul and free-soul, also appears as a conscience, as Speck points out: "An ethical factor is also present in Naskapi soul philosophy, for we learn that as the Great Man becomes more willing and more active in the interests of his material abode, the body of the individual, he requires that the individual tell no lies, practice no deception upon others. In particular he is pleased with generosity, kindness, and help to others".[179] This function in the Great Man may appear surprising, since we have just been able to associate him with asocial behaviour in the form of cannibalism. But "the conscience" shows its limitation precisely in the fact that it does not enter into conflict with certain amoral tendencies: "The rational moralist may see how there may easily arise circumstances under which the mandates of the Great Man might induce the individual to perform acts quite the contrary of

[174] McIlwraith, op.cit., 95.
[175] Wyman, Hill & Osanai, op.cit., 11; cf. op.cit., 15, and above, p. 106.
[176] Matthews 1897, 58 sq.; cf. Kluckhohn 1942, 75 note 96, and BBAE 30: 1 (1907), 441.
[177] Reichard 1947, 48 note 1.
[178] Walker, op.cit., 87.
[179] Speck, op.cit., 44. Cf. Speck 1924, 275.

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righteous. We do indeed encounter this very situation. For no matter how arbitrary, or even eccentric, the imaginary commands of the inner element might be, they would have to be performed by the man who is 'good' in the native sense. The law of conscience, as some would call it, could lead to injuries to others considered as reprisals for some imaginary offenses... We even discover that gratification of the passions, often leading to dissipation, is intended to satisfy the soul-spirit; then dissipation to an immoral degree becomes condoned as an act of merit".[180] It would seem as if in its worser aspect the Great Man constitutes less a conscience than a wish-soul, a direct instrument for the innermost intentions of the personality itself.

The detached ego-principle—accentuated to the rank of controlling soul, higher principle of character etc.—may in different ways manifest itself in the waking consciousness of the individual. Can it then not also communicate with the individual while he is dreaming?

To this question it may be answered that in the measure in which the ego-soul has merged with the free-soul this is not unnatural; but it will be impossible if the ego-soul has not been influenced by the free-soul. The ego-soul, it must be remembered, represents the waking consciousness, while the free-soul—man himself in an extra-physical form—in dreams represents the consciousness of the sleeper. Now it is, certainly, not uncommon for the free-soul to be conceived as a being distinct from its owner's ego, even in dreams (§ 16). The soul which in dreams acts as a higher soul-entity, conscience and so forth must therefore be the free-soul. Only in its connection with the free-soul can the ego-soul develop into the soul of the "subconscious".

This is well illustrated by the conceptions held by the Iroquois and the Huron concerning the mystical communication of knowledge. The Iroquois and Huron believe that they are quite often reached by messages from supernatural powers, "brought to the knowledge of man by the reasonable soul in the form of an innate desire or in a dream".[181] Precisely through its close association to the free-soul the ego-soul becomes a principle for both conscious and subconscious

[180] Speck 1935 a, 49; cf. op.cit., 183.

[181] Hewitt 1895, 110 sq. The Wyandot mention a special dream-god whose name signifies "The Revealer", or "He makes the Vision", or "He makes the Dream". "He was supposed to have something to do with the supernatural influences that acted upon this life, and he revealed the effects of these influences to the Wyandots in dreams. All visions and dreams came from him, for he had control of the souls of the Wyandots, while they slept, or were unconscious from injury or disease" (Connelley 1899, 118. Cf. JR X, 169 sqq.).

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mental life. Ragueneau reports that also the desires of the soul itself could be expressed through dreams, "which are its language".[182] Although nothing is mentioned about which soul is referred to, it is probably without doubt a matter of "the rational soul", which goes wandering during dreams, thus acting as a free-soul; for it is said that our inner desires become conscious to us "by means of a certain blind transportation of the soul to certain objects", a transportation which takes place during dreams; and we are told further that it is the rational and not the sensitive soul that is active during dreams.[183] If the desires of the soul are not realized the soul withdraws from the individual his happiness and exposes him to suffering, sickness and death.[184] One can with Hewitt formulate the belief here adduced as follows: concealed, secret desires emanating from the depths of the soul become conscious through dreams, and if these desires are not satisfied the soul revolts against the body.[185] As may be seen, the view held by the Iroquois and the Huron concerning the hidden activity of the soul strikes one as a precursor of modern deep-psychological theory.

This example is not the only one. Wherever the ego-soul constitutes the principle for the subconscious mental life of dreams, it has become associated with the free-soul. This is the case with the *inutska* of the Creek Indians, which speaks to man in his dreams,[186] and with the Great Man of the Naskapi. "The Great Man reveals itself in dreams. Every individual has one, and in consequence has dreams. Those who respond to their dreams by giving them serious attention, by thinking about them, by trying to interpret their meaning in secret and testing out their truth, can cultivate deeper communication with the Great Man".[187]

Other examples may be adduced from the Sioux and Shoshone Indians. The *nagi* of the Oglala, which is both free-soul and intellect-soul, "can communicate with mankind, directly or through the medium of a Shaman".[188] Concerning the *navujieip* of the Wind River

[182] JR XXXIII, 189 sqq. The hidden desires manifested through dreams were called *ondinnonk* or *ondonoc* by the Huron. Cf. also Du Peron in JR XV, 179 sqq.
[183] JR XXXIII, 189 sqq.
[184] JR XXXIII, 189 sqq., 199. In different ways, e.g. through ecstatic procedures, the shaman was able to ascertain the cause of such sickness (Ragueneau in JR XXXIII, 191 sqq.). This theory of sickness seems not to have been shared by the surrounding Algonquin peoples (Flannery 1939, 146 note 68).
[185] Hewitt, op.cit., 112.
[186] Hewitt & Swanton 1939, 157.
[187] Speck, op.cit., 43.
[188] Walker 1917, 86.

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Shoshoni—dream-soul, guardian spirit, ego-soul—we are told that it gives the individual advice while his body is at rest.[189] Also the *mugua* of the Paviotso has appeared in this way as both conscious and "subconscious" soul.[190] An old Paviotso Indian told Steward: "I also was interested in women. My soul confessed it. It once said to me in a dream: 'One thing I cannot get away from is love for women. I can get along without other things, but I cannot get along without women. I shall never be able to outline this. I found that this was true and spent much time in the company of women".[191] It is interesting to note the identity with, and detachment from, the individual manifested at one and the same time by the dream-ego.[192]

We have for long operated with an ego-soul conception which no longer shows any clear contours delimiting it from life-soul and free-soul. Next to the breath-soul, probably no soul has in a higher degree than the ego-soul had the capacity to associate without friction to other soul-potencies. It is typical that among the Wind River Shoshoni both life-soul and dream-soul may act as ego-souls, and that the breath-soul and the ego-soul form one conception.[193]

The course taken by the ego-soul developing into an unitary soul has already been demonstrated in the foregoing. Here it may therefore suffice for us to give a summary of our earlier viewpoints and conclusions and to make a few elucidatory remarks. To begin with, we may observe that the development to unitary soul has presumably been stimulated by ego-souls of both more general and more limited type.[194] It is possible that in a number of cases the development from ego-principle to unitary soul has been preceded by the development from diffusely conceived potencies behind the shifting phases of the conscious life to a general "consciousness-soul" as an adequate expression for the unity behind the conscious mental experiences.

The development of the ego-soul along a *via unitiva* must of course imply that it becomes identical with life-soul and free-soul. As we have already remarked, the identity with the life-soul is comparatively easily established.[195] As a rule, of course, the ego-soul is conceived as a

[189] Hultkrantz, op.cit., 30, 32, 36.
[190] Cf. above, p. 94.
[191] Steward 1934, 427; cf. op.cit., 425.
[192] See further below, p. 275.
[193] Hultkrantz, op.cit., 28 sq., 41.
[194] Cf. the discussion above, p. 210.
[195] See above, pp. 221 sqq., especially p. 227.

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manifestation of the general body-soul conception, an alternative to the life-soul in a restricted sense. The ego-soul is thus often found as the concentrated body-soul—or as the representative of the body-soul —in the dualistic relation.[196] It has, moreover, the physical points of contact of the life-soul.[197] One may thus say that the ego-soul has in a way been a life-soul from the beginning. In some quarters it has very clearly been closely connected with the concretion of the life-soul, the breath-soul.[198] The possibility that this symbiosis has, at least in part, come about as a result of emanatistic speculation has been discussed earlier.[199]

Whereas in its "sensitive" garb the ego-soul is often assimilated with the life-soul, it is always in its "rational" aspect that it gains its identity with the free-soul. We have adduced above four factors contributing to the fusion between ego-soul and free-soul: the mobility of thought, which makes it a swift-footed free-soul; the function of the free-soul as alternating principle of consciousness (and not least rational principle!); the phenomenological equivalence of the lost intellect-soul with the free-soul; and the encroachment on the ego-soul's sphere of action by the free-soul—guardian spirit.[200] In many ways it is here less a question of the development of the ego-soul than of that of the free-soul. But the ego-soul has actively contributed to the result of the development.

In an earlier context we showed how the unitary soul is more easily formed if the ego-soul is allowed to dominate as body-soul in the dualism body-soul—free-soul. The instance of this, which was taken from the Parry Island Ojibway, did not show the finished final product in the monistic development, but an interesting transitional stage in which ego-soul and free-soul had practically become equivalent, synonymous concepts.[201]

The unitary soul which has essentially been crystallized out on the basis of the ego-soul of the dual soul-composition often bears the particular features of this soul. It should, however, be remembered that even an unitary soul with a dominating ego-soul aspect can often better be characterized as an independent potency than as an expression for an ego-conception, which, like our own, communicates the personal-

[196] See above, p. 108 under B3, and p. 147.
[197] See above, pp. 222 sqq.
[198] See above, p. 207.
[199] See above, pp. 204, 207.
[200] See above, pp. 231 sqq.
[201] See above, pp. 77 sq.

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ity.[202] An unitary soul of the last-mentioned kind is as a matter of fact difficult to instance in North America.[203] As Mauss has pointed out it is only in modern times that the occidental concept of the person has tended to "s'identifier avec la connaissance de soi, avec la conscience psychologique".[204]

16. The free-soul

Phenomenologically, the free-soul constitutes an unitary conception: the soul active outside the body. But in reality if often happens that this conception is embodied in different soul-entities, viz. the ego-soul, the life-soul or the soul which in contradistinction to the two previous ones acts permanently as a free-soul. It is the latter which has hitherto been referred to as the free-soul, and which evidently, both actually and formally, deserves this appellation. Nor can there be any doubt that it was to begin with the only functioning free-soul. But a slackening of the strict dual relation between the souls has gradually entailed the transference of the free-soul conception to souls of other origin, i.e. the body-souls. We shall show later how this transformation has been possible.

We may thus distinguish between two free-soul concepts:

1. The "specific" free-soul: a soul which never functions as a body-soul, but which appears as an extra-physical soul. It is commonly identical with the soul of dreams ("the dream-soul"). When it does not function outside the body it is passive.

2. The "psychological" free-soul: a soul that on a given occasion functions as an extra-physical soul. Ideologically is represents a soul which, when not appearing as an extra-physical soul, is either a passive entity (the free-soul in a restricted sense, the "specific" free-soul) or else an active body-soul (life-soul, ego-soul). Every body-soul which is temporarily converted into an extra-physical soul manifests, on its extra-physical appearance (but never otherwise), the properties that are combined with a specific free-soul.

It may seem self-evident that an analysis of the free-soul conception

[202] Cf. above, pp. 144 sq.
[203] Cf. above, pp. 21 sq.
[204] Mauss 1950, 359.

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carried out on the lines consistently laid down in this chapter should be aimed exclusively at the psychological free-soul, without any special consideration being paid to its latent qualities; the analysis should, in other words, only concentrate upon the content and structure of an extra-physical soul in the moment of operation.[1] However correct this viewpoint may seem to be, it does not do justice to the conception of the free-soul. The specific free-soul is of course the dominating free-soul and the original free-soul, and is thus best calculated to preserve the qualities characteristic for the free-soul. In addition to this it possesses features which do not belong to the acute psychological free-soul, but which are directly connected with the mode of functioning of a free-soul (e.g. position and state during the periods of passivity). The psychological free-soul may be a body-soul which during its extra-physical activity is still in some respect stamped by its body-soul properties. Even if one wishes to discuss the functioning extra-physical soul as such, a differentiation of this according to the nature of the constitutive soul-entities will be necessary if one is to attain the right understanding of the correlation between different types of free-soul and different subjective and physical states.

Our account of the free-soul has been drawn up on these lines. A knowledge of the essence and general characteristics of the free-soul is best got from data describing the specific free-soul. But when the functioning of the free-soul is discussed, it is, on the other hand, the wider free-soul conception that we must speak of, though it will be presented in differentiated manifestations corresponding to and conditioned by the actual states of the body.

In its most typical form the free-soul is man's extra-physical form of existence. Direct psychic experiences and inherited conventional beliefs conspire to keep the conception alive. It is best understood as a psychological conception within a strictly dualistic soul-configuration.

In the regular dualistic soul-system the free-soul is a shadowy representative of the individual himself, a commonly neutral mirror-image of the living, psycho-physical individual, with whom it stands in a constant reciprocal relation. The free-soul appears when the physical man does not appear as an actively operating being, for it is a conception which is identical with other people's memory-images and recollections of the individual, and with the latter's own impressions

[1] See above, p. 148.

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of his activity while dreaming and in states equivalent to the dreaming state. Hereby are determined most of the characteristics of the free-soul: its functioning during the passive states of the individual (sleep, trance, unconsciousness), its vague contours and fluid nature, its fundamental singleness (at all events in the experiential moment of an actual situation), its tendency to form an *alter ego*. From the individual's viewpoint the free-soul in its genuine form is his own ego when the life-soul and ego-soul are not in action; in dreams and states of trance he experiences the natural and supernatural worlds through the free-soul.[2] But in a genuine dualistic relation the free-soul conception may also appear as a consciously conceived potency. This potency appears easily enough as a personality alien to the individual. The way is thus paved for the conversion of the free-soul to a supernatural power and protective divinity.[3]

We have earlier asserted that dreams, trance-visions and memory-images have meant most in the origin of the free-soul conception (§ 2). It is significant that our North American material shows unequivocally that the free-soul must originally have been combined with anormal states of consciousness (see § 30). The visionary experience, in most cases probably a normal dream has obviously been the decisive factor in the evolution of the free-soul.

We can roughly distinguish two types of dream-experiences which have stimulated the conception of the free-soul: the one refers to the nature of the experience, to the ego-sensation, the other to the content of the experience, to the dream-image. The first-mentioned might be characterized as "the dream-feeling". It emerges directly from the dream-experience as an assurance of the freedom of the dream-ego from the restricted motility of physical existence. Its genuineness is confirmed by the reflection upon waking: the experiences of the dream, whose reality-value is compared with the observations of the waking consciousness, bear uncontrovertible witness to the fact that the dreamer can journey independently of his body.

In the dream-image, again, the free-soul manifests itself, its own shape. By the dream-image I mean first and foremost the images of the dreamer's own person or of persons standing in a close relation to him who are glimpsed in the substance of the dream. It is chiefly as

[2] The free-soul is thus a soul which more than any other is qualified to mediate the contact between man and spirits.

[3] The double-ganger (§ 23) and the guardian soul (§ 25) are conceptions derived from the free-soul.

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dream-image that the memory and recollection images have had a determining influence upon the idea of the free-soul.[4]

The Indians themselves emphasize how the dream-experience has helped them to the belief in a soul separable from the body.[5] Sometimes the dream-soul conception is of such a kind that it translates the direct subjective reaction, the dream-feeling: the soul of the Havasupai Indian acting in the dream is represented as himself, without reference to spiritualistic modes of thought.[6] In the development of the free-soul into a potency in the individual one traces influences from the dream-image confronting the ego.[7] And our rich material concerning the form of the free-soul and its changes of shape reveals that it is above all the dream-image which has supplied the model for the appearance of the free-soul.[8]

For ordinary people the free-soul is for the most part the soul which operates while the body is sleeping. The eminent capacity to behold the soul in the waking conscious state belongs as a rule only to the shaman.[9]

On account of the fact that is has its origin in experiences in the states of dream and trance which in a diffuse way reflect the recollection images of the waking consciousness, the free-soul appears quite naturally as a pale image of the individual—the individual himself in extra-physical form.[10] An expression for this is the designation "image-soul": the free-soul literally reflects its owner, as we shall soon find. But the resemblance between the individual and his free-soul is not limited to the outer form. A man's free-soul reflects also his personal individuality, his ego.

Father Morice refers to the free-soul of the Canadian Athapascans as an "alter ego": "a kind of double, a reflection of the individual personality".[11] Le Jeune writes of the Indians at Three Rivers that "they reason about the souls of men and their necessities as they do about

[4] See also Arbman 1927, 100 sqq.; Boas 1910 b, 617; Boas 1940 b, 600, 605.
[5] Cf. above. p. 25 note 42 (the Pomo), p. 52 (the Ojibway); see also Birket-Smith & de Laguna 1938, 231 sq. (the Eyak).
[6] See above, p. 102. A certain Havasupai Indian "said that he did not see himself as an actor in his dreams. He sees parts of his body in action and feels their relation to a central core, his personality, just as he does when awake" (Spier 1928, 332).
[7] Examples, see below, p. 275.
[8] Examples, see below pp. 256 sqq.
[9] See above, p. 41 note 25, and below, p. 391. Cf. further Arbman, op.cit., 100 note 1.
[10] Cf. Arbman, op.cit., 132 sqq.
[11] Morice 1906, 209; cf. also Morice 1889, 158, Morice 1911, 640.

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the body; according to their doctrine, they suppose that our souls have the same needs as our bodies".[12] Among the Fox the free-soul "has all the physical and mental attributes of the body".[13] The free-soul of the Paviotso may be described as a concept of the person.[14] The Achomawi Indian, writes Jaime de Angulo, "parle de son âme et de lui-même comme d'une même chose. Il ne dit pas: mon âme, mon corps. Il confond tout cela. Parlant de son âme, il dit dans une même phrase tantôt 'je', tantôt 'mon âme'. Cela m'a beaucoup frappé".[15] The chief free-soul of the Mohave "is the 'second self' of a person, and in a way the core of his identity".[16] That the Havasupai conceive the free-soul as the person himself we have observed above.

The identity between the free-soul and the person naturally implies that the free-soul cannot come to grief without involving the living man in its fall. If the soul is lost, the owner must die—the death is in this case due precisely to the loss of the soul, and not to the eventual accident, which for the uninitiated constitutes the deciding cause, argue the Bella Coola.[17] Sometimes a person dies at the same time as the free-soul succumbs: the Indians in New France believed that a man fell ill and died when his runaway free-soul was bleeding to death of the wounds inflicted on it by a wizard.[18] But this simultaneousness is by no means a rule (see § 31). What is here essential is the circumstance that precisely because it is the individual himself, the free-soul cannot succumb in the long run without the individual himself succumbing.

The free-soul thus belongs for natural reasons to the psycho-physical equipment of the living individual; if it is in reality the individual himself, as has been asserted here, he can of course scarcely dispense with it.[19] Nevertheless, a number of reports show that people are in spite of this believed to be able to go on living a normal life without a free-soul.

How is this to be explained? Let us examine the reports.

We have already seen that no great value can be attached to some of these reports.[20] Many of them are so scanty that they cannot be ad-

[12] JR VIII, 23.
[13] Jones 1907 b, 269.
[14] Natches 1923, 259.
[15] de Angulo 1928, 578 sq.
[16] Devereux 1937, 418.
[17] McIlwraith 1948 II, 243.
[18] JR XII, 11.
[19] Cf. Arbman, op.cit., 107, 110, 116.
[20] See above, pp. 45, 67 (the Sinkaietk), 47 (the Cora).

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duced. An instance: all that Gifford's informant among the Western Yavapai could tell him about the soul-belief was that he had "never heard of soul leaving body and returning".[21] Some data are directly contradictory. One of Birket-Smith's informants among the Eyak doubted that the soul could leave the body during dreams—another informant, on the other hand, told him that this really was the case.[22] In many cases such facts must be interpreted to mean that the free-soul conception is on the decline—that in other words an unitary soul is in course of development. For where the unitary soul exists, the free-soul aspect is often absent.[23] But then it does not, either, represent the original, as it were psychologically consistent, soul-belief.

But even where the soul-dualism is in its prime, and where it appears to be a generally embraced doctrine, it has been assumed—according to completely reliable reports—that individuals, or certain categories of individuals, can dispense with the free-soul without injury to their health. Children, it is believed in some quarters, are without a free-soul during their first years of life.[24] Elsewhere it is asserted that even adults can dispense with the free-soul for a longer period. Sometimes it is thought that certain individuals are without a free-soul throughout the whole course of their lives. The Coyukon question whether a white man possesses a free-soul or not, reports Jetté. "The prevalent opinion appears to be that the whites are deprived of this protecting devil, and to this may probably be traced the facility with which a Ten'a will murder a white person, if he thinks himself safe from the pursuits of human justice".[25]

It is commoner, however, for an individual to be equipped with a free-soul from the beginning, but that for one reason or another this is permanently lost, perhaps many years before his death. Advanced age and crimes against the supernatural are the reasons which are adduced. We have already communicated Le Jeune's interesting report concerning the old Algonquin Indian who had for two years been without his free-soul, and who therefore "no longer had any but the soul of his own body, which would go down into the grave with him".[26] A Seneca Indian who does not listen to his dream-soul will lose it; "he will be compelled to live out his earth life bereft of his

[21] Gifford 1936, 319.
[22] Birket-Smith & de Laguna, op.cit., 231 sq.
[23] See above, p. 145.
[24] See above, p. 49, and below, § 28.
[25] Jetté 1911, 602 sq.; cf. above, p. 48.
[26] JR XVI, 191. Cf. above, p. 73. See also below, pp. 383, 459.

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immortal soul".[27] If the "ghost" of the Jicarilla Apache really is the free-soul,[28] we have here a further example of a defective correspondence between the free-soul and the living individual, since the "ghost" disappears into an animal when its owner marries a woman of another tribe.[29] Finally, we have the many instances of the free-soul leaving the individual some time before his decease (§§ 23, 31).

It is not difficult to find the causes of this inconsistency in connection with the free-soul conception. The explanation is probably as follows. In consequence of its association with the psychic twilight states, the notion of the free-soul, or the conception of man's extra-physical form of existence, documents itself as an undoubtedly primitive soul-conception which was once of more universal occurrence than it is now.[30] It loses its self-evidence and universality when dreams or states of trance decline in importance (the Pueblo region); when under the influence of impulses from without the free-soul, like other naive native conceptions, is depreciated (the Eyak? see above); when on account of its independence of the individual it is assimilated with the conception of power (see § 25); or when through the autonomy of the dream-image or speculative elaboration the content of the free-soul changes its character.

The last-mentioned circumstance, which reveals something of the dynamic character of the free-soul conception itself, is of particular interest to us. Its import is that the free-soul becomes a potency in man. The free-soul becomes "what a person has with him", as the Wintu say.[31] Presumably this development is stimulated by the following two factors. Firstly, the experience of the individual's own double-ganger in dreams has promoted the view that the free-soul is a being inside him, more or less representing his ego. Secondly, the *psychologically* given conception of the individual in an extra-physical form—especially well preserved among the Havasupai—has through increasing speculation been made the object of *rationalistic* reinterpretation in a spiritualizing direction. Or it may be said, in other words, that the notion of the extra-physical man has been transformed by reflection to the notion of the extra-physical soul; the conception of man is as it were materialized to the conception of a potency reminding one of

[27] Converse 1908, 94. See also below, p. 383.
[28] See above, p. 104.
[29] Opler 1947, 126.
[30] It is therefore unnecessary to seek, as one expert on the Algonquin has done, the explanation of the occurrence of the free-soul among the Coast Algonquin in influences from the Iroquois (Flannery 1939, 162).
[31] Du Bois 1935, 77.

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man. With this transformation the free-soul has become one of many souls,[32] even if—in contradistinction to other souls—it still predominantly represents the human being *in toto*. In its transformed shape, however, the free-soul may also abandon this function, so that it no longer administers the individual's alternating ego-consciousness and therefore no longer plays the rôle of surviving soul (§ 32) either, nor is it understood as an exclusively single entity.

This splitting of the unity of the free-soul, however, occurs relatively seldom. The normal condition is that as the representative of the ego outside the body the free-soul is one and undivided.[33] In genuine unreflecting popular belief the free-soul has both actually and nominally a closed character: actually, as it is always actualized as the only soul-agent outside the body; nominally, as it is not only experienced as an exclusive entity, but is also conceived by the consciousness as such. In certain circumstances, however, the unity of the conception may be lost.[34] The necessary prerequisite for this is the change in the import or content of the free-soul adduced above; and we shall try to give below the chief causes of the disintegration.

An essential contributory cause is the metamorphic capacity of the free-soul. We have already stressed the fact that the many extra-physical forms in which the free-soul is manifested (which we shall presently describe) do not occur simultaneously but alternatingly, so that they exclude one another.[35] This of course proves that is is the *same* free-soul which operates, although it shows itself in different forms. If, however, these are fixed by tradition, a belief in several free-souls, each appearing in a special guise, may arise.[36]

Another possibility of development in the same direction is offered by the amalgamation between free-soul and body-soul. Thus the connection between, and the final identification of, free-soul and ego-soul may have significant consequences. The Iroquois in Ontario, for example, have two free-souls, evidently on account of the fact that the free-soul has come to coincide with the conception of the ego-soul, which is here divided into several entities.[37] The free-soul is multi-

[32] It would not be possible to combine the free-soul with any of the body-souls to form an extended soul tending to become an unitary soul if it were not their equivalent—as a "spirit" realized for consciousness and reflection.

[33] Arbman, op.cit., 145. Cf. e.g. Spier 1938, 169.

[34] It is rare, on the other hand, for the free-soul to appear at one and the same moment as a plurality—one of the few exceptions constructed by speculation is the free-soul dualism of the Wintu.

[35] Cf. above, p. 33.

[36] See above, p. 33.

[37] See above, p. 85.

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plied in a corresponding way when it has been coupled with a life-soul conception which is similarly divided into several entities; in this way the Kamia have acquired four free-souls.[38]

Sometimes the free-soul may be doubled if the body-soul imitates its activity, as is sometimes the case in connection with e.g. trance and coma.[39] We may choose the Wind River Shoshoni as an instance. Among them we find a dream-soul, but by the side of this the life-soul appears as an extra free-soul.[40]

Finally, we must reckon with the free-soul pluralism which is sometimes a consequence of conscious attempts by the religious thinkers to construct new soul-systems. We have already observed how the Wintu Indians doubled the free-soul by leaving room for the physical shadow in their soul-ideology.[41] The reader should here be especially reminded that shamanistic four-soul speculation has sometimes seen fit to create one or two new free-souls.[42] Most extreme in this respect has been the soul-speculation among the Mohave: curiously enough, their four free-souls represent the entire soul-ideology. They have probably been created as instruments for the dream-religion prevalent among the Colorado River peoples.[43]

But, once more, these examples must not lead us to doubt the fundamentally unitary nature of the free-soul conception, even if its forms represent multiplicity. That despite its by no means uncommon ideological division the conception of the free-soul is in the actual experiential situation nonetheless one and indivisible attests its indissoluble connection with the immediate psychic experience which is its source.

The free-soul is, more than the ego and life souls, a product of the dualistic state of tension, the soul which is active when the real individual is no longer so. From this it is possible to draw, inter alia, the following two important conclusions. Firstly, that on account of its function the free-soul is only comprehensible as an extra-physical soul; during its active period it fulfils no function as a body-soul. Secondly, that it can have no actuality for the body when the body's own souls are active. It is only in its secondary capacities of higher potency,

[38] See above, p. 124.
[39] See the account of the functioning free-soul, below pp. 269 sqq.
[40] See above, pp. 93, 205.
[41] See above, p. 30.
[42] See above, pp. 115 sq.
[43] Cf. above, p. 125.

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double-ganger and power-entity that the free-soul enters into direct relation with the active physical individual.

The relation of the original free-soul to the body during its passive period thus constitutes an important problem. Let us devote some attention to it.

Obviously the free-soul must exist when it is not functioning. If it is still conceived as the individual himself, it exists in precisely this individual: just as it is the person himself who is the chief actor in the dramatic events of a dream, so it is the person himself who appears in the less fascinating existence of everyday life. The identity is so complete that the question of the rôle played by the free-soul when it is not functioning becomes superfluous.

The case is otherwise when the free-soul has been established as a specific soul-entity and been made the subject of an incipient speculative elaboration. In consideration of the fact that its prolonged absence from the body marks a state of sickness of some kind — and death, since from the psychological viewpoint the free-soul is identical with the manifestation of the deceased—it will be concluded that life and consciousness are dependent upon its presence in the body. It must thus exist in the body when it is not active. The Nomlaki seem to indicate the connection between the passive state of the free-soul and its residence in the body when they mention that "the spirit stays in our body just like our shadow".[44] During its existence as a guest in the body the free-soul is commonly—in consequence of its nature—inactive. At the most it may be said that it keeps watch. A Kwakiutl woman thus declared that "the soul never goes to sleep at night, nor in the day. In the day it stays together with us, and keeps watch over us. But when night comes, and we go to sleep, then our soul immediately leaves us . . ."[45]

The Indians are not infrequently able to indicate the exact location of the free-soul in the body during its passive period. It is then generally localized to places which are associated with the souls of the body—an important circumstance when one is seeking the origin or cause of the final merging between body-soul and free-soul. For the most part the free-soul finds its abode in the head or in some part of the head, or in the heart; sometimes it resides somewhere in the body, precisely where is not known. In a couple of cases (the Eyak, Achomawi) the free-soul is conceived as residing in the breath, which may

[44] Goldschmidt 1951, 351.
[45] Boas 1921 I, 715.

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possibly indicate that the unitary soul is in course of development (§ 14).[46]

The head is the seat of the free-soul above all among the peoples of the Northwest Coast and among the Shoshone.[47] The Kwakiutl, certainly, say that the soul "always sits on the head".[48] But a closer study of the sources reveals the fact that it is only during the shaman's curing ceremony, before the soul is pressed into the body, that it sits on the head.[49] There is even mention of the part of the patient's head into which the Kwakiutl shaman presses the captured soul: "on the right hand side of the neck".[50]

The ethnographical field-material often gives the location of the soul inside the head, although several writers unfortunately do not distinguish between the locations of the soul's residence, entry and exit. The place of residence of the Kwakiutl soul has been stated above; although preferably situated in the neck, "the soul is supposed to occupy the whole head".[51] Among the Bella Coola the free-soul resides "in the back of the neck", where, according to Boas, it "is similar in shape to a bird inclosed in an egg".[52] The back of the head and the nape of the neck are also mentioned as the seat of the free-soul among peoples apart from those on the north-west coast, e.g. among the Plains Cree, for whom the soul manifests its presence in the nape of the neck when danger threatens.[53] Another much favoured locality for the free-soul in the head is the crown of the head,[54] and still another, the brain.[55]

[46] Birket-Smith & de Laguna 1938, 232; de Angulo 1926, 356.

[47] The Tlingit and Haida (Krickeberg 1922, 134); Tsimshian (Boas 1916, 560); Kwakiutl (Boas 1891 b, 610, Boas 1896, 571, Boas 1921 I, 715, Boas 1930 II, 50); Nootka (Sapir 1921, 594); Nootka, Kwakiutl, Tsimshian, Bella Coola (Drucker 1950, 227); Bella Coola (McIlwraith 1948 I, 94); Salish (Hale 1846, 208 sqq., Barnett 1938, 136); Shuswap (Teit 1909, 612); Quinault (Olson 1936, 160); Ojibway (Jenness 1935, 19); Menomini (Skinner 1913, 85); Plains Cree (Mandelbaum 1940, 251); Iroquois (Wolf 1919, 43); Creek (Hewitt & Swanton 1939, 157); Wind River Shoshoni (Hultkrantz 1951, 23 sq., 40); Lemhi (Lowie 1909 a, 226, Steward 1943, 282, 287); White Knife Shoshoni (Harris 1940, 65); Nevada Shoshoni (Steward 1941, 260); Paviotso (Park 1938, 39); Tübatulabal (Voegelin 1938, 62); Wintu (Du Bois 1935, 77).

[48] Boas 1921 I, 715; cf. Boas 1940 a, 616.

[49] See Boas 1921 I, 723, Boas 1930 II, 50.

[50] Boas 1930 II, 22.

[51] Boas 1891 b, 612.

[52] McIlwraith 1948 I, 94; Boas 1892, 420.

[53] The Plains Cree (Mandelbaum, op.cit., loc.cit.); Lemhi (Steward 1943, 282); Wintu (Du Bois, op.cit., loc.cit.).

[54] The Nootka (Boas 1891 b, 596); Shuswap (Boas, op.cit., 646); Wind River Shoshoni (Hultkrantz, op.cit., 23 note 13, 30, 36, 40 note 49). The latter probably also conceived the seat of the free-soul to be between the eyes (Hultkrantz, op.cit., 23).

[55] The Nootka (Drucker 1951, 156); Narraganset (Williams 1827, 58); Ojibway (Jenness, op.cit., 19, 109).

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Without doubt the localization of the free-soul to the head is frequently connected with the circumstance that the ego-soul already exists there (the Menomini, Creek, Wind River Shoshoni).[56] As has already been mentioned, such a common point of association for different conceptions of the soul may stimulate the development of the soul-ideas in a monistic direction. It is perhaps not altogether without significance that some of the free-souls we have found localized in the head are actually only documented as unitary souls of a more or less predominantly free-soul type: the Lemhi, White Knife Shoshoni and Nevada Shoshoni.

In the same way the fixation of the free-soul to the heart is only natural, if in an unitary soul it is intimately associated with the life-soul (the Tepehuano) or with the ego-soul (the Cherokee).[57] Where this fusion does not occur the free-soul may nevertheless be connected with the heart on analogy with one of the body-souls or for the simple reason that it must have some place or other.[58]

In this connection we must distinguish between "the heart-soul" and "the soul in the heart". Such a distinction need not be made when one is dealing with the body-souls; the ego-soul of the Nootka and the undifferentiated body-soul of the Havasupai are both called "the heart", but then they also reside in the heart.[59] If among the Walapai the life-soul is called "the heart" and the free-soul is said to be situated "in the heart", this doubtless means that both the souls are conceived as being located in the heart. One also has the notion that the localization of the free-soul has here been undertaken on the pattern set by the body-soul.[60] But sometimes the case is quite the reverse, as among the Tübatulabal: the life-soul—here identified with the breath—resides, during the life-time of the individual, in the heart; but it is the free-soul located in the head that is called "the heart".[61] This curious designation for the free-soul has evidently no connection with its localization.

It is not easy to ascertain the cause of this designation. The following hypothesis, however, seems to me best calculated to provide a solution for the problem. While the habit of referring to one of the body-souls

[56] See above, pp. 223 sq.
[57] Lumholtz 1904 I, 314; Mooney & Olbrechts 1932, 141.
[58] Cf. above, p. 173.
[59] Sapir 1921, 594; Spier 1928, 275, 331. Curiously enough among the St. George Paiute the soul is translated as "the heart", although the organ of the circulation of the blood has quite a different name (Kelly 1939, 157, note 20).
[60] Cf. above, pp. 102 sq.
[61] Voegelin 1938, 62.

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as "the heart" occurs rather irregularly in North America, the same designation for the free-soul is only to be found in California, possibly all the way from the Yuki in the North to the South Shoshone in the South.[62] The "heart" is thus definitely instanced as the free-soul among the Maidu, Tübatulabal, Luiseño and Juaneño.[63] Kroeber refers to the deceased Serrano in the realm of the dead as "the hearts of the dead".[64] The Yokuts, certainly, believe in an unitary soul, but it is interesting to note that according to their view the experience of dreams is made with "the heart", i.e. with the soul.[65] This regional uniformity in the naming of the free-soul, the free-soul aspect or the deceased seems to favour the assumption of diffusion; but from where?

One possibility is Yokuts influence, for we are told that among the Yokuts the heart-soul is really located in the heart.[66] But apart from the fact that this localization is presumably a late phenomenon to which the development of the unitary soul has given rise, it is improbable that the relatively insignificant Yokuts Indians should have been able to exercise such a direct influence from a distance upon the soul-beliefs of other widely scattered Californian peoples.

A clearer light, it seems to me, is thrown upon the historical relations if one recollects that the doubtless ancient unitary soul among several Pueblo peoples bears the name of the heart (the San Juan, Cochiti, San Felipe, Santa Ana, Laguna, Acoma).[67] But among these peoples the heart has also been the seat of the soul.[68] We need not imagine that the heart-soul among the Californian peoples is a direct replica of the heart-soul of the Pueblo peoples. But currents from the high-culture have of course in several respects made themselves felt in California, and have probably also contributed to the development of the idea that the heart is the surviving soul; and since the surviving soul was at the same time a free-soul, the free-soul has, independently

[62] Concerning the Yuki, see above p. 138. Bancroft has obscure data regarding a heart-soul which at the same time is a soul in the heart among North Californian peoples; it is possibly a matter of a free-soul (Bancroft 1875 III, 523). To judge from the context, it is the Pomo or Klamath that are here referred to.

[63] See the references to the literature in § 9 under the respective groups and, over and above this, for the Juaneño, also Kroeber 1925, 642, Harrington 1934, 53.

[64] Kroeber, op.cit., 619. Also the deceased among the Juaneño are connected with the heart; see the literature in the preceding note.

[65] Gayton 1948 II, 206. Cf. below, p. 277.

[66] Gayton, op.cit., 237.

[67] See above, pp. 141 sq.

[68] See above, pp. 171 sq. The unitary soul seems within the whole high-culture region to have had the heart as its central place of residence: thus among the Aztecs (Bancroft, op.cit., 515, 540) and in Nicaragua (Bancroft, op.cit., 543, note 102). Cf. also the main soul among the Caribs (Brinton 1868, 237).

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of its physical association, come to be called the heart, or else, the heart-soul.

As we have already remarked, the rudimentary free-soul aspect among the Yokuts is probably concentrated to the heart. The connection between the free-soul and the heart appears in several quarters, and the spatial discontinuity of the instances speaks decidedly against an historical connection. Thus we find the free-soul localized to the heart among some eastern peoples (the Naskapi, Montagnais), among some Southwestern tribes (the Walapai, also the Ute?[69]), among some Californian groups (the Sinkyone, Yokuts) and among at least a couple of Northwestern peoples (the Spokan,[70] Lummi[71]).

The motives for this placing of the free-soul become immediately apparent on a closer analysis of the individual cases.

As we have pointed out in the foregoing, the free-soul conception of the Walapai must obviously have been influenced by the idea of the life-soul.[72] It is of course not out of the question that the anchorage of both the souls in the heart is due to the partial forgetting of old conceptions and their subsequent confusion.

In other cases the connection heart—free-soul is documented as a late phenomenon bound up with the initial stages in the development of the conception of the unitary soul. One is probably not far wrong if one connects the localization of the free-soul to the heart among the Naskapi with the development of the unitary soul among this people.[73] If we include the Tepehuano and Cherokee souls in our investigation,[74] it emerges as an incontestable fact that the majority of the instances in which the ego-soul is localized to the heart are at bottom evidence of the occurrence of unitary souls with strong free-soul tendencies concentrated to the heart.[75] It is typical that when the heart's soul occurs as the lost soul-entity in the conceptual complex "soul loss", it is almost always a question of either a body-soul, or an unitary soul with both free-soul and body-soul aspects: thus in the Pueblo culture, where sickness is ascribed to the abduction of "the heart";[76] thus, probably, in all the North American cases adduced by Clements as diagnostic

[69] The Ute, see Opler 1940, 145, and above, p. 95 note 13, for further control.
[70] Wilkes 1845 IV, 449; Hale 1846, 209.
[71] Stern 1934, 80.
[72] See above, p. 252.
[73] Speck 1924, 270; Speck 1935 a, 42.
[74] Cf. above, p. 252.
[75] Such souls among the Naskapi, Cherokee, Yokuts and Tepehuano, as well as perhaps also among the Sinkyone and Lummi (see above, p. 143).
[76] Parsons 1939 I, 988.

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for the idea of an association between the heart and the lost soul.[77] We can at all events constate that the examples of a connection between the heart and an exclusive free-soul conception that can be adduced are negligibly few.

It is not always that the Indians are able to give a detailed account of the location of the free-soul in the body during its passive period. The Athapascans in Canada consider the free-soul to be "invisible in time of good health, because then confined within its normal seat, the body".[78] Above all on the Northwest Coast there are sometimes only vague indications of "the body" as the seat of the free-soul; "the body is the house of the soul", says the Kwakiutl Indian.[79] The Chinook and the Cocopa of the Southwest state, more definitely, that the entire body constitutes the seat of the free-soul.[80]

The Fox, finally, seem to consider that the free-soul never enters the body;[81] it is called "the outside soul" and is conceived as a guardian outside the individual.[82]

The free-soul fulfils its actual function only when it appears outside the body. As we have found, it then manifests itself as a replica of the living individual.[83] We have described the free-soul as the individual himself transferred to another form of existence, an extra-physical ego. This, however, implies that the free-soul cannot be compared with the occidental soul, and that it has not the same properties as a living human organism.

The relevance of the first-mentioned viewpoint becomes fairly obvious when one takes into consideration the one-sided rôle played by the free-soul in the dualistic relation. As an interior soul it scarcely fulfils any function; the individual as such is not represented in his waking existence by any particular soul. Through its extra-physical

[77] Clements 1932, 232. Clements' instance from the Sia is, however, erroneous; Mrs. Stevenson does not mention anything about a heart-soul among the Sia (Stevenson 1894, 144).

[78] Morice 1911, 640; Morice 1906, 209.

[79] Boas 1921 I, 724. See also Boas 1894 b, 462 (the Cowichan); Boas 1893, 39, Boas 1894 a, 206 (the Chinook); Smith 1940, 86 (the Puyallup-Nisqually). Cf. Goddard 1945, 113 sq.

[80] The Chinook, see the preceding note; the Cocopa, see Gifford 1933 b, 306.

[81] Jones, it is true, holds the view that during the waking existence of the individual the free-soul is to be found inside the body; but, as has already been pointed out, he probably identified body-soul and free-soul (Jones 1907 b, 269; Jones 1911, 218; cf. above, p. 80 note 45).

[82] Michelson 1925, 358. Cf. the rôle of guardian played by the free-soul among the Kwakiutl, when it is inside the body (see above, p. 250, and § 25).

[83] See above, pp. 244 sq.

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function the free-soul is not a soul in our sense. "Chez les Achumawi", writes de Angulo, "on trouve l'idée de l'âme, mais très peu développée. Elle est à peine présente. Ce n'en est que l'embryon". De Angulo cannot characterize the free-soul better than by saying that "c'est quelque chose qui vous quitte pendant le sommeil".[84]

It is also rather self-evident that this copy of the individual of flesh and blood appearing outside the body cannot, despite its identity with the individual, be conceived as having the same properties and possibilities as the latter. In the first place the free-soul is in the majority of cases invested with something impersonal, indifferent; the Walapai, characteristically enough, call it *matkesa*, "empty body".[85] And in the second place, in contradistinction to the individual, it belongs to the supernatural world (§ 28) and therefore manifests a different essential nature than that of the individual: it is relatively immaterial, relatively volatile.[86] From the psychological viewpoint these properties are naturally due to the fact that the free-soul appears for the most part during sleep and trance in the abstruse world of the dream-vision.

In the following we shall see how the external form of the free-soul reflects the experiential background: its form tries to translate the immaterial nature and the vague contours of the dream figure, its metamorphic capacity reproduces the fugitive character, the change of situation in the dream-experience.[87] This does not mean to say that the appearance of the free-soul has been formed solely by dream-experiences. These have, certainly, exercised a decisive influence on the conception of the free-soul. But we shall find that it is not they alone which have given the extra-physical soul its form. Also other circumstances have their part in this process.

It is, certainly, only natural that the free-soul should appear as an image of the individual himself.[88] The free-soul of the Eskimo is conceived as having the same appearance as the person with whom it is associated.[89] The Eyak Indian believes that the soul resembles the

[84] de Angulo 1928, 151. Cf. also e.g. Lévy-Bruhl 1927, 154 sq.
[85] Kroeber 1935, 150, 203.
[86] Cf. the discussion of the material nature of the soul (§ 26). The distinction between supernatural and natural earlier sketched by French sociologists has latterly been consistently drawn by Arbman (Arbman 1939, 25 sq.; cf. also Radcliffe-Brown 1952, 130 note 1).
[87] See also above, p. 33.
[88] Cf. above, p. 244. See also Alexander 1916, 281; Boas 1910 b, 617; Boas 1940 b, 600, 605.
[89] Birket-Smith 1924, 443; Rink 1875, 36; Nelson 1899, 422.

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individual, since it appears in dreams in the shape of the individual.[90] The Kwakiutl Indian conceives the free-soul as "a double of the person".[91] The free-soul is rendered among the Kwakiutl by "human long body", among the Koskimo and a third Wakash group by "something human" or "human mask".[92] According to Sproat the Nootka conceive the (free-)soul as "a being of human shape and human mode of acting".[93] And the Huron provide the soul with "a head, arms, legs,—in short, a body", writes Brébeuf.[94] Many other instances of this anthropomorphistic conception of the free-soul among the North American Indians might be adduced.[95]

Equally self-evident is the fact that this free-soul does not represent the massive materiality of the physical man, but rather gives expression to a more etherial, airy, sometimes misty conception. It is of particular interest to follow the nice shades in the conception of the substantiality of the extra-physical soul. We have therefore transferred the detailed discussion of this subject to a separate study elsewhere in this work (§ 26).

It is in consequence of its human form and its delicate substance that the free-soul is generally represented as a shadow.[96] It is for this reason, moreover, that the free-soul is often referred to as a "shadow soul", "shade soul", "shadow spirit", etc. Thalbitzer mentions that the name of the free-soul on Greenland, *tarrak*, "may mean both reflection and shade or shadow".[97] The free-soul of the Coyukon, *yega*, signifies "picture", "shadow".[98] The free-soul of the Carrier Indian, *bitsen*, is rendered by Jenness as "reflection in water, shadow cast by the sun or moon, ghost or apparition of a living person".[99] The surviving free-soul of the

[90] Birket-Smith & de Laguna 1938, 231 sq.
[91] Boas 1935, 124; see also Boas & Hunt 1906, 64.
[92] Boas 1940 a, 615 sq.
[93] Sproat 1868, 173.
[94] JR X, 141; cf. Frazer 1927, 27.
[95] See e.g. the Sinkaietk (Spier 1938, 169); Algonquin (Le Jeune in JR VI, 175 sq.; probably quoted in Le Clercq 1910, 213); Fox (Jones 1907 b, 269; Jones 1911, 218); Iroquois (Wolf 1919, 43); Omaha (La Flesche 1889, 3 sq.); Wind River Shoshoni (Hultkrantz, op.cit., 30 sq.); Achomawi (de Angulo 1928, 577); North-eastern Maidu (Dixon 1905, 259); Mohave (Devereux 1937, 418).
[96] Cf. with the following account § 18!
[97] Thalbitzer 1930 a, 139. The shadow-soul among the Eskimo: West Greenland (Cranz 1765 I, 257); the Polar Eskimo (Rasmussen 1925, 15); Bering Strait (Nelson 1899, 422).
[98] Jetté 1911, 101. The shadow-soul among the Alaska Athapascans: the Tanaina (Osgood 1937, 169); Ingalik (Osgood 1940, 472, 473).
[99] Jenness 1943, 535. The shadow-soul among the Canadian Athapascans: the Slave Indians, Fort Nelson (Honigmann 1946, 86); West Athapascans (Morice 1889, 158, Morice 1906, 209, Morice 1911, 640); Sarcee (Jenness 1938, 39).

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Tlingit Indian is characterized with a word which according to a communication by Swanton signifies both image and shadow.[100] The Algonquin generally associated the free-soul with the shadow.[101] The free-soul of the Montagnais Indians is compared with the shadow, as already Le Jeune pointed out.[102] "Shadow" and "image" are the words with which the free-soul is generally referred to among the Coast Algonquin from the Micmac in the north to the Delaware in the south.[103] Similar remarks apply to the Central Algonquin.[104] The Cheyenne call the soul—as I have tried to show, probably the free-soul—"his shade or shadow".[105] Of the Indians of the Southeast, the Choctaw believe in a free-soul which may be suitably rendered with shadow, shade or the like.[106] Of the Siouan peoples, the Catawba refer to the free-soul with a name that at the same time expresses the concepts of the ordinary shadow, glass and image.[107] The *nagi* of the Dakota, reports Riggs, signifies "primarily the *shade* or *shadow* made by any material thing in the sunlight".[108] The word with which the Hidatsa Indian refers to each of his souls, *idahi,* is translated by Matthews as "a shade; its or his shade, shadow or ghost".[109] And the free-soul is characterized as a shadow also among a number of North Californian groups[110] and among some of "the Western Rancheria tribes" in the Southwest.[111]

A shadow-soul of free-soul type is not, on the other hand, mentioned

[100] Swanton 1908, 460. The shadow-soul among the Indians of the North Pacific Coast: the Kwakiutl (Boas 1921 I, 717, 728; cf. Boas 1940 a, 615); Nootka (Sapir 1921, 594); Cowichan (Boas 1894 b, 461 sq.); Quileute (Frachtenberg 1920, 334 sq.); Sinkaietk (Spier 1938, 168).

[101] Cf. Speck 1935 a, 41 note 1; Tylor 1929 I, 430; Boas 1910 b, 618.

[102] JR VI, 175, JR XVI, 193. Cf. Speck 1924, 269, Speck 1935 a, 41.

[103] The Micmac (Maillard 1758); New England Indians (Brinton 1868, 235); Delaware (see above, p. 75: several authors).

[104] The Kickapoo (Jones 1913, 333); Ojibway (Jenness 1935, 18 sq., Schoolcraft 1852 II, 135; cf. above, p. 77 note 33); Menomini (Skinner 1913, 85, Skinner & Satterlee 1915, 459, 469 sq.); Fox (Jones 1907 b, 269, Michelson 1925, 358).

[105] Grinnell 1923 II, 93. The shadow-soul among the Plains Algonquin: the Atsina (Curtis 1909 V, 119); Blackfoot (Grinnell 1892, 273, Curtis 1911 VI, 82).

[106] Swanton 1931, 216, 217 note 7. Cf. also the shadow-soul of the Iroquois (Boyle 1900, 265; cf. Hewitt 1895, 109—the information from Le Jeune ?).

[107] Speck 1939, 28 sq.

[108] Riggs 1893, 213. Cf. Dorsey 1894, 484, 487; Riggs 1890, 320, 519.

[109] Matthews 1877, 153; cf. op.cit., 138, 143, and Curtis 1909 IV, 143. Cf. the Crow (Lowie 1922, 380, Lowie 1930, 175); Mandan (Curtis 1909 V, 19); Arikara (Curtis, op.cit., 63 sq.).

[110] The Achomawi (de Angulo 1928, 151, de Angulo 1926, 356); Atsugewi (Voegelin 1942, 246); Karuk (Kroeber 1925, 107); Sinkyone (Nomland 1935, 169); Wappo ? (Driver 1936, 217); Wintu (Du Bois 1935, 78).

[111] The Yuma (Forde 1931, 179); Maricopa (Spier 1933, 237, 296); Havasupai ? (see above, p. 102); Mohave (Devereux 1937, 418); White Mountain Apache (Goodwin 1938, 36).

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among the tribes on the southern Plains, among the Shoshone, Piman and Pueblo peoples. This is perhaps partly connected with the fact that among these groups the unitary soul either already existed or was in process of development.[112] But with this we have not registered the decisive cause, as is shown by the following examples from the Shoshone. The Wind River Shoshoni, with whose soul-dualism we are familiar, make no comparison between the free-soul and the shadow.[113] But the Paviotso in Owens Valley, whose soul-belief is practically monistic, liken their soul to a shadow.[114] By this they presumably want to indicate the free-soul character of the soul-conception they hold, for it is very rarely that the original life-soul is compared with the shadow.[115]

The examples adduced here show that the habit of comparing the free-soul with the shadow does not always presuppose a strictly dualistic soul-belief. We may assume that in the last analysis the possibility of this comparison has been enabled by historical and traditional conditions. That is to say, the conception of the free-soul as the misty image of the individual has occurred more frequently in the northern than in the southern parts of North America.

The "shadow-soul" is thus frequently a rather adequate designation of the free-soul; it associates both to its appearance and to its substantiality. That the shadow has not only lent its form, but also its grey hue, to the appearance of the free-soul we shall see presently. But the soul is certainly not always conceived as a lustreless human shadow. It may also appear as a brightly coloured being, it may change in size, it may assume the form of an animal, a plant or an inanimate.

Let us first consider the hue of the free-soul.

The colour of the free-soul sometimes coincides with that of the shadow, inasmuch as it is conceived to be a dark soul. Thus Le Jeune writes that the Algonquin "represent the soul of man as a dark and sombre image".[116] Among the Quileute "the outside shadow", i.e. the free-soul, is somewhat darker than the inner soul.[117] The Lemhi are of the opinion that "the spirits of Indians are darker than those of white

[112] For further details, see our account in § 12.
[113] Hultkrantz, op.cit., 42 note 50.
[114] Steward 1933, 307.
[115] The notion of the life-soul as a shadow is discussed in § 18. There, too, is given an account of the relation of the free-soul to the natural shadow.
[116] JR VI, 175; Le Clercq 1910, 213. Cf. Hewitt 1895, 108 sq. (the Iroquois).
[117] Frachtenberg 1920, 335.

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men".[118] The free-soul of the Maidu is grey in colour.[119] Among the Cora a recently deceased person appears in the shape of a black man.[120] The colour black is in North America frequently the colour of death.[121] It is therefore easy to understand that among the Hamilton Shoshoni and among the Paranigat Paiute in south-east Nevada "death caused the soul to turn black".[122]

The above-mentioned Paiute otherwise imagine the soul as coloured red.Their linguistic kinsmen the Gosiute hold a similar belief: the soul, which leaves the body, is red or white.[123] Most frequently we hear of the free-soul having the colour of fire or of light—both the red and the light-shimmering hues indicate the close affinity between the soul and the supernatural world (of which it is sometimes said to constitute a part[124]).

The *inua* of the Eskimo may appear in the form of a light or a fire.[125] The Quinault Indians have seen the soul rise up out of the body of a human being; it looked like the full moon.[126] According to the same Indians, it has occurred that the soul of a recently deceased person "could be seen flying through the air as a ball of fire (a meteor?), throwing off sparks and making a crackling sound like burning spruce twigs".[127] If a Chinook Indian is at the point of death "the soul resembles fire, and sparks fall down"; "it seems like a firebrand".[128] Speck relates that according to Naskapi belief "the soul-spirit often appears as a spark of illumination", when it glides out of the mouth of the medium or the shaman in the state of trance.[129] And Tanner reports that "lightning flashed" when the soul left an old Naskapi Indian.[130] As a matter of fact, notions of the soul at times leaving the body "in the form

[118] Lowie 1909 a, 226.
[119] Dixon 1905, 259.
[120] Preuss 1912, LIII; Preuss 1923, 18.
[121] Concerning the symbolism of colour in North America: see Matthews in BBAE 30: 1 (1907), 325 sq., and Mallery 1886, 53 sqq. Cf. Dixon 1899, 10 sqq. Cf. also Teit 1906, 291 (the Lillooet); Hoffman 1891, 178, 275 (the Ojibway); Boas 1927, 93 (the Cheyenne); Dorsey 1894, 527 sqq. (the Dakota); Mooney 1891, 342 (the Cherokee); Reichard 1950 I, 187 sqq. (the Navajo).
[122] Steward 1941, 260; Kelly 1939, 159.
[123] Steward 1943, 389.
[124] See below, § 28.
[125] Alexander 1916, 5.
[126] Olson 1936, 162.
[127] Olson, op.cit., 159. The identification between the ball of fire and the meteor is Olson's. It seems more probable, however, that the phenomenon in question was a fireball.
[128] Boas 1893, 40; Boas 1894 a, 207. A soul belonging to a dying person is said also to increase in weight.
[129] Speck 1935 a, 48.
[130] Tanner 1944, 690.

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of a spark or ball of fire" occur in the whole of the north-eastern territory. This belief has nothing to do with popular conceptions of shooting stars, declares Speck.[131]

The dream-soul of the Iroquois has the appearance of "a small spark of fire".[132] From old sources we learn that the Tuscarora and the Cusabo (of the Muskhogi group) conceive the soul to leave the body of a dying person in the shape of a spark or a flame.[133] It is also probably the soul of the dying individual that the Blackfoot describe as "a ball of fire".[134] The free-soul of the Omaha Indian, which floats over the ground, is surrounded by a glimmer of light, a halo.[135] The free-soul of the Mandan is the colour of light and transparent.[136] It may be pointed out that the Wahpeton Dakota identify the will-o'-the-wisp over swamps as the spirits of the dead, but that "when a man sees a will-o'the-wisp and is not frightened by it, he is looking at his own spirit which has temporarily left the body, as it will do permanently at death".[137] That among the Skidi Pawnee the souls are likened to small stars may be ascribed entirely to the influence from astral speculation and myth-formation in this society.[138]

We have seen above that in the opinion of the Gosiute the soul which is separable from the body sometimes has a white colour.[139] The Shoshoni in Egan Canyon, Nevada, liken the same soul to "a small, white object".[140] The Luiseño tell of a mystical soul-stealing being, Towish Takwish, spirit meteor. "One sees the light because he is carrying the spirit".[141] It is, however, not decided that in the last-mentioned case the free-soul is referred to.

De Angulo remarks that the shadow-soul of the Achomawi "est plutôt faite de lumière que de pénombre"; its name reminds one of that for the dawn.[142] Also the Wintu describe the free-soul—or rather,

[131] Speck, op.cit., 50. On the other hand, the notion of the lightning-soul has been exploited by the shaman in the course of his jugglery in the conjuring lodge and on other occasions (the Naskapi, Tuscarora, Cusabo). The origin of the phenomenon is perhaps to seek in the ecstatic's visions of light, in experiences of lightning and in observations of the emanation of gas from swamps and from the graves of recently buried persons.

[132] Converse 1908, 94.
[133] Swanton 1946, 755.
[134] McClintock 1910, 145.
[135] La Flesche 1889, 3.
[136] Curtis 1909 V, 19 sq.; Wied 1841 II, 206.
[137] Wallis 1923, 47 sq.
[138] Dorsey & Murie 1940, 102.
[139] See above, p. 260.
[140] Steward 1941, 261.
[141] Du Bois 1908, 126.
[142] de Angulo 1928, 151, 575 sq., 579.

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one of the two free-souls—as "a light shadow".[143] The Mexican Cora, finally, describe the free-soul when at death it frees itself from the individual as, inter alia, a white human being or as a ball of fire, "nach allen Seiten Licht verbreitend".[144]

Among some other peoples, the Shawnee, Zuni, and Navajo, it is the life-soul that constitutes an element of light, evidently in combination with the emanatistic speculation connected with this soul.[145] It is not only the free-soul that has part in the supernatural world whose symbol is light.

We have so far seen that the form of the free-soul is determined by its relation to the human being—it appears as a pale image of the human being—, or by its relation to a supernatural sphere—it appears as a symbol of light. This does not, howewer, exhaust the forms that the free-soul may assume. It may sometimes retain the external features due to its intimate connection with the individual, but at the same time manifest its supernatural provenance by changing size.

Various attempts have been made to explain how it comes about that the free-soul sometimes has a diminutive size. Bogoras finds the cause to be the free-soul's "sense of its helplessness before the forces of the outward world".[146] Nothing, however, indicates that the mental states of the individual determine the extra-physical dimensions of the free-soul—that it should, for instance, appear larger in situations which are free of fear, anxiety and feelings of dependence. Crawley, who proceeds on the assumption that the soul has arisen from the memory-image of a human being, is of the opinion that "the brain, using its experience of size and distance, prefers to see a man at such a distance that his size is equal to the size of an object that can be fully seen in the hand".[147] This, then, would be the key to the dwarf-like appearance of the free-soul. And it is, certainly, true that the shapes seen in dreams as well as other hallucinatory figures (e. g. those of alcoholic delirium) often assume a diminutive form. Boas, again, sees in the shrunken extra-physical soul a "mixed concept", viz. the life-soul when it has left the body.[148] That the life-soul when it does occasionally get outside the body is really represented as a soul

[143] Du Bois 1935, 78.
[144] Preuss 1923, loc.cit.
[145] See above, pp. 189 (the Shawnee), 200 (the Zuni), 185, 200 sq. (the Navajo).
[146] Bogoras 1925, 225; cf. op.cit., 216 sqq.
[147] Crawley 1909, 205.
[148] Boas 1940 b, 605.

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on a diminished scale, Boas himself has been able to observe among the Cowichan.[149] It is also known that the life-souls associated with separate physical organs have been very small, e. g. on Greenland.[150] This notwithstanding, however, it is often the real free-soul which appears in a diminutive shape.[151] It is of course not unreasonable that in this connection it has secondarily been influenced by the life-soul. It is certainly not to bold, in connection with Boas's remarks to venture the statement that the diminutive form of the life-soul outside the body may be directly connected with its insignificant size inside the body, and that the smallness of the "specific" free-soul in its turn may be due to influence from the life-soul.

But the most important cause of the small size of the free-soul has not yet been mentioned.

In our earlier account of the soul-beliefs of the Kwakiutl Indians, based upon Hunt's excellent material, we saw how in a magical way the shaman got the soul existing outside the body to shrink so that, via the crown of the head, it could be introduced to its place in the head.[152] The example shows that it may be the function of the free-soul in the shamanistic healing procedure that determines its diminutive form. Most of the data concerning the free-soul as a manikin, moreover, emanate from the occasions when it has been on the way to being restored to the body: it is, we are told, so small that it can be held in the cupped hands of the medicine-man,[153] or that it may be placed on the patient's head by the medicine-man;[154] it is, it is said, so small that it can be contained in the moccasin of the Athapascan Indian,[155] or in a gourd or a tube, as is shown by data from the Northwest Coast

[149] Boas 1894 b, 461.
[150] See above, pp. 157 sq.
[151] Cf. also Arbman, op.cit., 100.
[152] See above, p. 53.
[153] The Western Déné (Morice 1889, 158); Haida (Swanton 1905 b, 42); Tsimshian (Boas 1916, 324, 475, 559); Kwakiutl (Boas 1891 b, 612; Boas 1897 b, 575; Boas 1921 I, 722 sq.; Drucker 1950, 227); Nootka (Boas 1891 b, 596; Sapir 1921, 594; Drucker 1950, 227); Cowichan (Boas 1894 b, 462); Lummi (Stern 1934, 79); Klallam (Gunther 1927, 301); Quinault (Olson 1936, 160); Lower Chinook, Klikitat, Shuswap? , Lower Thompson, Lower Carrier (Ray 1942, 248); Lillooet (Teit 1906, 288); Thompson River (Teit 1900, 364); Wind River Shoshoni (Hultkrantz 1951, 40); Nevada Shoshoni (Steward 1941, 260); Southern Paiute (Kelly 1939, 155, 157, 158, 159, 160, 163).—Cf. also Wilkes 1845 IV, 453 (the Carrier).
[154] Cf., besides the instances in the foregoing note, the following: the Nootka, Kwakiutl, Bella Coola, Tsimshian (Drucker 1950, 227); Bella Bella (Boas 1932 a, 54); Bella Coola (Boas 1892, 420 sq.); Twana (Eells 1889, 672); Lower Chinook, Klikitat, Shuswap, Lillooet, Lower Thompson (Ray 1942, 248); Shuswap (Boas 1891 b, 646).
[155] For references, see above, p. 155 note 36.

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and the Central Algonquin.[156] Also in the Orpheus legend widely known in North America the soul—or the dead person—is conceived to be able to take its place in such a tube.[157] In this connection the legend was doubtless originally associated with shamanistic practice.[158]

If we abstract from this legend, we find that all the instances of the soul conceived as a miniature being derive from the Northwest Coast, the Plateau and the Great Basin on the one hand, the Central Woodland on the other hand. The perfectly natural reason for this is that the shamanistic practice we have referred to here has had its chief areas of distribution precisely in these places (§ 31). There can thus scarcely be any doubt but that the conception of the diminutive free-soul is in the majority of cases genetically connected with the therapeutic technique employed in cases of soul loss.

A critical testing of different possibilities has thus shown that the conception of the free-soul as appearing at least temporarily in a miniature form is above all attributable to the following three circumstances:

1. The micropsia of states of dream and trance.

2. Influences from the conception of the life-soul. Conversely, probably the extra-physical life-soul takes impressions from the smallness of the specific free-soul.[159]

3. Influences from the therapy in connection with soul loss. Probably the greatest effect on the transformation of the free-soul to a miniature being is attributable to these influences.

What then, more precisely, is the appearance of this manikin of which we have spoken here?

The soul-belief of the Kwakiutl testifies that the diminutive free-soul may assume many shapes. A Kwakiutl shaman who has happened to swallow the soul of a passing person has to vomit it up again; he "bites his cheek and hides some bird's down in his mouth, which soaks up the blood and is made to represent the soul".[160] Among the Kwakiutl and Kathlamet (Chinook) the free-soul is also likened to a round

[156] The Tsimshian (Drucker, op.cit., loc.cit.); Kitimat (Lopatin 1945, 73 sq.); Menomini (Skinner 1921, 72).

[157] Some examples: the Wasco (Spier & Sapir 1930, 278); Wishram (Sapir 1909, 113 sqq.); Chinook (Curtis 1911 VIII, 127 sqq.); Kalispel (Curtis 1911 VII, 96 sq.); Seneca (Curtin & Hewitt 1918, 571, 572 sq.; cf. Hewitt 1895, 108 sq.); Huron (JR X, 151, 153; cf. the Wyandot: Spence 1914, 261 sq.); Yuchi (Speck 1909 a, 146); Shawnee (Gregg 1844 II, 240). Cf. also Gayton 1935, passim.

[158] In an as yet unpublished manuscript concerning the Orpheus legend I have discussed this association in greater detail.

[159] See above, p. 153.

[160] Boas 1896, 571. Curiously enough, the "sickness" in the shamanizing act is represented in the same way (Boas 1930 II, 9 sq.).

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object, "a small bloody ball".[161] Among the Kwakiutl, however, it has generally the appearance of a human being or, as we shall soon find, of a bird. When the shaman Qāsnomalas opened his left hand "the soul was sitting on it".[162] The Haisla, who belong to the Kwakiutl, opine that "a soul is the exact image of a person, but it is only as big as a fly".[163]

Similar ideas have occurred among other peoples of the Northwest Coast. Among the Nootka, Boas "heard several Indians maintain that they had seen the soul caught by the shaman, who let it march up and down on a white blanket".[164] The Quinault consider that a man's soul is 8—10 inches in diameter, while the soul of a woman is still smaller."It looks like a tiny baby, yet looks like fog".[165] The Bear River Athapascans in California describe the soul (probably the free-soul) as "a small creature about 2 feet high—strictly human in appearance, dress, and actions".[166]

The Shoshoni also conceive of the soul as a miniature being. This applies to the Nevada Shoshoni,[167] and to the Gosiute, who conceive the soul to be of the size of a pea.[168] The transparent soul of the Lemhi Indians is 10 inches high.[169] The free-soul among the Wind River Shoshoni is still smaller: "very thin and one inch high".[170]

Probably all the data concerning the smallness of the soul that we have listed here must be seen from a dynamic viewpoint: the soul is not always equally shrunken, its size varies. The free-soul of the Kwakiutl Indian shrinks to the size of a thumb when the shaman demonstrates it in his hand; but if it is placed on its owner's head it grows until it fills out the entire body.[171] A Kwakiutl woman declared: "In the day time it is small, but when we are asleep, it is big, when it travels about where it is going".[172] Sometimes the free-soul can change its format in a fatal way. If among the Chinook the runaway soul of a sick person is brought home by the shamans, and the latter notice on the way that the dimensions of the soul are diminishing, this may entail dangerous consequences for the life of

[161] Boas, op.cit., loc.cit.; Boas 1901, 11.
[162] Boas 1921 I, 723.
[163] Olson 1940, 200. Cf. Boas 1930 II, 50.
[164] Boas 1891 b, 596.
[165] Olson 1936, 159.
[166] Nomland 1938, 93.
[167] See above, p. 261.
[168] Steward 1943, 389.
[169] Lowie 1909 a, 226, 301.
[170] Hultkrantz 1951, 36; cf. op.cit., 24, 29.
[171] Boas 1921 I, 724.
[172] Boas, op.cit., 717.

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the patient: if the soul does not fill out the body, the sick person dies.[173] "Now your soul fades away", says the Cherokee Indian in a magic formula intended to deprive an enemy of his life; "your spirit shall grow less and dwindle away, never to reappear".[174] The Fox Indians, on the other hand, run the risk of the free-soul becoming too large; in this case its owner will shortly become a murderer.[175]

The supernatural capacity of the free-soul refers not only to quantitative, but also to qualitative, changes of shape. Thus the free-soul may appear in a non-human shape; it then as a rule assumes the features of some animal. This conception of the soul-animal has presumably its origin in the experiences of dreams and visions, and it is therefore psychologically closely akin to the notion of the guardian spirit, which in one and the same visual hallucination looks now like a human being, now like an animal.[176]

It is not often that the free-soul is represented as an ordinary land-animal; a four-footed beast scarcely does justice to the delicate idea of the free-soul. Nonetheless, the Kootenay believe that during his lifetime the individual's free-soul may appear as a bear.[177] It is easier to understand that the soul, as among the Navajo, should assume the shape of a mouse.[178] Yet it is not common for the free-soul to take on the shape of even the smallest little furry animal.[179] Rather does it show itself as a reptile, an insect or other mite. Thus among the Haisla and the Kwakiutl it sometimes assumes the shape of a worm,[180] among the Iroquois, the Plains Shoshoni and the Cahuilla it appears as a snake or a lizard,[181] among the Cahuilla and the Navajo it may also appear as a grasshopper.[182]

But it is still commoner for the free-soul, like the Greeks' *eidolon*, to show itself as a winged being: it manifests itself as a bird or a flying insect. Boas is of the opinion that the conception of the free-soul as a bird or a butterfly is not so common in America as in other parts

[173] Boas 1893, 39; Boas 1894 a, 205 sq.
[174] Mooney 1891, 344. Mooney, however, adduces the formula as an instance of "the loftiest flights of poetic imagery". Cf. below, p. 299.
[175] Michelson 1925, 358.
[176] Cf. Lincoln 1935, 49; Lowie 1935, 243, Lowie 1951, 33.
[177] Chamberlain 1893, 559.
[178] Morgan 1936, 38 sq.
[179] Some other instances of the soul as an animal: the Iroquois (Converse 1908, 93); Wind River Shoshoni (Hultkrantz, op.cit., 30); Cora (Preuss, op.cit., loc.cit.).
[180] Olson 1940, 198. Cf. Lopatin 1945, 73.
[181] Converse, op.cit., loc.cit.; Hultkrantz, op.cit., loc.cit.; Hooper 1920, 340.
[182] Hooper, op.cit., loc.cit.; Wyman, Hill & Osanai 1942, 19 note 25.

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of the world.[183] We can at all events constate without difficulty that the North American data concerning the winged free-soul are strikingly few. The majority of them are concentrated to the West coast. It is possible that the conception has had a wider distribution, but we do not know anything definite to this effect.[184]

The winged free-soul is conceived as a butterfly, as an indeterminate flying being, or as a bird. The Tsimshian and the Southern Paiute conceive the free-soul as a butterfly.[185] The Kwakiutl sometimes affirm simply that the soul flies.[186] The White Knife Shoshoni assert that it reminds one of a bird.[187] If a Bella Coola Indian faints, his soul has flown away. "The shaman hears its buzzing wings, which give a sound like those of a mosquito".[188] A remarkable belief is that of the Huchnom Indians (the Yuki, California), that thunder is caused by "the flight of some Indian's many-winged spirit up to heaven, flapping its pinions loudly as it ascends".[189]

If the appearance of the soul is defined more definitely as that of a bird, it is generally conceived as a smaller bird.[190] The Huichol identify it as a little white bird, and the Luiseño know that it is a dove.[191] The Kootenay believe that the free-soul can show itself as a tomtit or jay.[192] The Kwakiutl think that the owl represents both the deceased person and the free-soul of the living individual (as a double-ganger).[193]

There is nothing strange about the notion that a fugitive, delicate free-soul should assume the shape of a bird or other winged being.[194] It may be presumed that peculiar dream-experiences—e. g. the sensation of hovering or flying—have stimulated the development of this popular conception. "Flying dreams" have been instanced from e. g. the Cocopa[195] and for Mexican groups.[196]

[183] Boas 1910 b, 618.
[184] Cf., however, the Iroquois (Converse, op.cit., loc.cit.).
[185] Boas 1910 b, 618; Kelly 1939, 163 note 31.
[186] Boas 1921 I, 724.
[187] Harris 1940, 56 sq., 65 note 20.
[188] Boas 1892, 420 sq.; cf. Boas 1910 b, 618.
[189] Powers 1877, 144. Concerning the conception of the thunder-bird in North America, see Michelson 1930, 51 sqq., Gjessing 1948, 50 fig. 14.
[190] So among the Haisla (Lopatin, op.cit., loc.cit.); Kwakiutl (Boas 1891 b, 612; cf. Boas 1930 II, 22; Boas 1940 a, 616); Southern Hupa (Powers, op.cit., 91). Cf. also the Yuman tribes: Mohave (Bourke 1889, 175); Kamia (Gifford 1931, 74); Cocopa (Gifford 1933 b, 304).
[191] Lumholtz 1904 II, 211; Du Bois 1908, 153.
[192] Chamberlain, op.cit., loc.cit.
[193] For further details, see below, p. 363.
[194] Cf. Crawley, op.cit., 211, 244; Boas 1910 b, 618.
[195] Gifford 1933 b, 303.
[196] Nuttall 1897, 278.

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What is more difficult to understand is how the free-soul, as is the case among the Kootenay and the Wind River Shoshoni, can show itself as a flower or a tree.[197] The Naskapi depict their guardian soul, which has developed from the free-soul, as a flower.[198] In the last-mentioned case the flower-motif is undoubtedly an element from the North Algonquin decorative art. With the other cases we are confronted with more complicated problems. Perhaps the flower-soul has developed from experiences of diffuse dream-symbols, perhaps it has been formed by influences from traditional conceptions of life-tokens (§ 21). The question remains open.

In some cases the free-soul has the appearance of an inanimate object. If among the Kwakiutl and among the Shoshoni in Nevada and at the Great Salt Lake the free-soul is represented as a ball of eagle's down or a down-feather, this is easy to understand: like the form of the bird, the fine, easily wind-caught down-feather interprets the etherial nature of the free-soul.[199] A curious belief to the effect that the free-soul looks like a bone occurs among a couple of Salish tribes, the Bella Coola and the Spokan.[200] It resembles, say the first-mentioned, "a thin bone shaped like a maple-leaf". The instance from the Spokan shows that it is in the capacity of surviving soul that the free-soul appears as a bone: for the Indians the bones are often the visible remains of, and therewith the symbol for, the deceased.[201] The Nevada Shoshoni liken the soul to a hailstone, presumably on account of its white-shining exterior.[202] Le Jeune, finally, states that when an Algonquin wizard wishes to kill an antagonist, he sends his guardian spirits after the latter's soul, which then sometimes appears like a stone.[203] It is probable that the comparison extends only to the outer form.

The most important of the non-human forms in which the free-soul is manifested is without doubt the theriomorphic one. The conception of the theriomorphic free-soul constitutes in a way a link to the belief in the transmigration of souls. Not that the deceased person in the shape of an animal is to be understood as a continuation of the

[197] Chamberlain, op.cit., loc.cit.; Hultkrantz, op.cit., loc.cit.

[198] Speck 1935 a, 43 fig. 2, 215 sq.

[199] The Kwakiutl (Boas 1897 b, 561, 575 note 1); Haisla (Lopatin, op.cit., loc.cit.); Nevada Shoshoni (Steward 1941, 261); Great Salt Lake Shoshoni (Steward 1943, 389).

[200] The Bella Coola (McIlwraith 1948 I, 94); Spokan (Wilkes 1845 IV, 449; Hale 1846, 208 sq.).

[201] Cf. above, p. 176 note 167.

[202] Steward 1941, 260; cf. above, p. 261. Curiously enough, the cause of sickness, the intruding object, is also likened to a white hailstone (Steward, op.cit., 261). Cf. above, p. 244 note 160.

[203] JR XII, 11.

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form assumed by his free-soul during his life-time. But the free-soul in animal form and the deceased person in animal form have presumably the same psychological (hallucinatory, illusionary, incidentally associative) cause. In both cases it is practically impossible to distinguish between the animal as the form in which the soul or the ghost is manifested and the animal as the dwelling of the soul or the ghost. The notions here merge insensibly into each other.

It is only when the free-soul is outside the body that it shows its appearance. Inside the body it is no more a definitive image for the Indian conception than are the body-souls. That the appearance of the soul is always actualized as soon as it leaves the body is connected with the fact that an independently operating, liberated spiritual substance always has a tendency to personification and external manifestation.

In its way of functioning the free-soul is rather specific, owing to its origin from direct psychic sensations of specific character.[204] This does not, however, exclude the fact that the functional situations of the free-soul may include minor nuances due to physical states, which may stimulate the temporary identification of the free-soul with alien soul-potencies actualized by these physical states.

Our account of soul-dualism in North America (§§ 4—10) was clarified and simplified by our identification, to the greatest possible extent, of psychologically given soul-types and traditionally developed soul-forms. In some cases our examples approached the ideal for a dualistic functional relation, viz. when the soul-agents represented the extreme poles of the dualism (§ 4). In the majority of cases, however, we must constate that the original dualism has been increasingly vitiated and replaced by a situation characterized by the fulfilment of the free-soul functions predominantly by the one of the souls, while the body-soul functions are fulfilled predominantly by the other. From the formal point of view the first-mentioned soul is then the free-soul; from the psychological viewpoint, both the body-soul and the "regular" free-soul may represent the free-soul conception.[205]

This distinction is not inessential. A determination of the mode of functioning of the free-soul must be based upon the psychological situation—the extra-physical appearance of a soul—without considering whether the soul thus appearing is, ideologically, a free-soul or

[204] See above, pp. 243 sq., 249 sq.
[205] See above, pp. 241 sq.

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a body-soul. A restriction of the field of vision to the functioning of the "specific" free-soul does not do justice to the dynamism of the conception itself. But at the same time it is necessary that one should be aware of the ideological provenance of the operating free-soul. The correspondence between the state of the body and the nature of the extra-physical soul teaches us a good deal concerning the functional schema of the free-soul conception. And over and above this it affords information regarding the expansion of the free-soul and the reasons for the appearance of the body-souls as free-souls.

The natural course to adopt is thus for us to undertake our analysis of the mode of functioning of the free-soul conception in the light of the nature of the physically conditioned states in which the free-soul (in a wide sense) is active. In the following we shall have occasion to discuss the function and provenance of the free-soul during twilight states of different kinds (sleep, light trance, deep trance, coma) and in more lucid states which are combined with the conception of soul loss (mental and physical sickness). The "specific" free-soul will in the sequel be referred to as the dream-soul, since it is most often identical with the soul which leaves the body during dreams (by which we here mean the course of consciousness during normal sleep).[206]

The most important of all free-souls is the soul of the dream-situation.

The dream-soul undoubtedly constitutes the "purest" free-soul; it has nothing in common with the body-soul, since the body-soul never appears in dreams. The descriptions we have given in the foregoing of the essential nature, the residence and the appearance of the free-soul refer above all to the dream-soul.

The dream-soul may be suitably defined as the potency of free-soul type that acts, while the individual is asleep, on his account, that executes the actions of the dream. This definition is wide, and thus embraces two different modes of action in the dream-soul, the one presumably a modification of the other.

The most typical function of the dream-soul is connected with the so-called dream-wandering. The nature of the latter is best characterized with Nomland's lines concerning it among the Bear River Athapascans: "Dreams were believed to be the recollections of experiences which the freed spirit of the sleepper had encountered. When an event occurred, of which the sleeper had dreamed, he always said, 'That is what

[206] The dreaming state is the only clearly defined state of mind which has a specific free-soul (cf. the scheme below, § 30).

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I saw when I dreamed' ".[207] Thus in dreams the person's soul—i. e., as we have seen, originally the person himself, properly speaking—is liberated from the limits set by time and space, and experiences in distant places the things and events that are beheld in dreams.

The idea of the soul wandering in dreams is familiar to us from most religions with a more primitive foundation. Its occurrence in North America became known through the Jesuit Fathers, and since then the Indian dream-soul has become known to a wider public through the works of, amongst others, Charlevoix and Tylor.[208] But its distribution in North America has unfortunately not been satisfactorily reported on. Clements has communicated a handful of data, which do not, however, give any definite idea of how general the belief in this soul has been among the Indians.[209] A careful investigation of the source-material that has been available to me shows that in its capacity of the free-soul wandering in dreams the dream-soul has obviously been an extremely common conception in North America. It can, as a matter of fact, be instanced from practically every corner of the continent.[210] The soul which lives the experiences of dreams is in a dualistic soul-

[207] Nomland 1938, 94.

[208] Charlevoix 1744, 351 sqq.; Tylor 1871 I, 392.

[209] Clements 1932, 231: five instances from the Eskimo and Northwest Indians, two from the Algonquin and three from California.

[210] The Eskimo (Cranz 1765 I, 257); Eyak (Birket-Smith & de Laguna 1938, 232); Great Slave Lake Athapascans (Mason 1946, 33); Tsetsaut (Boas 1895 a, 567 sq.); Kaska (Honigmann 1949, 203); Carrier (Jenness 1943, 535 sq.); Kwakiutl (Boas 1921 I, 715 sq.; Boas 1940 a, 616); Nootka (Sproat 1868, 175); Bella Coola (McIlwraith 1948 I, 94); Cowichan (Barnett 1938, 136); Lkungen (Boas 1891 b, 580); Twana, Klallam, Chemakum (Clements, op.cit., loc.cit.); Hoh (Olson 1936, 162 note 67); Puget Sound groups (Haeberlin & Gunther 1930, 80 sq.); Shuswap? (Teit 1909, 611); Thompson River (Teit 1900, 372); Sinkaietk (Spier 1938, 168, 169); Naskapi-Montagnais (Speck 1935 a, 43 sq.); Martha's Vineyard (Flannery 1939, 162); Narraganset (Williams 1827, 113); Ojibway (Schoolcraft 1860 V, 79; Jenness 1935, 20, 90 sq.; Barnouw 1950, 108); Saulteaux (Hallowell 1940, 29); Fox (Jones 1907 b, 269; Jones 1911, 218); Pottawatomi (Gregg 1844 II, 246 sq.); Blackfoot (McClintock 1910, 143 sq.); Iroquois (Hewitt 1895, 110; Boyle 1900, 265; Converse 1908, 94; cf. Brinton 1868, 236); Huron (JR XXXIII, 191); Creek (Hewitt & Swanton 1939, 157); Seminole (Greenlee 1944, 319); Choctaw (Bushnell 1909, 29); Omaha ? (Fletcher 1891, 58); Hidatsa (Curtis 1909 IV, 143); Pawnee (Grinnell 1912, 355); Wind River Shoshoni (Hultkrantz, op.cit., 30 sqq.); Paviotso (Park 1938, 39, 41); Western Mono? (Aginsky 1943, 442); Tübatulabal (Voegelin 1938, 62); Cahuilla (Hooper 1920, 339); Achomawi (de Angulo 1928, 151); Atsugewi (Voegelin 1942, 246); Bear River (Nomland 1938, 93, 94); Wailaki (Loeb 1932, 95); Sinkyone (Nomland 1935, 169); Eastern Pomo (Loeb 1926, 290); Maidu (Dixon 1905, 259; Kroeber 1925, 439); Mohave (Kroeber 1902, 280; Wallace 1947, 252); Kamia (Gifford 1931, 70); Cocopa (Gifford 1933 b, 303, 307); Maricopa (Spier 1933, 237); Havasupai (Spier 1928, 275, 332); North-eastern Yavapai (Gifford 1936, 318); Walapai (Kroeber 1935, 244); Navajo (Morgan 1932, 402; Lincoln, op.cit., 213); Pima (Russell 1908, 253); Tepehuano (Lumholtz 1904 I, 314); Hopi (Beaglehole 1935, 15; Kennard 1937, 493). Cf. also the Kalispel (Vogt 1940, 159).

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composition an independent free-soul, without contact with other souls.[211] But incorporated with an unitary soul-conception the dream-soul is transformed into a dream-soul aspect, which in a number of cases dominates the unitary soul. Several souls of prominent dream-soul type are at bottom unitary souls (the Bear River and Sinkyone Athapascans, the Cahuilla). Some unitary souls of a more complicated type temporarily assume a dominant dream-soul character (the modern Kaska, the Hopi, Pima, Tepehuano).

The dream-wandering engenders a real drama, whose content is determined by the dreamer's experiences or an outsider's observations. The dreamer experiences the events so to speak from within: he is as a rule one with the soul acting in the dream. The observer, again, can constate the form in which the soul makes its exit from the body of the sleeper, and how this exit takes place. We are told that a Haisla Indian once made a remarkable discovery when observing a sleeping fellow-tribesman: "Now when Katsih was deep asleep queer white woodworms would come out of his nose".[212] Presumably, similar experiences convinced the Tübatulabal that the dream-soul leaves its owner at night through the ears.[213]

Through the influence of tradition internal and external experiences have finally been welded into a consistent interpretation of the dream-action. The respective experiences of the observer and the dreamer are made to agree with each other, as is shown in the following narrative. Two Iroquois hunters were waiting for the dawn beside a little brook in the wood. "One was drowsy in a half sleep, when his wakeful companion, who was watching the east sky, saw a small spark of fire pass from the mouth of the sleeper and float in the air to the edge of the stream, crossing it on a silvery willow leaf which was drifting to the opposite bank. Hovering there for a moment as if confused it finally entered the skull of a small bird which lay bleaching on the bank and disappeared. The watching hunter did not disturb his sleeping companion, and when at the sunrise he awoke, he related a strange dream that had come to him". In the dream he had "in a great light" and "as if with wings" floated in the air to a distant country where an ocean extended from horizon to horizon. In a silver canoe he voyaged over the great waters to the other shore, where a big eagle

[211] Among the Mohave there are even four souls having a dream-soul character (cf. above, pp. 124 sq.).
[212] Olson 1940, 198.
[213] Voegelin, op.cit., loc.cit.

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awaited him. The bird bore him to its home, "whose pearl-white dome touched the high sky above the gray clouds". We recognize the spark of fire, the stream, the leaf and the skull of the bird in the shining soul, the sea, the silver canoe and the magnificent home of the eagle.[214]

It is, however, seldom that an outsider can read the experiences of the dream-life from the events in the world of reality. It is the dreamer alone who lives the experiences of the dream in the shape of the dream-soul—for the most part invisible to others. The following reports of the activity of the dream-soul must therefore chiefly be traced to dream-experiences.

In the dream, the soul is as quick as lightning (the Sinkaietk), silent and agile (the Fox).[215] A Sinkaietk shaman who in a dream sees the free-soul of another person distinguishes it from a "real man" on the grounds of its "going fast without walking". The gliding movement of the free-soul translates the freedom of the dream-vision from the inhibitions of daylight consciousness, while the quickness of the free-soul presumably reflects the short, easily controlled period of time during which the dream-action takes place.[216] Most narratives of dream-journeys are a stereotyped repetition of the same thing: the soul wanders about in a world that looks like our own, but whose figures reveal their supernatural origin unmistakably by their fantastic behaviour; it is the free-soul of things that the dreamer sees.[217] Also the dreamer himself is included in this fascinating context; "you do the most impossible things", say the Wind River Shoshoni.[218] The details, of course, vary: the dream-soul is now active in the vicinity of the body, and now it has wandered to the vicinity of the realm of the dead etc. The Thompson River Indians are of the opinion that "the soul of a person who has the nightmare is nearing the beginning of the trail leading to the world of the souls".[219] In de Angulo's view the Achomawi have a more conventionalized belief to the effect that in the evening the free-soul departs with the sun and in the morning returns with the dawn.[220] The latter, at all events, is correct. An old shaman said of the dream-soul: "Vous pouvez l'entendre quelquefois au matin, juste avant de vous

[214] Converse, op.cit., 94 sq. The narrative definitely reminds one of Paulus Diaconus's description of the dream of the Frankish King Gunthram (Paulus Diaconus 1878, 139).
[215] Spier 1938, 169; Jones 1911, 218. Cf. above, p. 231.
[216] Cf. Wolf 1919, 43.
[217] Cf. Birket-Smith & de Laguna, op.cit., loc.cit.; Jetté 1911, 101.
[218] Hultkrantz, op.cit., 30.
[219] Teit 1900, 372.
[220] de Angulo 1928, 575 sq.

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réveiller. Elle arrive de par dessus les montagnes. Elle arrive de l'est. Elle arrive en chantant: 'L'aurore se lève. Je viens. Je viens. L'aurore se lève. Je viens. Je viens.' "[221]

But it is not always that the dream-soul returns. Many dangers lurk in the way of the wandering soul. It is, certainly, not always that it runs the risk of wandering to the realm of the dead,[222] but if this does happen the dreamer falls ill,[223] or he dies later on.[224] But also other dangers threaten: a malevolent shaman may seize the opportunity to snatch the dream-soul; when its owner wakes up afterwards he is "ill or insane".[225] If the soul of a sleeping Kwakiutl Indian "goes too far away and comes not back again, the man remains in bed asleep and is dead".[226]

An untimely awakening may also prevent the return of the soul: it simply has not time to return to the body. Thus it is with the dream-soul among the Paviotso; if a Paviotso Indian is awakened too suddenly his soul does not return, he becomes sick and finally dies if the doctor does not cure him in time.[227] The Cahuilla will dare to wake an ordinary sleeping person, for the dream-soul "knows it and can return instantly". But they take care not to waken a sleeping medicine-man. "His spirit has gone so far away and is so very busy that it cannot return immediately. In case a person wakes before his spirit returns, as occasionally happens, death results sooner or later".[228] A soul recalled too hastily, moreover, may perhaps not find the right way into the body. The Kwakiutl Indian relates: "Sometimes the souls come back the wrong way, when they return to the owner of the soul, and then the soul is hurt, — when it comes quickly and goes in crosswise, or upside down, into the body of the owner of the soul. Then the soul is not strong enough to come out where it is held, and the man at once looks sick".[229]

It may thus happen that the dream-soul has not returned when the individual wakes up. If in such cases he does not fall ill or die, the soul loss may at first perhaps manifest itself in dreamlessness. Thus Le

[221] de Angulo, op.cit., 151, 567.
[222] Hallowell, op.cit., loc.cit.
[223] Greenlee 1944, 319; Gifford 1933 b, 307.
[224] Kroeber 1902, 280. Concerning the dream as foreboding, cf. above, pp. 270 sq. In Mexico a flying dream seems *per se* to be understood as a sign of the person's approaching death (Nuttall 1897, 278). Cf. further § 23.
[225] Spier 1938, 169. Cf. Flannery, op.cit., 162, Hultkrantz, op.cit., 36.
[226] Boas 1921 I, 716. Cf. Honigmann 1949, 203.
[227] Park 1938, 41. Cf. Lumholtz 1904 I, 314.
[228] Hooper 1920, 339.
[229] Boas, op.cit., 725.

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Jeune writes of the Indians in New France: "If they cease to dream ... they say that their soul has left them; if the Devil arouses their fancy, their soul has returned".[230] A number of Canadian Athapascans were convinced that death must gradually result from prolonged absence of the dream-soul.[231]

We have hitherto found it self-evident that the dream-soul is the individual himself, and that it is consequently experienced by him as his own ego. Where the conception of the free-soul is unreflected, as among the Havasupai, the problem of the identity of the dream-soul can not arise.[232] It only arises when the soul-conception becomes conscious. But even where reflection has paved the way for a spiritualized dream-soul, the identity between soul and person may be genuine, as the following quotation from an old Tübatulabal proves: "When you dream it is your soul that goes out and does the things you dream".[233] The identity relation may sometimes mean that it is not without risk that the dreamer experiences his body as an entity separate from himself; if he perceives such a distinction, he must regard the dream as a premonition of death.[234]

But as a rule the emergence of the dream-soul concept implies that a development is beginning which increasingly changes the relation between the free-soul and the individual—or rather, this relation arises. The free-soul becomes easily understood as a potency, an independent being, and its intimate association with the individual is herewith increasingly dissolved. This dissolution is chiefly furthered by the circumstance that in dreams the individual does not merely experience himself in the shape of the free-soul, he also feels the free-soul as an object separated from himself, which he can contemplate. A Wind River Shoshoni sees himself acting in dreams in his own shape or in, for example, the shape of an animal.[235] The orientation of the ego becomes confused: the dreamer sometimes identifies himself with the soul, and sometimes sees it detached from his own ego. "How did I get here? How can my spirit get back to my body?" the Walapai Indian asks himself when dreaming.[236]

The dream-wandering is a spontaneous act of the dream-soul, and is

[230] JR XVI, 193.
[231] Mason 1946, 33.
[232] Spier 1928, 275.
[233] Voegelin 1938, 62.
[234] McClintock 1910, 144.
[235] Hultkrantz, op.cit., 30 sqq. Cf. the Havasupai, above pp. 102, 244 note 6.
[236] Kroeber 1935, 244. Cf. above, pp. 239 (the Eastern Mono), 245 (the Achomawi).

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therefore in the majority of cases independent of the intentions of the waking self. If anything positive is performed in the course of the dream-wandering, the soul manifests therein its own will and capacity. Probably the chief positive function of the dream-soul is its rôle of cognitive soul. It spies out events and developments in distant places and in the future—it finds out "what you're gonna do", says the Kaska Indian.[237] The narrative of the Kwakiutl shaman concerning the behaviour of men's dream-souls in dreams is illuminating: "In the morning when it is nearly daylight, they come home to the owners of the souls. And then they tell where they have been, and what they have seen where they have been all around our world, and that is what we call dreams, the news that are told by the souls when they come back to us".[238]

Tylor mentions that the theory of the soul's dream-wandering is the one of the alternative interpretations that the North American Indian applies to the mysteries of the dream-experience; the other is the theory concerning "a visit from the soul of the person or object dreamt of".[239] The instances of such dream-visits are legion.[240] But what function, then, has the dream-soul to fulfil under such conditions? Well, unless it appears itself as one object among others, observable to the dreamer, it has no function at all. But it may be given a function by post-factum speculation; the Mohave, for example, consider that it is the person's own dream-soul that sees the free-souls of others in dreams.[241] Where the free-soul—dream-soul appears as a guardian-spirit-like being, half emancipated from its owner, the free-soul is said to provoke the dream.[242] The free-soul of the Bella Coola, for instance, "is the cause of dreams, which are desired as means of foretelling the future... it causes the images to appear".[243] The guardian soul sometimes appears itself as a being completely alien to the individual's ego in these dreams.[244]

If the dream-soul is the experiencing ego of the dream without,

[237] Honigmann, op.cit., loc.cit.

[238] Boas 1921 I, 724 sq. For further discussion of this subject, see below, p. 380.

[239] Tylor, op.cit., I, 399 sq.

[240] If one dreams of a person's presence, this presence is a reality. Among the Fox, "when a person is dreamed of, it is said that his soul was present either invisibly or as a phantom" (Jones 1907 b, 269).

[241] Devereux 1937, 418.

[242] It may naturally also be said that the free-soul of the dream-wandering provokes the dream (see e.g. Wallace 1947, 252).

[243] McIlwraith, op.cit., 94, 608.

[244] The Naskapi (Speck 1935 a, 43 sq., 180 sq., 190); Iroquois and Huron (see above, pp. 237 sq.); Creek (Hewitt & Swanton 1939, 157); Eastern Mono (Steward 1934, 425, 427). Cf. below, § 25.

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through the dream-wandering, being engaged in the dream-adventure, this implies a reduction of its proper function. Miss Du Bois asserts emphatically that the Wintu—who as we know believe in a dualism of souls—do *not* associate sleep and dreams with any belief in the free-soul's wandering away from the body.[245] Here, evidently, the elementary dream-function of the free-soul has lapsed. It is, of course, self-evident that such a change must in the long run eliminate the existence of the free-soul, unless it has an essential function to fulfil in states of trance or sickness. The Yokuts, who experience the events of dreams through the heart, i. e. the soul, have an unitary soul.[246] A couple of other tribes, who are expressly stated to lack the notion of the dream-wandering of the soul, have also only the belief in a single soul.[247] One assumes that the dream-interpretation here earlier gave the *raison d'être* to the conception of the free-soul.

The same soul that on account of its most prominent function has here been referred to as the dream-soul, may occur as a free-soul in practically all situations of extra-physical soul-activity. But it is only in the dream-experience that it is alone as free-soul. In other cases it shares its function with souls which are primarily body-souls but which are secondarily able to appear as free-souls, and which thus temporarily assimilate conceptual elements originally only belonging to the dream-soul.

The free-soul appearing in states of trance is of this mixed character. In lighter trance (the trance of waking consciousness) the dream-soul seems to play scarcely any rôle at all, while the ego-soul and the double-ganger—a peculiar type of free-soul which we have chosen to discuss in another context (§ 23)—are all the more in evidence. We have already touched upon the significance of the ego-soul as a "meditative" soul,[248] and we shall later be reverting to the double-ganger born of premonitions and autoscopic hallucinations.

In the deep trance it is the dream-soul or the body-soul which is the bearer of the individual's consciousness.[249] It is always one of

[245] Du Bois 1935, 78. Also the Central Wintun, the Nomlaki, presumably denied the free-soul a dream-soul character. The appellations "night man, shade, shadow, ghost" obviously apply to the ghost *lês*, not to the free-soul *lês* (Goldschmidt 1951, 351).

[246] Gayton 1948 II, 206.

[247] The Cherokee (Mooney & Olbrechts 1932, 141); the Sanpoil-Nespelem (Ray 1932, 169, 180); the Klamath (Spier 1930, 101).

[248] See above, pp. 229 sq.

[249] Deep trance is here distinguished from sleep. In its genuine form the trance is a psychogenous, hysteriform mode of reaction that takes its form from the dictates of the soul.

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these souls that in the moment of visionary ecstasy—above all during the procedure of shamanizing—wanders about outside the body. Where the trance is not all too deep, as in the suggestively provoked fasting vision, there appears a free-soul which is commonly identical with the dream-soul. But where the trance is so deep that the organism appears to be dead and cataleptically stiffened, the individual may have been abandoned by some body-soul.

The vision appearing to the fasting individual may often be combined with the extra-physical appearance of the free-soul.[250] We may choose as an instance the Plains Cree: their soul *ahtca'k*, which we have earlier defined as the free-soul, might according to Mandelbaum leave the body in a vision and journey about along with the guardian spirit.[251] As was the case among the Wind River Shoshoni, the contact with the supernatural powers was thus mediated by the free-soul.[252] This is generally in such cases the same as the dream-soul, for the fasting vision is much like a dream. Only in exceptional cases, it seems, does it acquire dimensions of depth. An Ojibway Indian who had visited the sky during a fasting vision woke up and "found that three more days had passed away. During this time my body had lain there motionless as a corpse; only my soul had wandered so freely in the air. Then I breathed, sighed, and moved about like one waking from a deep sleep".[253]

The deeper trance, however, is above all connected with the shaman's practising of his medical skills. As we know, in the state of ecstasy his soul frees itself from his body in order to seek out and fetch the soul of a sick person that has gone astray. Generally speaking, this therapy therefore corresponds in its geographical distribution to the sickness-complex soul loss.[254]

It is, of course, not only during the technically induced ecstasy that

[250] Cf. e.g. the fasting visions of the Ojibway (Radin 1936, 239 sq., 241 sq., 243 sq., 252, 253, 254) and Blackfoot (Wissler 1912, 75, 80, 80 sq., 83).

[251] Mandelbaum 1940, 251.

[252] Hultkrantz, op.cit., 34. Cf. above, p. 243 note 2.

[253] Radin, op.cit., 240 (quotation from J. G. Kohl, Kitchi-Gami, Wanderings round Lake Superior, 228 sqq.; see also Kohl 1859, 302 sqq., especially 319).

[254] Concerning soul loss, see § 31. This situation is as a rule intimately connected with the shaman's fetching of the soul in a trance (cf. Spier 1935, 14). There are, of course, exceptions. Where the sickness is sometimes due to soul loss, and sometimes due to the intrusion of an alien spirit or a foreign object, the therapy which is applied in connection with the last-mentioned diagnosis may also be used in cases of soul loss. This is the case among the Wind River Shoshoni (Hultkrantz, op.cit., 39 sq.; cf. Hultkrantz 1949, 152). Conversely, the medicine-man goes into a trance to cure a patient suffering from intrusion (cf. Bouteiller 1950, 119 sqq., 136 sq.). That it is sometimes not the soul, but the guardian spirit that the shaman sends out we shall find presently (see below, p. 000).

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the shaman carries on his medical activities. Thanks to his labile psychic equipment he is able to make use of his supernatural capacity also during other states of absence. Among the Bear River Indians, for instance, "shamans' spirits were said to travel during dreams, faints, and trances, and also during the training dance for new shamans and the curative dance for the sick".[255] Where, as in this case, a high degree of identity is held to obtain between the different twilight states, it is one and the same soul, the dream-soul, that is referred to. If the Hidatsa have a soul "that is active in dreams and visions", this means that no very careful distinction has been drawn between the psychic states.[256] Their character of psychic absence has here outweighed their individual differences. It is the circumstances of the free-soul, and not those of the body, that have occupied the foreground of interest.

But as soon as attention is concentrated upon the states of the body, the distinction between normal sleep and extraordinary trance becomes natural. It is not only through its suggestively conditioned inception that the trance state contrasts with dreams. Still another circumstance must be taken into consideration, and one which is in this connection of the greatest interest for us. As a rule, the shamanistic act (in connection with e. g. the curing of soul loss) requires such pronounced psychic concentration and such intensive meditative absorption that the medium's state of absence contrasts strikingly with other twilight states.[257] It is no mere chance that in this circumstance we must at the same time see the chief reason why in the deep trance the free-soul may be represented by other souls than the dream-soul.

For there is in some cases a direct correlation between the apparent lifelessness of the body during the trance and the appearance of the body-soul as a free-soul.[258] This makes it probable that the body-soul's anormal mode of activity has been stimulated by the situation of the body. We assume, in other words, that it is the lifelessness which has overtaken the body that renders possible the liberation of the body-soul and therewith also its appearance as the incarnation of the individual outside the body.

All the evidence points to this interpretation as correct. The Wind River Shoshoni, for example, assume that every person has a dream-

[255] Nomland 1938, 93.
[256] Curtis 1909 IV, 143.
[257] The shaman himself not infrequently makes a strict distinction between his experiences in the trance state and those he has in dreams. We cannot here discuss this subject in detail.
[258] Examples: the Wind River Shoshoni, Cocopa. References, see below.

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soul which can detach itself from the body, but that in the case of the shamans also the body-soul is separable.[259] The necessary prerequisite for this differentiation between two free-souls is, as I have tried to show, that a distinction has been drawn between the light unconsciousness of sleep and the heavy unconsciousness of the shaman's trance.[260] The dreamer lives, breathes, moves; but the medicine-man sunk in ecstatic trance appears to be dead, does not move, shows tendencies to apnoea. A Lemhi doctor who was curing soul loss "went into a trance, ceased breathing, and was like dead while going in search of the soul".[261] A similar physical reaction is inconceivable if the individual is sunk in normal sleep.

Here, for the sake of completeness, we must make an important digression before continuing our train of thought. As we have seen, the state of the individual during deep trance is sometimes characterized by such a psychic *absentia mentis* and physical *rigor mortis*, that a comparison with the state of actual death easily presents itself: life itself seems to have fled; the ecstatic is "like dead", indeed, he is said to be dead.[262] Curiously enough, however, the state of trance and the coma closely akin to this are not always the only states of soul to be estimated in this way. Even normal sleep, it appears, may be likened to death: similar words for sleep and death may be used, as among the Naskapi,[263] or the dream-state is vaguely compared with death, as among the Hopi.[264] We may with reason suspect that in such cases the trance has not been distinguished from the dream as a particular state; that in other words the free-soul, and not the body, has occupied the focus of attention (cf. above). This appears to be correct, since even a waking, apparently healthy and sound person who is said to have lost his free-soul is stated to be dead.[265] In this case what is obviously meant is that the loss of the free-soul must sooner or later lead to the loss of life itself: if the free-soul departs without death occurring immediately, the final, inevitable result of the permanent absence of the free-soul is anticipated by saying that the person is dead. Sleep is in the same way a latent "state of death", caused by the temporary absence of the free-soul.

[259] Hultkrantz 1951, 31.
[260] Hultkrantz, op.cit., 25.
[261] Steward 1943, 282.
[262] The Sekani express "to fall into a trance" and "to die" with the same phrase (Jenness 1937, 65). Unconsciousness and death are expressed by the same word among a great number of tribes.
[263] Speck 1935 a, 78.
[264] Beaglehole 1935, 15. Cf. also the Tanaina (Osgood 1937, 170).
[265] Cf. the Achomawi (de Angulo 1928, 151, 576). See further below, p. 458.

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If, however, a clear distinction is drawn between sleep and trance, only the state of trance is regarded as a state of death. The status of the body itself, not that of the free-soul, is decisive for the judgement here: in his profound lethargic trance the medicine-man really appears to be sunk in the embrace of death.

The trance state is thus *de facto* tantamount to death. The consequences of this for Indian modes of thought are two. In the first place, during his soul's excursion the medicine-man reaches the realm of the dead—or it is at all events very often in his power to get there.[266] In the second place, the body's soul may be absent from the body and appear as a free-soul. The dream-soul is not actualized if the body-soul functions as a free-soul. The freed body-soul is no longer a body-soul, it represents the person's consciousness and individuality outside the body. Among the Cocopa, who have both body-soul and dream-soul,[267] the body-soul is the soul which leaves the body during the trance state: evidently the inhibition of the vital functions means that the soul connected with them leaves the body and appears as an extra-physical soul, while the dream-soul is not actualized.[268]

While in a trance the shaman thus despatches the dream-soul or—if the vital functions are apparently no longer being maintained—the soul responsible for all the manifestations of life taken together. We should, however, bear in mind that it is not always his own soul that the shaman sends after the fleeing soul of a patient. Among some of the peoples on and in the vicinity of the north-west coast, especially the Coast Salish and North Californians, as well as among some Western Shoshone groups, the shaman might despatch, instead of his soul, his protective spirit, known under the twin aspects of "power" and "guardian spirit".[269] There is nothing, however, which definitely indi-

[266] Examples might be adduced from, amongst others, the Tsimshian, Bella Coola, Coast Salish, Quileute, Plains Cree, Ojibway, Wyandot, Wind River and Nevada Shoshoni, Paviotso, Bear River, Wintu, Maidu, Cocopa, Walapai and Mohave. Cf., however, below, pp. 455 sq.

[267] See above, pp. 100 sq.

[268] Gifford 1933 b, 303, 306 sq.

[269] The Tlingit, Haida, Tsimshian, Haisla, Bella Bella (Drucker 1950, 227); Carrier, Shuswap, Klikitat (Ray 1942, 248); Coast Salish in Canada (Barnett 1938, 136); Cowichan, Comox, Squamish, Sanetch (Barnett 1939, 273); Tillamook, Alsea (Barnett 1937, 191; Drucker 1939, 99); Athapascans in Oregon and north-west California (Barnett 1937, 191; Driver 1939, 363; Nomland 1935, 168); Achomawi, Atsugewi (Voegelin 1942, 158); Mono, Yokuts and Owens Valley (Driver 1937, 103; Aginsky 1943, 445); Chemehuevi (Kelly 1936, 133); Southern Paiute (Drucker 1941, 161). Cf. other cases of the despatching of powers ("power emission"), e.g. the "pain"-complex of the North Californians (Stewart 1946, 327 sqq.), the destroying guardian spirit of the South Californians (Drucker 1937 a, 42) and the protecting guardian spirit of the Southern Paiute (Kelly 1939, 155, 158).

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cates that such commissions have been due to the fact that the shaman has gone into a trance; an example from the Chemehuevi points, on the contrary, to the reverse.[270] Among some groups near Puget Sound, such as the Lummi, Snohomish, Quileute and Quinault, the shaman followed his guardian spirit, but probably only in dramatic pantomime.[271]

Deep trance is qualitatively near to the psychic twilight state which is here defined as coma and which refers to the unconsciousness that is a result of fainting (or, less typically, of high fever). The two states resemble each other also in the fact that in both cases the soul can reach the realm of the dead—evidently a consequence of the view that the complete stupor of the individual is equivalent to the state of death. On the whole the shaman has the same experiences, whether he has fainted or intentionally gone into a trance. It happens, for example, that in the vision with which he is visited when he gets his calling the free-soul of the shaman is carried away to the realm of the dead to be initiated into the secret healing art. The psychic twilight state corresponding to this flight of the soul is without doubt identical with the twilight state of trance, but should rather be described as coma, as it has arisen involuntarily (even if not unexpectedly).[272]

As coma and trance are qualitatively equivalent in respect of the depth of the absence, and also mediate the same visionary results (as a consequence hereof), one may expect that the same kind of souls should operate outside the body in both states: the dream-soul or the body's soul. In the light of what we have learned from the foregoing discussion we may reckon with the most frequent mention of the purest type of free-soul (the dream-soul) in this connection, and with a rarer appearance of the body-soul in the rôle of the free-soul.

A study of the data which are diagnostic for our purpose confirms the correctness of this assumption.

One often has, it is true, great difficulty in identifying the real

[270] Kelly 1936, loc.cit.

[271] The Lummi (Stern 1934, 78 sqq.); Snohomish, etc. (Haeberlin 1918, 249 sqq.; cf. Waterman 1930, 129 sqq.); Quileute (Frachtenberg 1920, 338); Quinault (Olson 1936, 142 sq., 162). To despatch his soul without being sunk in a state of trance was not possible for the shaman. By exploiting his supernatural power an Ojibway Indian, on the other hand, could get himself—body and soul—to fly up into the air like the free-soul and spy out the enemy (Densmore 1910, 98).

[272] See e.g. instances from the Kwakiutl (Boas 1935, 97; cf. Boas 1910 c, 351); Thompson River (Teit 1900, 365); Oglala (Walker 1917, 161); Oto (Whitman 1917, 96). Cf. the Ojibway (Hoffman 1891, 241 sq.); Yavapai (Gifford 1932 b, 215 sq.). See also above, pp. 52 sq. (the Kwakiutl).

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[268] Gifford 1933 b, 303, 306 sq.

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cates that such commissions have been due to the fact that the shaman has gone into a trance; an example from the Chemehuevi points, on the contrary, to the reverse.[270] Among some groups near Puget Sound, such as the Lummi, Snohomish, Quileute and Quinault, the shaman followed his guardian spirit, but probably only in dramatic pantomime.[271]

Deep trance is qualitatively near to the psychic twilight state which is here defined as coma and which refers to the unconsciousness that is a result of fainting (or, less typically, of high fever). The two states resemble each other also in the fact that in both cases the soul can reach the realm of the dead—evidently a consequence of the view that the complete stupor of the individual is equivalent to the state of death. On the whole the shaman has the same experiences, whether he has fainted or intentionally gone into a trance. It happens, for example, that in the vision with which he is visited when he gets his calling the free-soul of the shaman is carried away to the realm of the dead to be initiated into the secret healing art. The psychic twilight state corresponding to this flight of the soul is without doubt identical with the twilight state of trance, but should rather be described as coma, as it has arisen involuntarily (even if not unexpectedly).[272]

As coma and trance are qualitatively equivalent in respect of the depth of the absence, and also mediate the same visionary results (as a consequence hereof), one may expect that the same kind of souls should operate outside the body in both states: the dream-soul or the body's soul. In the light of what we have learned from the foregoing discussion we may reckon with the most frequent mention of the purest type of free-soul (the dream-soul) in this connection, and with a rarer appearance of the body-soul in the rôle of the free-soul.

A study of the data which are diagnostic for our purpose confirms the correctness of this assumption.

One often has, it is true, great difficulty in identifying the real

[270] Kelly 1936, loc.cit.

[271] The Lummi (Stern 1934, 78 sqq.); Snohomish, etc. (Haeberlin 1918, 249 sqq.; cf. Waterman 1930, 129 sqq.); Quileute (Frachtenberg 1920, 338); Quinault (Olson 1936, 142 sq., 162). To despatch his soul without being sunk in a state was not possible for the shaman. By exploiting his supernatural powers Indian, on the other hand, could get himself—body and soul—to air like the free-soul and spy out the enemy (Densmore 1910, 9

[272] See e.g. instances from the Kwakiutl (Boas 1935, 97; cf. Thompson River (Teit 1900, 365); Oglala (Walker 191 1937, 96). Cf. the Ojibway (Hoffman 1891, 241 sq.) 235 sq.). See also above, pp. 52 sq. (the Kwakiutl).

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nature of the acting souls. But in a large number of cases these difficulties can be overcome: where the soul-entity is not specifically defined in the text, it may frequently be "localized" by being fitted into the picture of the total soul-belief to which in the case in question we have access. The most reliable results are obtained if we only concentrate on the data dealing with loss of consciousness on fainting.[273] In the first place we thus get an effective boundary between this field and the suggestively provoked trance. And in the second place it is an advantage to be able to exclude the instances that may be adduced of the activity of the free-soul in the case of feverish patients in delirium: these instances do not afford any sharp contrast to the examples of soul-flight in the state of retained waking consciousness.

It proves that in a great number of cases it is a pure free-soul, most often, of course, of dream-soul character,[274] which appears during the unconsciousness of the individual.[275] The definite instances of the body-soul having taken over the rôle of the free-soul are, on the other hand, rather few in number.[276] Moreover, the loss of the body-soul does not always prevent the free-soul from remaining active as the representative of the ego-consciousness in the state of lethargy.[277] In many cases the acting soul constitutes an unitary soul, frequently of predominantly free-soul type.[278] A careful investigation of these latter cases appears to show that presumably a free-soul assimilated into an unitary soul has given rise to the tendencies to soul-flight. If this observation is correct—and it is adduced here with every reservation—

[273] It is often imagined that the free-soul departs in consequence of an injury, a shock etc. (see below); but it may also happen that it is the absence of the soul, on the contrary, which is conceived to cause its owner to faint (see e.g. Pettitt 1950, 18). See § 31.

[274] It is probably seldom that a limited free-soul conception is not at the same time a dream-soul. A distinct exception, however, as we have seen, is the Wintu free-soul.

[275] The Ingalik (Chapman 1921, 306 sq.); West Athapascans (Morice 1889, 159; Hill-Tout 1907 a, 178); Carrier (Goldman 1940, 364); Kwakiutl (Boas 1932 b, 210; cf. above, pp. 52 sq.); Bella Coola (Boas 1892, 421); Quileute (Pettitt 1950, 18); Quinault (Curtis 1913 IX, 90); Chinook (Boas 1894 a, 206); Thompson River (Teit 1900, 360 sq.); Sinkaietk (Spier 1938, 169); Montagnais (JR VII, 125); Ojibway (De Smet 1905, 1047 sqq.); Saulteaux (Hallowell 1940, 29); Iroquois ? (De Quens in JR XLII, 51); Maidu (Dixon 1905, 259; Kroeber 1925, 439); Havasupai (Spier 1928, 275).

[276] The Wind River Shoshoni (Hultkrantz, op.cit., 24 sq.); North-west Maidu (Loeb 1933, 172); Cocopa (Gifford 1933 b, 306); Yuma (Forde 1931, 192); Maricopa (Spier 1933, 281, 297). Cf. the following note.

[277] The Modoc: see the account given above, p. 97.

[278] The Sanpoil and Nespelem (Ray 1932, 169; cf. Ray 1942, 232); Naskapi (Speck 1935 a, 48); Cheyenne? (Grinnell 1923 II, 93); Owens Valley Paviotso (Steward 1933, 307; cf. Steward 1934, 427); Bear River (Nomland 1938, 93); Sinkyone (Nomland 1935, 168); Cahuilla (Hooper 1920, 341); Chiricahua (Opler 1941, 477 sq.); Hopi (Beaglehole 1935, 16).

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then it affords still more confirmation of our view that in the overwhelming majority of cases the "pure" free-soul has been the soul which has freed itself from the body during coma. It is therefore also probable that everywhere in North America it was originally the only free-soul during both coma and trance. The appearance of the body-soul in this function is probably a secondary phenomenon brought about by progressive speculation.

In both trance and coma the functioning free-soul (whatever its origin may have been) frequently represents the ego-principle of the individual, often also the form in which he manifests himself. The medicine-man, who has voluntarily visited the realm of the dead, and the person in a swoon, who has involuntarily done the same—perhaps in a coma so profound that his relatives have already taken him physically to his last resting-place—, both tell, on their return to "life", of their experiences in the state of lethargy in the first person.[279] But just as in dreams, the free-soul may, also in the states of coma and trance, be conceived as a potency with shifting relations to the individual. The Blackfoot Indian Flat Tail "felt his spirit starting for the Sand Hills".[280] "You feel yourself going away" is the Navajo Indian's way of describing the sensations of the ego in the moment of dying.[281] The soul of the Yuma Indian in the unconscious state—as we saw above, actually a body-soul—behaves as if it had nothing at all to do with the ego. If its owner has lost consciousness it departs from him and acts like a being with a will of its own. "The soul goes up with the dust caused by the fall and hovers above undecided whether to return".[282] But even a "genuine" free-soul may in a corresponding situation manifest the same properties. The tendency to independent action always characterizes the extra-physical soul and is one of the chief prerequisites for its development into a guardian spirit for the individual, a guardian soul (§ 25).

Normally, the soul's appearance as a free-soul is combined with some sort of twilight state. The separation of the soul does, certainly, take place in connection with what we have referred to as the light trance[283] in a state of relative waking consciousness, but the frontier

[279] Cf. e.g. the Saulteaux (Hallowell, op.cit., 30 sq.) and Ojibway (De Smet, op.cit., 1047 sqq.).
[280] McClintock 1910, 148 sq. The Sand Hills = the country of the dead.
[281] Wyman, Hill & Osanai 1942, 38.
[282] Forde, op.cit., 192.
[283] See above, p. 277.

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to another, anormal form of consciousness has nevertheless been passed. It is also accounted to have been crossed when various states of sickness—in the first place, of course, those pathological states which are combined with some mental weakness—are associated with the belief in the appearance of an extra-physical soul. The person may apparently be in a state of normal consciousness, but he has nevertheless taken a step into another world. But whereas during the states of lethargy proper and in light trance the individual may experience himself in his extra-physical form of existence, the sick person is extremely seldom in the same experiential situation. "Soul loss" is here seized upon as a rational explanation of an anormal state: the individual considers that he lacks a soul, or—which is often more important—others consider him to be without a soul. In cases of insanity and loss of memory, of shock-effect and physical disease, the mental and physical defects are referred to the loss of the soul, or of a soul.

According to Indian terminology, everyone whose behaviour departs from current standards of conduct is insane. Thus if an individual is stated to be insane, this does not necessarily mean that he is insane also for our way of thinking. But his behaviour falls outside the frame of what is usual and normal in the culture-configuration to which he belongs.[284]

The most widely varying statements concerning the causes of insanity are to be found in our sources. Sometimes the disease is caused by a meeting with a ghost.[285] Sometimes the mentally affected person has been enchanted by mystical beings.[286] Possession (in the wider sense) is not always accounted as a disease; many madmen are not considered to be sick, but are conceived to be vessels for the will of higher powers.[287] Nevertheless, in some quarters it is held that a demon can make a person demented by getting control over his soul (the ego-soul).[288] It is sometimes fatal for a person to have a dangerous guardian spirit: it may make him mad.[289] Insanity may also be a consequence of the ego-soul's being shifted from its position.[290] And

[284] Cf. Benedict 1934, 59 sqq., Benedict 1946, chap. VIII, and Linton 1945, 152; see also Wegrocki 1939 and the literature adduced there.
[285] Cf. the Yokuts (Gayton 1948 II, 150); Pomo (Loeb 1926, 323).
[286] Cf. the Tlingit (Krause 1885, 272 sqq., especially 275).
[287] Cf. Powell 1881, 36.
[288] See above, p. 213.
[289] Cf. the Shuswap (Teit 1909, 615); Wind River Shoshoni (Hultkrantz Ms).
[290] The Nootka, Wind River Shoshoni (see above, p. 213). Cf. also cases of split personality (see above, pp. 218, 220: the Ojibway).

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finally, insanity may be traced to the loss of the ego-soul or the dream-soul. In connection with our analysis of the ego-soul we have earlier pointed out that mental aberration is often referred to the loss of the soul.[291] Soul loss is without doubt a powerful cause of insanity and neuroses, perhaps the most powerful of all.

There is nothing remarkable in a person's insanity being connected with the loss of his free-soul. In accordance with the nature of the dualistic soul-system, the free-soul makes its appearance outside the body whenever the body's souls are deprived of their normal function. In this connection the free-soul becomes an alternating principle of consciousness, i. e. it is conceived to represent the individual's consciousness.[292] If the free-soul does not return to the body, and the latter nevertheless returns to life, this may consequently signify that the person's possibilities of apprehending and understanding will be very small. He becomes "queer", in a number of cases completely "mad". The degree of mental aberration is sometimes related to the distance between the lost soul and its owner. "Once in a while", says the Nomlaki Indian, "people get nervous or dissatisfied, and Indians claim that that is when the spirit goes out and comes back. The shadow of a crazy man goes far away from him and he doesn't know anything".[293] The loss of the free-soul is of course not always connected with insanity. But the frequency with which it is adduced as a cause is striking.[294]

It is less common for mental debility to be expressly referred to the loss of the ego-soul. Various recorded cases of insanity might be interpreted in this direction; but either there is rather vague talk of "loss of senses" without the soul-potency being mentioned in this connection, or else the ego-soul referred to is at the same time a free-soul.[295] If insanity is due to soul loss, and the "soul" in question figures, as far as one is able to judge, alone in the soul-belief, it appears

[291] See above, pp. 213 sq.

[292] The conception of the separated free-soul's identity with the ego of the insane person is of course not based upon the experiences of the individual in question himself. It reflects society's view of his state and is connected with the already existing belief that disturbances in the function of consciousness are associated with the absence of the free-soul.

[293] Goldschmidt, op.cit., 351 sq.

[294] Examples: the Eyak (Birket-Smith & de Laguna, op.cit., 232); Bella Coola (Boas 1892, 421; McIlwraith 1948 I, 96); Sinkaietk (Spier 1938, 169); Achomawi (de Angulo 1928, 576); Nomlaki (see the foregoing note); Tübatulabal (Voegelin 1938, 62); Papago (Curtis 1908 II, 37); Navajo? (Coolidge 1930, 145).

[295] See above, p. 214. Examples: the Ojibway (Jenness 1935, 18); Onondaga (JR XLII, 51); Oglala (see above, p. 213 note 29); Wind River Shoshoni (Hultkrantz 1951, 30, 36, 40).

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to be through its predominantly free-soul character that it is able to free itself from the body.[296] That the designation "mind" for the absent free-soul signifies nothing in this connection, we have already stressed.[297] Nonetheless, in many cases the identity between the lost soul and the ego-soul should be suspected.[298] Among the Puyallup and Nisqually it seems to be a clear fact.[299] Everything indicates, however, that in such cases the free-soul function of the ego-soul is secondary.

Another form of mental weakness, loss of memory, is also considered to be connected with soul loss—i. e. loss of the ego-soul in its memory-aspect.[300] The conception is, however, not clearly developed outside the mythology, and it is presumably imitating the function of the free-soul in insanity.

Finally, the soul-loss diagnosis may be applied to an imagined or actually observed sickness which only to a slight extent refers to mental weakening. We can distinguish two types of disease within this general frame: the one fixes the person's state after a momentary mental twilight experience; the other fixes his state in the course of a physical process of disintegration. In both cases the sickness must be cured sooner or later, i. e. the soul must be restored, if the patient is not to die. And in both cases the sick person is in a relatively normal, waking state of mind. It is nevertheless of a certain importance that the two types of disease should be distinguished: in the one case a recent experiential situation occupies the foreground, in the other case the stress is laid on the peculiar nature of the pathological symptoms.

It has in North America been a rather common view that under certain circumstances the free-soul can exist outside the body without the immediate loss of consciousness and normal vital activity. If the free-soul has attained a high degree of independence, as in the cases in which it is manifested as a double-ganger (§ 23) or as guardian spirit (§ 25), its appearance outside the body need not entail any risks for its owner. If, however, the extra-physical activity of the free-soul is due to its having found itself outside its owner in consequence of the latter's slight resistance to temporary mental or physical trials, then he will be in danger until the soul has been restored.

[296] See the Shuswap (Teit 1909, 611, 614 sq.); Plateau Indians (Ray 1942, 232, 247); Nevada Shoshoni (Steward 1941, 261); Paviotso (Park 1938, 41; cf. op.cit., 39 sq.); Southern Paiute (Kelly 1939, 163); Natchez (Swanton 1946, 798).

[297] Cf. above, p. 209 note 5.

[298] Especially among the Ojibway and Wind River Shoshoni (see above, note 295), and among the Cherokee (Mooney & Olbrechts 1932, 141).

[299] Smith 1940, 131.

[300] See further above, pp. 215 sq.

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As an example of a soul-loss situation of the last-mentioned nature we may choose the case in which the absence of the free-soul is connected with a physical or mental shock.[301] The notion that after a shock the free-soul may be separated from the individual has presumably been widespread in North America.[302] Psychologically, the idea is easily understood. For some short moments, when the individual is either "frightened out of his wits", so to speak, or experiences a slight confusion, the soul is driven out of the body; "the spasmodic contraction of the muscles is enough to expel it", say the Bella Coola.[303] The occurrence may have an immediate effect, which throws an explanatory light over the association of the soul-idea with the experience. An old Cheyenne woman who had been scared by something or other said: "I was so badly frightened that I saw my shadow".[304]

Now it is seldom that one sees one's own soul in a waking vision without this having dangerous consequences. After a shock the individual may lose consciousness, become paralysed, or fall ill in some other way. It is believed that the fatal effects may not necessarily fail to make themselves felt, even if the victim of the shock does not at first suffer any ill-effect. There is no lack of descriptions of such eventualities.[305] Even a shaman who has had a shock may be in suspense concerning his dangerous situation. An old Achomawi shaman sustained a slight concussion when his buggy once collided with a motor-car. "Vois-tu, quand je suis tombé hors de ma voiture sur la route, le choc a secoué mon âme hors de moi. Elle est tombée sur la route aussi. Moi, je ne le savais pas et je suis remonté en voiture sans elle. J'aurais bien pu mourir si on ne me l'avait pas dit. C'est un de mes *damagomi* (= guardian spirits) qui me l'a dit".[306] The soul had been left behind at the scene of the accident, the shaman therefore returned and called it, and it came back to him.

In the cases sketched here it is as a rule the regular, permanent free-soul which is believed to be lost. One must not, however, exclude the possibility that in one case or another it may have been the body-soul that is referred to.[307]

[301] If the shock is physical, it is usually said to be the cause of the soul loss, but if it is a mental shock, the reverse causality may be conceived: the shock is a result of the soul's departure.
[302] Cf. Clements 1932, 234, 236, and the numerous instances in § 31.
[303] McIlwraith, op.cit., 96.
[304] Grinnell 1923 II, 93.
[305] See § 31.
[306] de Angulo 1928, 577.
[307] Cf. the Yuma (Forde 1931, 191 sq.).

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Another situation arises when the individual's state becomes worse in consequence of soul loss and he really feels ill, physically ill. He is clearly conscious, but feels pains. Which soul has departed? And how is it possible to refer physical pains to the loss of the soul?

It may be constated at the outset that the conception of soul loss is in such cases not well adapted to the nature of the sickness. Only a patient who is in such a bad state that he has lost consciousness, or is at the least definitely delirious, motivates the diagnosis "soul loss": his soul has already embarked on the journey to the realm of the dead, he is already more or less dead. A shaman among the West Athapascans generally cures his patient by sucking out the object which is said to be the cause of the illness; but if the patient has lost consciousness, this means that his soul has gone to the country of the dead, and the shaman must then sink into a state of trance in order to fetch it back.[308] Steward distinguishes between, inter alia, the following two causes of disease among the Shoshoni in Nevada: "1, intrusion of a foreign object, which is usually, but by no means always, indicated by an acute pain; 2, loss of the soul, which is usually indicated by unconsciousness".[309]

It seems to emerge from this that soul loss as a cause of illness was not originally adduced except in cases in which from one cause or another the consciousness had been put out of function (coma, insanity, shock). Various circumstances may have contributed to the application of the same diagnosis to all—or the majority of—diseases. In the first place, a mild illness which, in unhappy cases, in a later phase leads to loss of consciousness and death may even at the outset have the same diagnosis put as is in any case valid for its final phase. In the second place, the life-soul may, after the pattern of the free-soul, be taken as the chief actor in a soul-loss drama: just as the free-soul has left the body when the individual is lying unconscious, so one of the specialized life-souls has left its organ when the individual is paralysed or feels pains.

Thus the first-mentioned of these hypotheses implies that the diagnosis soul loss is applied to a sickness in order to anticipate its final course. It should then be the free-soul proper which is identified with the stolen or escaped soul. But it is difficult to point definitely to a single case in which only the free-soul has departed in connection with ordinary illness.[310] There are, on the other hand, several instances in

[308] Morice 1889, 158. See also Morice, op.cit., 158 sq., Morice 1906, 209, Morice 1911, 640. Cf. the Cherokee: the sickness is never referred to soul loss except in psychopathological cases (Mooney & Olbrechts, op.cit., 16, 141).

[309] Steward 1941, 259 sq.

[310] A possible exception may be noted. "The Bella Coola do not theorize as to the

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which only a body-soul is supposed to be lost. (See below). Is one to interpret the situation to mean that the appearance of the free-soul in connection with illness has been inspired after the pattern of the life-soul? It would seem to be over-hasty to bind oneself to such a conclusion *ex silentio*. That the conception of the stolen free-soul nevertheless actually *may* be influenced by the pattern of the life-soul is shown by the soul-beliefs of the Kamia. As we have seen earlier, a Kamia Indian may possess no fewer than four free-souls, which have presumably taken over the functions of a vanished life-soul.[311] "A person with more than one soul might become ill from the theft of one, but would still live".[312] Among other peoples one finds exactly the same rules for the soul-activity in illness, but then always with reference to the life-souls (see below). From the functional point of view the specialized life-soul is better fitted in, in the situation in question, than any variant of the original free-soul. We must therefore assume that at least in one case —among the Kamia—the appearance of the free-soul in connection with ordinary illness has been modelled after the pattern of some organ-soul.

From a wider viewpoint, however, the extra-physical activity of the specialized life-soul in such cases of illness is an imitation of the activity of the specific free-soul in connection with illnesses combined with an anormal state of consciousness.

It should be noted that the general life-soul does not abandon the individual in case of ordinary illness. If it may leave the body in states of trance or coma, this is due to the fact that in such states the individual sometimes shows such almost imperceptible signs of life that he is regarded as dead. It would be absurd, however, for the sustaining principle of life to take its departure during ordinary illness, when the patient is still conscious and is, at least partially, manifesting vital activity. It is understandable, on the other hand, if one of several life-souls leaves the person: if the vital activity is weakened at one point, it nevertheless continues at other points. In all cases, moreover, in which the life-soul is reported to be missing during ordinary illness, it is not the general vital principle that has left the body, but one of the specialized organ-souls. A good example is presented by the soul-belief among

part of the person thus transported; if questioned, they conclude that it must be the spirit" (McIlwraith, op.cit., 554 note 5). But it is only when the illness has entered an acute phase that the soul flies: "If the spirit moves from its proper position at the back of the neck, the owner falls ill; if it leaves him, his condition becomes critical" (McIlwraith, op.cit., 95 sq.).

[311] See above, pp. 100, 124.

[312] Gifford 1931, 71.

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the Eskimo on Greenland.[313] Every limb of the body is provided with a soul, and a pain in one of the limbs implies that its soul has departed. Since the soul is not so indispensable for the total vital activity, its loss is as a rule not a great misfortune.[314] Obviously enough, one never hears that souls of this type have been the vehicles of the individual's consciousness when they have appeared outside the body.

Among many peoples the sickness may be due now to the loss of the one soul, now to the loss of another. Among the Wind River Shoshoni the medicine-man decides whether the patient has been left by his free-soul or by his life-soul.[315] If it is the life-soul that has departed, the patient's breath may still remain with him.[316] The Quileute imagine that the sickness is due to the absence of the free-soul or of one of the life-souls.[317] The Yuma appear to hold the belief that the free-soul or one of the body-souls is temporarily lost in case of illness.[318] Where a ritualistic four-soul schema has been introduced, as among the Hidatsa and Cowichan, any one of the souls may disappear from the body in case of illness.[319]

One should thus not be surprised if it is sometimes stated in the literature that both the souls among an Indian folk-group—e. g. the Coast Salish in Canada—are able to fulfil the functions of the free-soul.[320] The probable explanation is, however, that only in the case of one of these souls has the conception of the free-soul as such found adequate expression: presumably only one of the souls has had an exclusively extra-physical function. This soul has been the specific, original free-soul.

The extra-physical soul has hitherto appeared to research in the light of an unitary conception, psychologically as well as ideologically. We have seen above that the ideologically unitary nature of this soul is only apparent. Psychologically, on the other hand, one is justified in speaking of an unitary free-soul idea. We may agree with the older ethnological investigators when they characterize the extra-physical soul as the most important soul-concept among primitive peoples—"the most general idea of the soul" (Bancroft).[321]

[313] Cf. above, pp. 56, 157 sq.
[314] Thalbitzer 1930 b, 88, 92, 93.
[315] Hultkrantz, op.cit., 24.
[316] Hultkrantz, op.cit., 25, note 16. It is probable that this conception represents the altered (and, from the functional point of view, half disintegrated) soul-belief of a later period. Cf. also the Lemhi (Lowie 1909 a, 226, 301).
[317] Frachtenberg 1920, 335.
[318] Forde 1931, 179, 180.
[319] Boas 1910 b, 617. Cf. Matthews 1877, 50, Boas 1894 b, 461.
[320] Barnett 1938, 136.
[321] Bancroft 1875 III, 514.

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V. SOUL AND ESSENCE

17. The mystical extensions

Primitive soul-belief as it has been presented here includes free-soul and body-soul (in different variations) and the products of crossing that may arise between them in the course of development. These entities have here been referred to as souls, chiefly because—although they express such separable conceptions as e. g. life-potency and mystical personal identity—they all manifest properties and relations pertaining to the soul which are essential for the existence of the individual. The life-soul constitutes the vital motor, the ego-soul the driving force behind the various phases of conscious life, and the free-soul is the individual's alternating ego, whose presence is indispensable for a normal existence. A direct consequence of the belief in the indispensability of souls is that, with certain exceptions (see § 3), they are presumed to be present in all individuals in the believer's own ethnic group, and that they are conceived to be of permanent and not of temporary importance. In the development towards the unitary soul the various souls become organized around a core, often consisting of one of their number which is more dominating than the rest (see § 12). The associated soul-aspects enter as subordinate elements in this core or else atrophy from lack of function.

The soul-conceptions in an Indian tribe may thus be characterized as the conceptions of independent spiritual qualities and essences in the individual that are essential for his existence, as a rule universal and permanent, and in the course of development finally merging in a monistic synthesis. With this definition we delimit the soul-belief proper from other ideas associated with the spiritual reality of the individual, which in accordance with Lévy-Bruhl's terminology we have in the foregoing referred to as mystical "appurtenances" or "extensions".[1] Here belong on the one hand such concrete phenomena as objects of various kinds that have come into contact with or been sepa-

[1] See above, pp. 28 sq.

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rated from the individual, and on the other hand immaterial or semi-material entities that are directly connected with the life of the individual (e. g. the shadow, image, name and the so-called external soul). All of these are elements over which the individual has "spread himself"; they are all, if we may be allowed to use some of the terms introduced by Frazer into the discussion of comparative religion, extensions on the basis of homeopathic or contagious conceptual contexts. They all, finally, lack the properties we have recently found to characterize the conceptions of the soul.[2]

But the antitheses may be bridged. We shall find that the categories "soul" and "extension" may easily merge into one another. Many of the phenomena we shall be discussing are exclusively mystical extensions, others, on the contrary—or in addition to this—fulfil a real "soul"-function. This last applies less to the above-mentioned concrete contact phenomena than to the more fluidally and immaterially understood mystical elements.

Our task in this chapter will be to delimit and define all the extension-conceptions that have not been included among the soul-conceptions, and particularly to indicate their relation to the latter. We shall first devote ourselves to a clarifying of the general nature of the mystical extensions, after which the mystical extensions which may become souls will be discussed separately.

In our attempts to define and explain more closely the conceptions referred to here we may with advantage make use of the terms "participation" and "extension" coined by Lévy-Bruhl, but we do not give them as synonyms.[3] "Participation" indicates the psychic process whereby the concept of the individual is extended over the ambiance of the individual; "extension", on the other hand, indicates the elements which are combined with the individual through the participation.

We do not here need to go into the origin of participation according to Lévy-Bruhl, since the whole theory is based upon false premisses.[4]

[2] Jung advances the hypothesis that the many extensions are possibly soul-entities that may in the course of development incarnate themselves in the individual, and thus gradually form his psyche (Jung 1932, 242). There is, however, no evidence for such a course of development; on the contrary, the theory conflicts with the picture of the development afforded by our data.

[3] Other writers who have adopted these terms have used them as interchangeable concepts, by all the evidence against Lévy-Bruhl's express intentions.

[4] A good summary of Lévy-Bruhl's views concerning the "law of participation" may be found in Arbman 1927, 126 sqq. Cf. the criticism of Lévy-Bruhl's "prelogism" in works by Allier, Goldenweiser, Evans-Pritchard, Thurnwald, Vierkandt, Jung and others; see especially Thurnwald in DLZ 1928, 486 sqq., Jung, op.cit., 212 sqq.

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Other investigators, especially Jung (in "Psychological Types", "The Psychology of the Unconscious" and "Seelenprobleme der Gegenwart": "Der archaische Mensch"), have, however, made important contributions to our understanding of participation, and on the basis of these analyses we may arrive at an acceptable interpretation of its import and motives.[5] Participation thus appears to be an application of an emotional type of thinking which is universal, and not restricted to "primitive peoples". Participation as a concept has arisen from the innate tendency in this mode of thought intimately to associate impressions of phenomena in the external world with subjective states.[6] In the participation this association is so intimate that it leads to identification: the emotions connected with the experience of the ego are transferred to concrete objects or other empirically given entities (the name, image, etc.), which through resemblance or contact with the individual attract his special attention.

Mystical extension is best understood as a real or supposed substance occurring in direct connection with the individual or outside the individual, a substance which is integrated in his being and is therewith also a bearer of his essence. By essence we mean here in the first place not the individual's qualitative peculiar nature—his pronounced "personality"—but chiefly the sum of the general qualities characterizing him as living and acting individual.[7] In a mystical extension this sum exists in its totality. But the mystical extension is not for this reason a repetition of the individual himself, it is a part of him. If a replica of the individual, e. g. the shadow or the image, is placed, in consequence of its resemblance to the individual, in a mystical relation to him, it becomes either a part of him, in which case it is a mystical extension, or else an expression for his person as such, and in this case it is conceived as a soul, i. e. free-soul.

[5] Jung—like Lévy-Bruhl—exaggerates the defective integration of the individuality in the "archaic" man. This leads him, inter alia, to the view, diverging from that held by Lévy-Bruhl, that mystical participation is not at all mystical, but an extremely natural projection of the psychic subconscious ("Die psychologische Projektion", Jung 1932, 234). I cannot, however, share the last-mentioned opinion; participation is a mystical phenomenon through the nature of its effect.

[6] Cf., besides Jung, op.cit., Freud 1950, 91, Goldenweiser 1946, 417, 422, Boas 1938, 248 sqq. The general result of this projection is the animistic-animatistic picture of the world.

[7] Cf. also Arbman 1931, 368, 370. Also inanimate objects may have—by the side of the soul, the free-soul (§ 33)—their "essence". This is, for instance, the opinion of the Dakota; the Oglala call the essence of the object its *nagila*, "spirit-like". If in the name of a recently deceased person anyone renounces all claim to an object which he possesses, and does not use it any more, its *nagila* will become the property of the deceased person (Walker 1917, 86).

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Precisely here, as we have already mentioned, runs the boundary between free-soul and mystical extension.[8] In view of its nature the conception of the free-soul comes nearer the extension than the physical potencies, even if it shares with the latter the functions guaranteeing life which characterize the genuine soul. The free-soul—at all events the original free-soul—is, as we have seen, the person himself as a mystical totality, whereas the extension partakes of this totality. The free-soul represents the individual's essence by being identical with the individual, while the mystical extension represents the individual's essence by being a part of the individual.

Even if the resemblances are striking, the differences are more essential. Whereas the free-soul is the individual, the mystical extension is a part of the individual in the same way as a heart or a hand are a part. Whereas the existence of the free-soul is necessary—at least in the long run—for a man's existence, the existence of the mystical extension is frequently unnecessary for this purpose. That according to the rule *pars pro toto* it is possible in black magic to destroy the individual by destroying his mystical extensions is another matter (see below).

It is only necessary, however, for the mystical extension to manifest a striking likeness in its external shape or inner import to the free-soul, for a fusion between the conceptions to come about. Our investigation in the sequel will show that through their resemblance to the free-soul the shadow and the image may sometimes be interpreted as free-souls, and that the same change in meaning may occur as regards the name, understood as a mystical extension, when it is taken to incarnate the whole individual (§§ 18—20). That also the life-soul may be combined with the mystical extension is perhaps calculated to surprise; how this paradox is to be explained we shall try to show later (§ 21).

After these general remarks concerning, and definitions of the nature of, participation and mystical extension, we shall give an account of a selection of North American Indian religious beliefs illustrating the viewpoints adduced. As has already been mentioned, the concrete extensions afford the best and most reliable instances if we desire to exemplify a genuine mystical extension. We shall therefore begin with these.

First and foremost, of course, the parts of the individual's own

[8] Cf. above, p. 29.

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body are the bearers of his essence, and they continue to be so even after their eventual separation from the rest of the body. It is upon this view that much malicious black magic is based: that which is inflicted upon the nail, the saliva, the after-birth, a single hair and so forth, is inflicted also upon the individual to whom these elements have belonged.[9] Even a dead man is, in his kind, a living being, whose essence leavens all parts of him, even if they no longer belong together with his form.[10] Even such a radically transformed "product of the personality" as the ashes from a funeral pyre contains the individual essence of the deceased person.[11] It thus appears quite natural that the bones of deceased persons have often been used as instruments in North American Indian witchcraft.

Among the extensions most closely connected with the individual are to be noted especially the blood and the hair. In North America the blood, curiously enough, has played a rather unimportant rôle as an incarnation of the individual's essence. Blood-brotherhood, for example, has been extremely rare.[12] Yet the blood has nevertheless not been entirely without significance as individual essence. The Huron used to mix their blood with that of a slain enemy, whereby they believed they would acquire a mystical knowledge of the approaching movements of enemy forces and a chance of avoiding the risk of a surprise attack.[13] The Keres presumably believed that is was possible to impersonate an individual by rubbing oneself with his blood.[14] Many Indian peoples consider the blood to be the seat of mystical qualities.[15]

A far more important mystical extension in North America is the hair. The Ingalik consider the hair to be a mystical entity: it must not be burnt, nor must it be cut if its owner suffers from hemorrhages.[16] Among the Tlingit, the shaman's hair must never be cut.[17] The Sinkaietk believe that the individual risks his life by letting his hair fall into an open grave.[18] The hair has probably been conceived as a mystical extension among the Cherokee.[19] From the Omaha, Fletcher reports that "the hair of a person was popularly believed to have a vital connection

[9] See the collection of examples in Frazer 1949, 223 sqq. (chap. 21).
[10] Cf. Frazer 1936 III, 261.
[11] See e.g. Powers 1877, 328 sq., 329 sq. (the Nisenan).
[12] This has emerged from H. Tegnaeus's researches (Tegnaeus 1952, 40 sqq.).
[13] JR X, 227 sq.
[14] Parsons 1939 I, 245. Cf. also the Okanagon (Allison 1892, 316).
[15] Cf. above, p. 167 note 105.
[16] Chapman 1921, 305.
[17] Holmberg 1855, 71.
[18] Spier 1938, 168.
[19] Mooney & Olbrechts 1932, 141.

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with the life of the body, so that anyone becoming possessed of a lock of hair might work his will on the individual from whom it came. In the light of customs that obtained among the people the hair, under certain conditions, might be said to typify life".[20] In their four-soul system the Dakota have also included the tuft of hair, "the small bundle of hair of the deceased", which is properly speaking a mystical part of the individual that is made to incarnate him in the cult after death.[21] The Luiseño use the same word for "hair" and "spirit".[22] What Spier adduces concerning popular beliefs among the Diegueño as regards the hair is enlightening: "Hair clippings, if not used in the manufacture of the cord with which the hair is bound, are burned, for should their owner die he would cry to see his hair blowing about. Another reason for burning them, and nail parings as well, is that a shaman may use them to cause their owner to become insane and die. A man gathers his wife's combings for this reason and also because the shaman may attract the wife".[23]

In all of these cases the hair is primarily a mystical extension of the individual; that it finds a place, secondarily, in the soul-beliefs of the Dakota is a consequence of their shaman speculation. The hair may be referred to as "spirit", but it does not fulfil any soul-function. If James, on the basis of North American material presented by Yarrow, thinks he is able to reconstruct a belief in soul-substance in the hair, this interpretation only helps to confuse the issue.[24] For in so far as the living individual is referred to, one must distinguish between *soul* and *essence*. Not even a physical potency such as the life-soul is in North America considered to have its abode in the hair.[25]

That a deceased person and his extensions are sometimes accorded complete identity is another matter; thus among the Dakota, Ojibway and Cree the hair of a dead person is regarded as a completely adequate representative for the person himself in the ritual usages after his death.[26] The reason is clear enough: the pack of hair is a substitute for what was a short time previously the living, concrete person, and the

[20] Fletcher & La Flesche 1911, 124.
[21] Lynd 1889, 155. Cf. above, pp. 119 sqq.
[22] Du Bois 1908, 140, 163; cf. op.cit., 109 and note 89. See also Kroeber 1925, 679.
[23] Spier 1923, 315.
[24] James 1927, 348 note 30; cf. Yarrow 1881, 159 sqq.
[25] See above, pp. 176 sq.
[26] The Dakota (see above, p. 120, notes 36, 37); Ojibway (P. Grant, quoted in Bushnell 1927, 3; Kohl 1859 I, 150 sqq.; McLean 1892, 32; Densmore 1929, 77 sq.; Jenness 1935, 106 sq.; Coleman 1937, 56); Cree (Kane 1925, 87; Mandelbaum 1940, 249 sq., 278 sq.).

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tender feelings that were once given to the physical individual are now transferred to his representative made of hair, "the spirit bundle". The consequence of such trains of thought is, accordingly, that the hair is invested with an independence and with an independent activity that it lacked during the individual's life-time. It shares this post-mortal property with other extensions. Teit writes of the Thompson River Indians: "The toe or finger nail, hair of the head, or any bone of the body of a dead man, may assume the form of a ghost, and pursue persons".[27] The "hair-soul" of the Eastern Dakota becomes, after the ritual for the dead "a roving, restless spirit".[28] Conceptions like these are above all connected with the scalp of the dead person, which is a complete representative for its former owner.[29] In the Southwest especially, it is given a remarkable personal colouring: the scalp lives, screams, makes its wishes known, accepts sacrifices etc.; indeed, even coitus is practised with it. It would, however, take us too far from our immediate subject to go into detail concerning the numerous accounts of these beliefs.

We shall, instead, proceed to consider another group of the concrete extensions of the living individual, excrements and secretions. The best data come from western Canada and the Yukon; and it is in the same regions that we hear in the legends of excrements that speak and give warnings.[30] The already mentioned Ingalik declare: "The afterbirth is a part of the body and you would not want to destroy it, just as when you cut yourself, you wipe off the blood with shavings and place the shavings in the fork of a tree".[31] Chapman writes that the Ingalik have "the notion of special virtue residing in the secretions and in various parts of the body, as the hair, heart, and so on".[32] "The sputum of a consumptive must not be burned, for it will take away some of his vitality. Old people sometimes put their spittle into the mouths of children to bring them good luck".[33] Also the Kwakiutl affirm that the spittle is a part of the person; a wizard who has collected a dose of another person's spittle can kill him with it.[34]

[27] Teit 1900, 358.
[28] Lynd, op.cit., 156.
[29] Friederici 1906, 15; Parsons 1924 b, 6. Cf. e.g. the Nambé (Parsons 1929, 138). The scalp might also represent a living collective, i.e. the enemy; this was the case among the Yuma (Forde 1931, 166).
[30] Bogoras 1902, 682.
[31] Parsons 1921—22, 51 sq. The custom of carefully hiding and burying the placenta is very widespread in North America.
[32] Chapman, op.cit., 303.
[33] Chapman, op.cit., 305. Cf. Parsons, op.cit., 70 ("spittle is a part of you").
[34] Niblack 1890, 354.

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The Sinkaietk regard as being in the same category—i.e. as mystical extensions—the shadow, the perspiration, the saliva, the hair, the underclothes etc. An enemy who had got any of these appurtenances in his power was in a position to destroy their owner; "the victim lost his property, fell into consumption, and died".[35]

Among the Diegueño, "a shaman may gather the dirt in which one spits and place it on a red ants' nest so that the victim will die of 'tuberculosis'. Or he may gather the dirt which has been urinated on, or the faeces, thus stopping the functions of the bowels, when death ensues".[36]

In the foregoing cases the excrements have been regarded as extensions of the individual, not as souls. But among the Cherokee, who have, as we know, a well-developed unitary soul-concept, the soul and the essence inherent in the excrements were, by all the evidence, considered equivalent. In an annihilating black magic formula the sorcerer says: "Your spittle I have put at rest under the earth. Your soul I have put at rest under the earth . . . When darkness comes your spirit shall grow less and dwindle away, never to reappear". A tube containing, inter alia, the victim's spittle and worms is buried under the roots of a tree blasted by lightning. The victim "feels the effects in himself at once, and, unless he employs the countercharms of some more powerful shaman, his soul begins to shrivel up and dwindle, and within seven days he is dead".[37] Mooney seems to be of the opinion that this combination of soul and extension is original. His pronouncement deserves to be quoted in its entirety: "It is not possible to find any definite opinions (among the Cherokee) as to whether the name, the shadow, or any other part of the individual is considered a part of his soul, or in exactly what relation they stand to a person. There can, however, hardly be any doubt but that the name, the shadow, the liver, the crown of the head, or perhaps a particular hair, or a particular lock (the scalp lock?) on the crown of the head, all were once believed to be intimately associated with the soul, either as parts of it or as abiding places for it".[38] Mooney has here stirred up in one bowl a number of heterogeneous conceptual elements whose only common basis is the association to the individual. Some of these elements are, however, substantial parts of the individual; it is difficult to understand how they should from the beginning have had any identity with the unitary soul-conception that Mooney pre-

[35] Spier 1938, 168.
[36] Spier 1923, 315.
[37] Mooney 1891, 391 sqq.
[38] Mooney & Olbrechts, op.cit., loc.cit.

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supposes as original. No doubt it is only in later times that soul and extension have come to coincide.

The third and last group of concrete extensions comprises objects or living entities that through contact with the individual partake of his essence, fall within the sphere of his individuality.[39] As a rule it is persons endowed with supernatural powers, and especially dead people, who are able in this way to incorporate foreign objects with themselves. A manifestation of this popular view is the custom according to which a person's property is destroyed when he dies. In a controversy with Frazer, McGee and Farrand, Bendann establishes the natural causes of this custom, so widespread also in North America. The objects, she writes, which most frequently came into contact with the individual during his lifetime, especially his clothes and personal possessions, "are so saturated with his personality that they are regarded as primarily identified with the deceased".[40] This view is not new, but through the participation theories it has been given a firm foundation. As early as 1884 Fletcher communicated as a genuine Oglala belief that the clothing of a dead person "partakes of the individuality of the person".[41] It seems probable that other motivations, advanced by researchers or by the Indians themselves, are only elaborations of this underlying conception—the Indian rationalizations being in accordance with tradition and function within the cultural pattern.[42]

The sphere of death is extended not only over the objects, but also over the living persons that the deceased has had intimate contact with during his lifetime (or in his new existence). The result of this contact, as we know, is that the dead person drags the living with him. This effect may, however, be counteracted with suitable methods. One of these is to sacrifice parts of one's own body to the deceased, e.g. a finger-joint, the sacrifice being made according to the principle *pars pro toto*.[43] It is generally in connection with the rites following a death that the participation of the hair in the individual is actualized; cut off hair,

[39] In certain cases a foreign object may become an extension even without contact; see below § 21 (the life-token).

[40] Bendann 1930, 249 sq. An excellent practical instance of the tenability of the argument is given in Birket-Smith & de Laguna 1938, 165: the Eyak, who only bury with the dead person the belongings to which he has been particularly attached, are very careful not to expose them to wizards, who would through these objects be able to destroy the survivors.

[41] Fletcher 1884, 296.

[42] As Benedict has shown, the actual thought of participation in the moment of death, with its potential import of contagion and contamination to death, may in some cultures be reduced to negligibility (Benedict 1932, 7 sqq.).

[43] Cf. Tylor 1871 II, 363, Bendann, op.cit., 98.

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like the finger-joint, represents the whole of the mourner.[44] The remarkable thing about all such cases is that through the substitution of his own extension the living individual ceases to be the extension of a deceased person.

The concrete extensions we have so far discussed have had a certain permanence. A participation may, however, also be of a transient nature, as when the person in the cult plays the rôle of the god, and therewith partakes of his nature. An external cult-symbol may in this connection facilitate the transformation.[45] The kachina dancers in Cochiti, for example, "think that in putting the sacred mask on their head they take on the holy personality".[46] Such transformations often take place in the mythology, frequently in connection with some ritual act. In the tradition concerning the Bear Woman, scattered from the Indians in the Northwest to the Iroquois, we find, inter alia, the motif of a woman being transformed into a bear by putting on a bear-skin.[47] We shall later revert once more to the belief in transformation (§ 24).

As we have found, it is seldom that a concrete extension comes to gain currency as a soul. The extensions which are of a more immaterial nature, such as the shadow, the image and the name, may, on the other hand, sometimes figure as real souls, free-souls. The reason appears to be that in consequence of their etherial substance and bewildering resemblance to the free-soul (in appearance or significance), they come very close to the conception of the free-soul. We shall therefore devote a more careful attention to them in the following.[48]

[44] Bendann, op.cit., 95.

[45] Cf. below, p. 372.

[46] Dumarest 1919, 175. Cf. Fewkes 1897, 284 (the Hopi). Concerning the kachinas or katcinas, see above, p. 186.

[47] See e.g. this motif among the Bella Coola (Boas 1898 a, 111 sqq.) Cf. Thompson 1929, 345.

[48] Lévy-Bruhl mentions that among "les appartenances" there are some to which the "primitive" attaches exceptional importance, and of which the enemy tries to gain possession (Lévy-Bruhl 1927, 151). I have tried to find a remote resemblance between these extensions and the North American "coup", but without result. To "count coups"—the word signifies "blow", "stroke"—was the Indian custom, common on the Plains, of touching an enemy, generally a person who has just been killed, with the hand or with a stick (see Mooney in BBAE 30: 1, 1907, 354, Friederici, op.cit., 102, Mishkin 1940, 2, and—the best source—Grinnell 1910, 296 sqq. and passim). Evidently coups were not counted on decaying corpses (see Kroeber 1902—07, 23). This seems to show that we have here not to do with the idea of a person's "essence"; it confirms the old view that the coup was only a social achievement, a way of gaining points according to the scale of values in the war-system of the Plains culture.

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Both through its resemblance to the individual and through its intimate connection to him, the shadow is a part of the individual: it has his characteristic contours, and it is in constant, direct contact with him, when he is out in the sunshine.[1] In consequence of these properties, the shadow has two evolutionary tendencies: firstly, towards an ordinary free-soul, and secondly towards a double-ganger. These tendencies may be observed in different parts of the world.[2] We find them also among the Indians of North America.

There are, of course, statements to the effect that the shadow has not been placed in relation to man's soul or essence at all. Where such a "sober" view has been advanced, it has undoubtedly been acquired in modern times. Gifford reports of the Kamia that "the shadow was not related to the soul, nor was it a similar essence. A person could not be injured through his shadow".[3] We are not told, however, how the Kamia did conceive of the shadow. It is possible that an old tradition has been broken down without being replaced by a new one.

It is at all events very rarely that the shadow is considered as the natural phenomenon that it is: the dark space behind an object on which light is shining. Outside the circle of radically acculturated individuals, this insight seems not to occur at all. The Quileute constitute a possible exception.[4] Here and there, too, closer reflection has led individuals to relate sunlight and shadow. "When the sun shines, my shadow shows; when it ceases to shine perhaps it returns to my body", was the opinion of a Havasupai Indian. And a fellow-tribesman expressed the following supposition: "I think my shadow goes to the sun, because it fades as the sun ceases to shine".[5] De Angulo's assumption that the Achomawi saw the essential part of the shadow less in "la masse noire" than in "l'arrêt de la marche de la lumière" seems to be ill-founded.[6]

The shadow is thus for the most part understood as a mystical entity. The Wind River Shoshoni boast of having been able to conjure up shadows of themselves, against which their enemies have shot

[1] Cf. Lévy-Bruhl 1927, 161 sqq., 167, 185 sq.
[2] Arbman 1927, 123 sqq.
[3] Gifford 1931, 70.
[4] See below, p. 307.
[5] Spier 1928, 276. Also the Nomlaki believe that the shadow dwells inside the body (Goldschmidt 1951, 351).
[6] de Angulo 1928, 151, 576. Cf. P. W. Schmidt's judgement, op.cit., 141.

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without injuring them.[7] But as a rule the shadow has a mystical quality, even if its appearance does not betray anything uncommon or unexpected. Its normal function is sufficiently mystical nevertheless. The shadow, which independently of the individual's actions follows close upon his heels and imitates his actions, is a mystical extension to him. Examples of this may be adduced from all parts of North America, and in particular abundance from the Salish Indians. We shall give some of these data.

Among the Bella Coola the shadow is considered to be an extension of the individual, as emerges clearly from their fear of the shadows belonging to mourners at a death. Boas remarks of these mourners that "their shadows are considered unlucky, and must not fall on any person".[8] The ghost, which after death works mischief in the immediate surroundings of the living, seems to be identical with the shadow.[9] As we have pointed out earlier, the shadow presumably functioned as a mystical extension of the individual also among the Cowichan, though is was also given the character of a soul.[10] The shadow among the Sinkaietk was compared with sweat, hair, spittle and so forth, and was not permitted to fall in an open grave.[11] Of the Algonquin peoples, the Ottawa and Atsina saw in the shadow a mystical extension. The Ottawa believed that is was possible to kill a person by drawing annihilating pictures on his shadow; and according to Curtis the Atsina classified the shadow among the mystical potencies which had attained soul-dignity—whatever may be the value attachable to this statement.[12] Of the Indians of the Southeast, possibly the Cherokee understood the shadow as a mystical extension.[13] Some of the villagers on the Missouri, viz. the Hidatsa and Arikara, obviously regarded the shadow in the same way.[14] Whereas the Arikara vaguely indicate the character of the shadow as an entity of an almost spiritual kind, the Hidatsa include the physical shadow more definitely among their souls. Among the Paviotso the shadow appears to incorporate with itself everything it happens to fall upon. "If a person's shadow passes over a frog by day or night (moonlight), the frog will

[7] Hultkrantz 1951, 42 note 50. Cf. the Luiseño (Du Bois 1908, 126).
[8] Boas 1892, 419. Boas reports similar notions from the Shuswap and Thompson River Salish.
[9] Drucker 1950, 290. Opinion is divided concerning the relation of the shadow to the life-soul, which also becomes a ghost (McIlwraith 1948 I, 99, 497).
[10] See above, p. 123.
[11] Spier 1938, 168. Cf. Lyman 1904, 226.
[12] AAPF 1830 IV, 481; Curtis 1909 V, 119; cf. above, p. 82.
[13] Mooney & Olbrechts 1932, 141; cf. above, p. 299.
[14] Cf. above, pp. 91 (the Hidatsa), 134 (the Arikara).

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follow that person and get in bed with him".[15] Among the Pomo "the shadow of a person was supposed to be an integral part of the person". The Coast Central Pomo, for the rest, identified the shadow with "the spirit", i.e. one of the many mystical spirit-beings of animism.[16] A Navajo Indian has given an account of how he once found himself in a terrified state after an encounter with a ghost while on horseback on a moonlight night; he thought he was being chased by his own shadow, and was seized with horror.[17] Experiences like these have presumably contributed to invest the shadow with a mystical nimbus.

In some of the examples adduced here the shadow occurs also as a soul. Many investigators have not hesitated to regard shadow and soul —above all the free-soul—as identical. This is seldom motivated; for the "shadow-soul" and the shadow are as a rule quite different things. We have seen earlier that the free-soul is often referred to as the shadow, or is represented as a shadow.[18] This should not be taken to mean that the ordinary shadow of everyday experience is always identical with the free-soul; generally, as we pointed out, what is meant is that the appearance and airy consistency of the free-soul are shadow-like, i. e. remind one of the shadow.

Also the body-soul is sometimes likened to a shadow, although this is less characteristic; it should be borne in mind that all souls are close to the shadow, in consequence of their fluid, semi-immaterial nature (and some of them also on account of their temporary extra-physical appearance). We have seen that the Oglala refer to the free-soul with the same word with which they designate the shadow.[19] But the Oglala also declare that the life-soul, "like a shadow", dwells with the person until death, and that the guardian spirit—*sicun*—"is like one's shadow".[20] The Hidatsa classify the ego-soul as one of man's "shadows", i.e. souls.[21] And the undifferentiated body-soul of the Choctaw has, like the free-soul, been characterized as a shadow.[22]

It falls outside the scope of our subject to show here in detail how commonly also the dead are likened to shadows, either they pass "shadow-like" in the twilight among the living, or they lead their "shadow-life" in Hades. As Preuss has pointed out, the designation

[15] Kelly 1932, 200.
[16] Loeb 1926, 317.
[17] Wyman, Hill & Osanai 1942, 28 sq.
[18] See above, pp. 257 sqq.
[19] See above, p. 258.
[20] Walker 1917, 86, 158.
[21] Curtis 1909 IV, 143.
[22] See above, p. 88.

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"shadow" is as applied to a dead person secondary.[23] In some quarters, it is true, it is stressed that it is the physical shadow that after death becomes a ghost.[24] But as a rule there is no such identity; the Carrier for example, refer both to the free-soul of the living and to the deceased person as a shadow or shade, but the two conceptions are not even terminologically identical.[25] Among the Menomini, the dead person appears "like a shadow cast by the moonlight",[26] and the transformation of people at death is characterized with the words "they receive shades".[27] As may be seen, the shadow is here a metaphor, and there is no continuity between the shadow of the living individual and the "shade" of the deceased. And the same is the case in most other quarters in which the dead person is represented as a shadow.[28]

If we return to the souls of the living person, we can, actually, in some cases constate that the resemblance to the shadow does not imply (or need to imply) identity with the shadow; for in some of our sources a clear distinction is shown between the shadow-soul (i. e. the free-soul conceived as a shadow) and the shadow. Thus the Haida have different terms for soul and shadow.[29] The Kwakiutl liken the free-soul to the shadow, but they draw a clear distinction between the one and the other.[30] The Sinkaietk distinguish the shadow inseparable from the movements of the body from the freer shadow-soul.[31] The majority of the Quileute are of the opinion that the shadow "has no connection whatsoever with any of the souls".[32] Also the Penobscot appear to have had this view of the relation between soul and shadow.[33] The Blackfoot free-soul partakes of the nature of the shadow, but is not the shadow.[34] The Wind River Shoshoni do not consider the shadow together with their soul-conceptions.[35] The North Shoshoni and the Gosiute in the Great Basin

[23] Preuss 1929, 211 sq.
[24] Cf. above, the Bella Coola. See also Arbman, op.cit., 145 note 1.
[25] Jenness 1943, 535.
[26] Skinner 1920 a, 103.
[27] Skinner, op.cit., 112.
[28] It should scarcely be necessary to point out that the dead person has not—like the living—any shadow. Bogoras reports that it may also happen that wizards lack shadows—obviously because they sometimes act, precisely, as shadows, i.e. in the shape of the free-soul (cf. Bogoras 1925, 250).
[29] Swanton 1905 b, 34 note 1.
[30] Boas 1921 I, 717.
[31] Spier 1938, 168.
[32] Frachtenberg 1920, 337.
[33] Speck 1935 b, 18 note 1.
[34] Curtis 1911 VI, 82.
[35] Hultkrantz, op.cit., loc.cit.

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consider the shadow to be an independent phenomenon, without connection with either the soul or the ghost.[36] Nor do the Sinkyone question the distinction between soul (free-soul) and shadow: Nomland writes that "souls appeared like shadows of their owners but fresher and younger looking".[37] The River Patwin have different names for "soul" and "shadow"—in which connection the "shadow" is presumably identical with the physical shadow.[38] It is not possible to show any direct connection between soul and shadow among the Walapai, but the free-soul is described (and referred to?) as a shadow.[39] The Havasupai draw a terminological distinction between the shadows of animals and men on the one hand, and those of plants and other objects on the other hand; but none of these shadows has any relation whatsoever to the soul-beliefs.[40]

These examples are unequivocal enough. And yet it does happen—among other groups than those mentioned above—that the free-soul and the physical shadow merge to form one conception—a fusion that gives the free-soul pith and concretion. The shadow then appears, as Arbman has reminded us, not as "ein selbständiges Wesen im Verhältnis zu anderen Formen der Psyche", but as the visible manifestation of the free-soul, identical with the free-soul.[41] This also implies that the shadow will give expression, in a far higher degree than a regular mystical extension, to the individual's conscious personality, his ego.[42]

The causes of this amalgamation between the free-soul and the shadow have already been mentioned.[43] The shadow resembles the free-soul, and it shares the latter's semi-material consistency.[44] "Shadows and reflections on water partake of these unsubstantial, fleeting characteristics of the image of the person", Boas reminds us.[45] It would be a mistake, however, to believe that the shadow has given rise to the idea of the free-soul, or that the free-soul was at first identical with the shadow. In the foregoing we have seen, on the contrary, that the free-soul has developed out of inner experiences, and that is was not originally a detached "double", but the person

[36] Steward 1943, 287.
[37] Nomland 1935, 169.
[38] Kroeber 1932 a, 288.
[39] Kroeber 1935, 148, 231.
[40] Spier 1928, 276.
[41] Arbman, op.cit., 145.
[42] Cf. Lévy-Bruhl 1927, 188. Cf. also op.cit., 161, 169.
[43] See above, p. 301.
[44] Cf. Lowie 1934, 306.
[45] Boas 1940 b, 605.

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himself. The shadow must, if it is understood as a free-soul, at least during the day function as a "double".

Certain pronouncements by individual Indians who have devoted some consideration to the nature of the shadow seem to reveal how the association between shadow and soul may grow up. "The Quileute", writes Frachtenberg, "are aware of the fact that the shadow of a person is caused by the sun. A majority of my informants claimed that is has no connection whatsoever with any of the souls; one, however, ventured the suggestion that it may in some way be related to the outer soul".[46] The similarity in appearance and substance seems here to have motivated the connection. The Havasupai Indians hint at the notion that at nightfall the shadow disappears into the body or—like the free-soul—goes off by itself somewhere. "When the sun shines, my shadow shows; when it ceases to shine perhaps it returns to my body". "At night it may be with me, or may have gone off somewhere; I do not know".[47] The identification with the free-soul which wanders about at night when its owner is sleeping is here, so to speak, temptingly near to hand.[48]

How often, then, does the fusion between free-soul and shadow referred to above occur? The question is not easy to answer, as the available data are frequently so scanty that no clear impression is derived from them. It should also be borne in mind that even if the free-soul is called the shadow, this does not mean to say that the two things are identical. The following cases, however, strike me as indicative. Osgood reports that among the Kutchin the shadow is conceived as an independent spirit—obviously a free-soul.[49] Among the Slave "death was recognized as the loss of the individual's shadow".[50] Jenness assures us that the Sarcee regarded the shadow and the soul (the free-soul?) as identical.[51] The Ojibway on Parry Island, it is true, consider that the shadow-soul—referred to as the shadow—is for the most part invisible; but it is sometimes described in such a way that it appears to be identical with the real shadow.[52] Among the Fox the outer soul, which "is like a shadow in the daytime", is possibly identical with the shadow.[53] Among the Iroquois in Ontario the shadow

[46] Frachtenberg, op.cit., loc.cit.
[47] Spier 1928, loc.cit.
[48] Cf. also Read 1925, 84.
[49] Osgood 1936, 157.
[50] Honigmann 1946, 86. Cf. op.cit., 134.
[51] Jenness 1938, 39.
[52] Jenness 1935, 19 sq.
[53] Michelson 1925, 358.

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appears to have been one of the free-souls.[54] The "outside shadow" of the Choctaw, which always follows the person, is perhaps also the shadow functioning as a free-soul.[55] One of the free-souls among the Wintu is, as we have seen, nothing other than the physical shadow.[56] If our interpretation of the soul-belief of the Yuma is correct, the shadow appears here in the rôle of the free-soul.[57]

In this connection the soul-conceptions of the Mandan constitute a special case. The four souls have *all* been represented as real shadows. That the body-soul directly coincides with the shadow is not reported from any other quarter.[58] Curtis has made the important observation that the word for soul—common to all the four souls—does not signify shadow, but "has grown to be identified with the shadow of man".[59] This circumstance is in agreement with our view, advanced earlier in the foregoing, concerning the origin of the soul-shadow.

Among some peoples, the Atsina, Mandan, Hidatsa and Cowichan, the shadow has been invested with the dignity of a soul without, however, being identified with any of the true souls.[60] Among the three last-mentioned tribes, as we have tried to show, this situation has probably been brought about by four-soul speculation.[61]

If the free-soul is compared—or, better, is identified—with the physical shadow, this may have special consequences: the shadow-soul is developed into a double-ganger, or it becomes automatically a double-ganger—the last eventuality arises if an actual identification comes about. By double-ganger we mean here a relatively independent free-soul, which may absent itself from its owner when he is awake without his experiencing any ill-effects. It is quite obvious that the shadow has powerfully contributed to the origin of the double-ganger conception.[62]

We have devoted a special discussion to the double-ganger (§ 23). We shall therefore restrict ourselves here to some illustrative examples of the connection between the shadow and the double-ganger. The Polar Eskimo, according to Rasmussen, regard the soul as an immortal

[54] See above, p. 85.
[55] Swanton 1931, 216.
[56] See above, p. 30.
[57] See above, p. 101.
[58] We have earlier criticized Cline's view that the shadow is the vital principle among the Sinkaietk (see above, p. 67).
[59] Curtis 1909 V, 19.
[60] The Atsina (Curtis, op.cit., 119); Mandan (Curtis, op.cit., 19); Hidatsa (Curtis 1909 IV, 143); Cowichan (Boas 1894 b, 461 sq.).
[61] See particularly the discussion concerning the Cowichan soul-beliefs, above, p.123.
[62] Cf. Lévy-Bruhl, op.cit., 169; Arbman, op.cit., 123 note 4.

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essence which follows man as our shadows follow us in the sunshine.[63] The Ojibway hold similar views concerning their shadow-soul or shadow. "When a man is travelling his shadow goes before or behind him; normally it is in front, nearer to his destination".[64] Also the Wintu free-soul follows its owner when he is on a journey—perhaps a half or a whole day's march behind him.[65] The chief among the free-souls of the Mohave, "the real shadow", stands as a rule behind its owner.[66]

A real double-ganger becomes the shadow-soul when it is freed from its attachment to its owner's movements; or when, in other words, it changes its activity from that of a passive companion to that of an active, dynamic spirit, half and half as its owner's protector. The so-called shadow of the Ojibway, for instance, is not only an attendant being, but also a spirit which even during its owner's waking hours may be wandering far away from him.[67]

19. The soul represented in pictures

Like man's shadow, his image, too, may reveal his person or essence. By "image" we mean here in the first place a representation on a plane surface—a photograph, a painting, a mirrored reflection in the surface of water. Plastic representations may of course also have the same mystical value in relation to the person depicted as pictorial representations on a plane surface.[1] Here, however, we shall only discuss the latter, since these are sometimes identified with the free-soul of the living individual.[2]

[63] Rasmussen 1905, 121; Rasmussen 1925, 15.
[64] Jenness 1935, 19.
[65] Du Bois 1935, 77.
[66] Devereux 1937, 418.
[67] Jenness, op.cit., 20.

[1] Two instances: The Indians of the Northwest know a tale of how a man (hunter, chief) has his dead wife represented graphically in a wooden statue (Boas 1916, 744 sqq.; cf. also Thompson 1929, 357 sq.: "Image comes to life"). According to the Tlingit version, the deceased half comes to life in the statue (Swanton 1909, 181 sq.). At the annual mourning ceremony among the Maidu we find spirit-dolls whose appearance resembles that of the deceased as far as is possible; they are considered to contain the spirits of the dead, and an insult to them has fatal consequences (Kroeber 1925, 431 sq.).

[2] In research the free-soul is often referred to as the "image-soul" (German: Bildseele). By this is meant simply that it looks like an image of its owner.

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If it is difficult to indicate exactly whether the shadow is a soul or only an extension of the individual, it is still more difficult to establish which of these meanings the image has. Lévy-Bruhl has particularly stressed the identity of the image with that which it represents, i. e. he has emphasized its function of mystical extension. The image, he says, is more than a reproduction of the original: "en vertu d'une participation intime, l'image, comme l'appartenance, est consubstantielle à l'individu".[3] From this it follows that if the image is destroyed, the person represented by it will die.[4] Boas has pointed out how natural and self-evident may be the connection between the object *in natura* and the object *in effigie*.[5] One need not have recourse to the soul-belief to explain this connection.

But the image, like the shadow, has qualities which naturally remind one of the soul—that is to say, the free-soul. For Lévy-Bruhl, both soul and image are participation phenomena; consequently, it is in his opinion pointless to try to ascertain whether the image is a soul or a mystical extension.[6] Frazer does not discuss the problem, although he obviously realizes that the image is now identical with the individual as a totality, and now identical with a part of the individual.[7] His reserve is understandable. It is probably wisest to venture no more than the assertion that in several instances the image *may* be the free-soul.[8]

The North American material supports this conclusion. Everywhere in North America the image has been considered to bear a mystical relation to its original. Most of the available data do not, however, afford any precise information as to the nature of this relation. This is perhaps partly connected with the fact that our data are for the most part restricted to a mention of the Indians' reactions in the moment when they have been painted or photographed. But also in those cases in which the Indians have been directly questioned concerning their views of the nature and import of the image, we are in the majority of instances left without any definitive information. Fixed notions are rather generally lacking. One or another of the Indians has perhaps pondered unasked on the connection between image and original; the majority have certainly not done so. In the following we shall find

[3] Lévy-Bruhl 1927, 186; cf. Lévy-Bruhl 1922, 44 sq.
[4] Lévy-Bruhl 1927, 294.
[5] Boas 1927, 3.
[6] Lévy-Bruhl, op.cit., 161.
[7] Frazer 1927, 96.
[8] Cf. Arbman 1927, 126.

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how the significance of the image glides from mystical extension to free-soul.

The greater part of our source-material, as has been mentioned, records the Indians' reactions on the occasions when they have been photographed or otherwise pictorially represented without their consent. In a number of cases this material throws light only upon individual behaviour in front of the camera and easel; in other cases we also get to know their ideological motives for this behaviour.[9] Various consequences of the pictorial representation are adduced; but what is especially stressed is the unhappy sequel for the subject of the portrait.[10] The photographer or the painter, on the other hand, runs no such risk.[11] The "dangerousness" thus lies not in the actual making of the portrait, but in the mystical connection between picture and original. Where this is more precisely referred to, one glimpses both the free-soul and the mystical extension.

It is important for us to keep the viewpoints here adduced in mind when we now proceed to consider the most representative data.[12]

From the Eskimo at Bering Strait Nelson reports that they "believe that persons dealing in witchcraft have the power of stealing a person's *inua* or shade, so that it will cause him to pine away and die". He himself was taken for a stealer of souls when he once set up his camera in a village on the lower Yukon. At his own request the headman of the village was given permission to peep under the black cloth; he saw his kinsmen in the glass, flung off the cloth and ejaculated: "He has all of your shades in this box". Panic ensued, and all the Eskimo rushed into their houses.[13]

Paul Kane's experiences as a painter among the peoples around the

[9] It should scarcely be necessary to point out that the motives are in many cases not conscious.

[10] This dread of pictorial representation occurs, as Frazer has pointed out, in all parts of the world; see especially Lagercrantz's detailed discussion of the subject as regards Africa (Lagercrantz 1940, 390 sqq.; see references to the literature in op.cit., note 1).

[11] It is, however, dangerous to have in one's possession a picture of a person who has died. To this day the Southern Ute destroy pictures representing deceased persons (Opler 1940, 190), and the Zuni also remove such pictures, probably because they give rise to a perilous longing for the dead (Parsons 1916, 253 and note 4). The Blood, too, are afraid of pictures of ghosts (McLean 1892, 38). Among the Dakota, only persons who have dreamed of ghosts dare to draw them—it is said that such a person draws his own spirit as it will look after his death (Dorsey 1894, 486 sq., 497; cf. also Dorsey 1889 c, 145).

[12] The data from Kane, Wied and Catlin given below are classical of their kind, and have been in part reproduced by Andree (Andree 1889, 18 sq.).

[13] Nelson 1899, 422.

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Strait of Georgia and Puget Sound give evidence of the same fear among the natives of being pictorially represented, but the motives vary. Among the Chinook, Kane's skill as a painter was ascribed to a supernatural gift. "I found", writes Kane, "that, in looking at my pictures, they always covered their eyes with their hands and looked through the fingers; this being also the invariable custom when looking at a dead person".[14] A Nootka Indian kept careful watch on all Kane's doings, to see that he did not paint his fellow-tribesmen, who might thereby be exposed to "all sorts of ill luck". When Kane threatened to paint his portrait if he would not be off he promised not to give any more trouble.[15] Among the Cowichan, Kane met an Indian with a medicine-cap that he wished to draw. Its owner resisted this, however; he did not wish the cap to be drawn "without himself accompanying it, for fear it might be deprived of some of its magical properties".[16] A woman whose portrait Kane had painted died shortly after his visit; it was then presumed that he was the cause of her death.[17] A Snohomish Indian whose form Kane had caught with his pencil asked him seriously whether he was not now risking his life. The Indian stubbornly followed Kane about until, in order to get rid of him, Kane took out a copy of the drawing that he had made for the purpose and tore it up in his presence, pretending that it was the original.[18] Kane also painted a Cayuse Indian, who, however, was afraid that the picture would be handed over to the Americans, whom he hated bitterly, "superstitiously fancying that their possessing it would put him in their power". Kane was finally forced to fly with the portrait, which the Indian—"the most savage I ever beheld"—wanted to throw into the fire.[19] Kane's general impression was that the Indians most often refused to allow their portraits to be painted, as they believed that they would otherwise suffer some injury.[20]

Kane had similar experiences from his painting activities among the Ojibway and Saulteaux. An Ojibway girl from Lake St. Clair would not sit for him as a model, although her father insisted upon it; "her repugnance proceeded from a superstitious belief that by so doing she would place herself in the power of the possessor of what is regarded

[14] Kane 1925, 138 sq.
[15] Kane, op.cit., 150.
[16] Kane, op.cit., 154.
[17] Kane, op.cit., 177.
[18] Kane, op.cit., 166 sq.
[19] Kane, op.cit., 195.
[20] Kane, op.cit., 196. Cf. Lyman 1904, 226.

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by an Indian as a second self".[21] When Kane had made a sketch of a Saulteaux Indian the latter's fellow-tribesmen laughed so much at the picture that the model became irritated, and demanded that Kane should destroy, or at least hide, it.[22] A Saulteaux maiden was frightened at being painted, for her mother was afraid it would shorten her daughter's life.[23]

Also other Algonquin tribes have reacted, according to the statements of other writers, in this way. Thus the Pottawatomi do not want to be photographed, and any photographers they may encounter have their cameras smashed.[24] The Cheyenne shared this attitude, "because they believed that when the picture was taken away the life of the subject was taken away too, and the actual man would die. They regarded the photographic print as the man's shadow".[25] McLean observed that the Blackfoot "seemed to feel that part of their personality left them and was reproduced in the photograph".[26] Bodmer, the Prince of Wied's celebrated painter, was not able to paint the portrait of a certain Blackfoot Indian, as the latter asserted that it would cause his speedy death.[27]

Another celebrated painter of Indian subjects was George Catlin, even if his reputation is due less to his artistic ability than to his keen power of observation, which from the ethnological viewpoint has made his sketches invaluable. What Catlin has to relate of his experiences as a painter among the Iroquois and Sioux is in places in complete agreement, in other places completely at variance, with the testimony adduced in the foregoing. An Iroquois chief whose picture Catlin painted considered that through the portrait the latter would "make him live after he was dead"—a viewpoint that is more seldom advanced by the Indians.[28]

The keenest attention was aroused by Catlin's art among the Mandan. "They said", he relates, "I had made *living beings*,—they said they could see their chiefs alive, in two places—those that I had made were a *little* alive—they could see their eyes move—could see them smile and laugh, and that if they could laugh they could certainly speak, if

[21] Kane, op.cit., 3.
[22] Kane, op.cit., 55.
[23] Kane, op.cit., 69.
[24] W. Metzdorf in Blair 1912 II, 292.
[25] Grinnell 1923 II, 94.
[26] McLean, op.cit., 39. In another place the same author remarks that "the people think that some virtue goes from the person into the picture" (McLean, op.cit., 89).
[27] Wied 1839 I, 417.
[28] Catlin 1841 II, 107.

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[illegible] and they must therefore have some use in them". Catlin was asked if he "could draw from the original something of its existence" so that its life could be destroyed, if it was after its death it would have no power.[30] Among Catlin's models was a medicine-man who all the time he was being painted was "singing his medicine-song which he said was saving patient, making the skin of the face until it completed its picture".[31] When Catlin had left the Mandan village he was pursued by lamentations and accused of being the cause with his "medicine" of a young girl's dying at peace.[32] "The picture which you made of her is too much like her—you put so much of her into it that when your boat took it away from our village, it drew a part of her life away with it".[33]

Like the Mandan, the Dakota Sioux considered that after death they would be more at peace if no picture of them existed.[34] Nevertheless, an Indian who had survived the death of one of Catlin's models appreciated finding the deceased preserved—"alive"—in Catlin's portrait gallery.[35] These Sioux do not seem to have had any immediate or considered view of the consequences the painting might have, as is shown by the conflicting opinions at the solemn council meeting which was held during Catlin's stay among the Dakota. One Indian said, more than of Catlin: "He has taken our chiefs away, and he can trouble their spirits when they are dead"—they will be unhappy. If he can make them alive by looking at them, he can do us much harm"—you will see that they are not alive—we see their eyes move—their eyes follow us wherever we go, that is enough." One medicine-man, on the other hand, was very concerned that Catlin had painted his portrait: "I am very glad to see that I shall live after I am dead." He added the following remarks: "I know that this man put many of our buffaloes in his book for I was with him, and we have had no buffaloes since to eat".[36] But however opinion may differ concerning the consequences of painting portraits, one thing remains sure: the picture is the model himself.

Later reports confirm that this had been the view of the Sioux Indians. Densmore relates that a Teton Dakota who had been given a picture representing President Wilson sent a message to the president, in

[30] Catlin, op.cit., I, 107 sq. Cf. Wied 1841 II, 166.
[31] Catlin, op.cit., 111.
[32] Catlin, op.cit., II, 181 sq.
[33] Catlin, op.cit., I, 226.
[34] Catlin, op.cit., 224 note; cf. op.cit., 221 note.
[35] Catlin, op.cit., II, 193 sq.; cf. op.cit., 190.

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which he said he had felt that the president had been his guest during the time he had had the picture with him.[35] Dorsey considers that the Dakota aversion to having their pictures taken is explained by their belief in several souls.[36] Dorsey states that he "has been told that for many years no Yankton Dakota would consent to have his picture taken lest one of his 'wanagi' should remain in the picture, instead of going after death to the spirit land".[37]

The older Wind River Shoshoni still refuse to allow themselves to be photographed. In the majority of cases no motive for this is given. But in the opinion of some, a person is "shot" when he is photographed, and does not live for long after this.[38] Also among the Ute, older persons refuse to let themselves be photographed, as "this makes a person die quickly".[39] The photographing of the great mourning ceremony of the Diegueño destroys its aim: the spirits of the dead are bound to the earth instead of being set free to go to the realm of the dead.[40] The Zuni are of the opinion that a person who has been photographed must die.[41] Lumholtz tells us of the reactions of two Piman peoples, the Papago and Tepehuano, to photographing: both of these peoples feel great dread lest a part of the individual be carried off by the photographer.[42]

The material adduced here gives clear indications of the consequences of pictorial representation that the Indians have imagined possible. Generally it led—sooner or later—to the loss of life for the person so represented. By binding the dead person to his old existence during his lifetime it gave rise, indirectly, to ghostly disturbances. Another common consequence of making a portrait of a person has been that the model's destiny has been placed in the hands of the artist. A less common reaction was that the model considered himself to have been "eternalized".

What is chiefly of interest to us, however, is the extent to which the foregoing material throws light upon the problem of the import of the pictorial representation. It is obvious that the association between the picture and the person depicted is more felt than clearly conceived

[35] Densmore 1929, 79 sq.
[36] Dorsey 1893, 298.
[37] Dorsey 1889 c, 143; Dorsey 1894, 484.
[38] Hultkrantz Ms.
[39] Opler 1940, 190.
[40] Davis 1919, 15.
[41] Parsons 1916, 253.
[42] Lumholtz 1912, 61 (the Papago); Lumholtz 1902 I, 459 sq. (the Tepehuano).

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[illegible] and they must therefore have *some life* in them [illegible] was asked to be "taking away from the original something [illegible] so that his life could be destroyed, or so that after h[illegible] would have no peace.[29] Among Catlin's models was a medicine-[illegible] who at the time he was being painted was "singing his medicine [illegible] which he sings over his dying patient, looking me full in the fac[illegible] completed his picture".[30] When Catlin had left the Mandan [illegible] he was pursued on horseback and accused of being the cause [illegible] "medicine" of a young girl's lying at death's door: "The [illegible] which you make of her is too much like her—you put so much [illegible] that when your boat took it away from our village [illegible] part of her life away with it".[31]

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[illegible] confirm that this had been the view of the Sioux [illegible] relates that a Teton Dakota who had been given a [illegible] President Wilson sent a message to the president, in

[illegible] Cf. Wied 1841 II, 166.

[illegible], 111.

[illegible], II, 181 sq.

[illegible], I, 226.

[illegible], 224 note; cf. op.cit., 221 note.

[illegible], II, 193 sq.; cf. op.cit., 190.

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20. *The name*

The name-customs of the North American Indians, the way in which the names are used and the conceptions connected with them are so numerous and varying that they could provide material for many treatises. We are not here called upon to devote a detailed consideration to names like names of persons and titles, private names and collective names, and so forth; our task will be to establish the relation between the individual and his name. Should this relation be conceived as a *participation mystique;* is the name an extension of the person, is it a soul? It is problems of this kind that we shall be discussing in the sequel.[1]

The degree of the name's association to, and significance for, the individual varies, of course, very much in different quarters of North America.

That the name *may* often be a significant part of its bearer, with a kind of mystical substance and semi-independence emerges from the reports of the ethnologists. Birket-Smith reports that among the Caribou Eskimo "names are looked upon as a rather separate part of man".[2] Among the Inland Salish, "a name was regarded as a part of the individual".[3] Loeb thinks he has established that "the Pomo believed the name of a being to be an integral part of the being himself".[4] Spence finds that among the Mexicans the name "was regarded as part of the individuality, and through it the ego might be injured. This belief is general among the aboriginal peoples of both Americas".[5] Mooney, too, stresses the continental distribution of this belief in North America: "The Indian regards his name, not as a mere label, but as a distinct part of his personality, just as much as are his eyes or his teeth, and believes that injury will result as surely from the malicious handling of his name as from a wound inflicted on any part of his physical organism. This belief was found among the various tribes from the Atlantic to the

[1] A number of the problems that are dealt with in the following have recently been discussed in a meritorious article by L. H. Charles (see Charles 1951). Miss Charles bases her investigation of the name-ritual on the comprehensive material in Human Relations Area Files (Cross-Cultural Survey), Institute of Human Relations, Yale University.

[2] Birket-Smith 1929 I, 282.

[3] Curtis 1911 VII, 75.

[4] Loeb 1926, 315.

[5] Spence 1910 a, 561.

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—it has at all events in no case been definitely rendered in a concise form of expression or been given a fixed conceptual interpretation. For the most part it is believed that it is the "life"—not the life-soul, but the capacity to live—of which a large or small or indefinite portion has been transferred to the picture (cf. Catlin's notes from the Mandan and Dakota).[43] In this way the picture comes to participate in the person's nature, or else it becomes identical with the soul which has the capacity to appear outside the body. The picture thus oscillates between several shifting, vaguely defined significances: it is a mystical extension (the Blackfoot, Mandan, Papago), spiritual essence of floating import (the Chinook and others), free-soul (the Eskimo, Ojibway, Cheyenne, Dakota). That part of our source-material which deals with the Indians' view of the essential nature of pictorial representation thus confirms that in the picture they have seen an individual essence that has been connected with the original, now as free-soul, now as mystical extension.[44]

A final confirmation of the correctness of this conclusion is obtained if we examine the notes directly reproducing Indian pronouncements concerning the content of the mirror-image; here, too, free-soul and extension form the alternatives.[45] "See-soul-metal" is what the Naskapi call the mirror in their own language; the designation used for "soul" is identical with *atca'kʷ*, the shadow-soul.[46] From the Cheyenne Grinnell reports that "in early days when little trade mirrors were first received, many people refused to look into them, because they would see their shadows, and bad luck would follow".[47] Among some Shoshoni in Utah, "some men had mirrors on their walls in which they captured men's souls when they slept".[48] On the other hand, Kelly tells us the following concerning the Paviotso view of the water-reflex: "Great hilarity resulted from a suggestion that it might be the soul. Pindy said, 'They never say what it is they see but it is *not* the soul' ".[49] According to Spier, the Havasupai do not connect the image reflected in water with the soul either, and "the attitude to the mirrored image is our own".[50]

[43] Concerning life as the quality of existing, see above, p. 160.
[44] Cf. Densmore, op.cit., 79.
[45] Cline is of the opinion that the water-reflex of the Sinkaietk Indian was believed to represent his soul; but it is not clear which soul is referred to, or even whether any soul at all, in the sense in which we have used it here, is referred to (Spier 1938, 168).
[46] Speck 1935 a, 41.
[47] Grinnell 1923 II, 94.
[48] Steward 1943, 285.
[49] Kelly 1932, 199.
[50] Spier 1928, 276.

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20. *The name*

The name-customs of the North American Indians, the way in which the names are used and the conceptions connected with them are so numerous and varying that they could provide material for many treatises. We are not here called upon to devote a detailed consideration to names like names of persons and titles, private names and collective names, and so forth; our task will be to establish the relation between the individual and his name. Should this relation be conceived as a *participation mystique;* is the name an extension of the person, is it a soul? It is problems of this kind that we shall be discussing in the sequel.[1]

The degree of the name's association to, and significance for, the individual varies, of course, very much in different quarters of North America.

That the name *may* often be a significant part of its bearer, with a kind of mystical substance and semi-independence emerges from the reports of the ethnologists. Birket-Smith reports that among the Caribou Eskimo "names are looked upon as a rather separate part of man".[2] Among the Inland Salish, "a name was regarded as a part of the individual".[3] Loeb thinks he has established that "the Pomo believed the name of a being to be an integral part of the being himself".[4] Spence finds that among the Mexicans the name "was regarded as part of the individuality, and through it the ego might be injured. This belief is general among the aboriginal peoples of both Americas".[5] Mooney, too, stresses the continental distribution of this belief in North America: "The Indian regards his name, not as a mere label, but as a distinct part of his personality, just as much as are his eyes or his teeth, and believes that injury will result as surely from the malicious handling of his name as from a wound inflicted on any part of his physical organism. This belief was found among the various tribes from the Atlantic to the

[1] A number of the problems that are dealt with in the following have recently been discussed in a meritorious article by L. H. Charles (see Charles 1951). Miss Charles bases her investigation of the name-ritual on the comprehensive material in Human Relations Area Files (Cross-Cultural Survey), Institute of Human Relations, Yale University.

[2] Birket-Smith 1929 I, 282.

[3] Curtis 1911 VII, 75.

[4] Loeb 1926, 315.

[5] Spence 1910 a, 561.

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Pacific, and has occasioned a number of curious regulations in regard to the concealment and change of names".[6]

But does this imply that all names of persons participate in their owners' nature? Certainly not. The names of the Havasupai, which "are mostly nicknames or meaningless words", are unhesitatingly communicated to strangers; for "they have no special emotional or religious significance".[7] The less the name gives expression to the person or to personal qualities, the less it is connected with the person.

The incomplete association between the name and its bearer emerges also in other ways; for the loss of the name does not as a rule imply sickness and death for the individual. A father (among the Athapascans) can transfer his name to his son, a warrior can give his name to a brave youth. Names are changed on moving into a higher age-category, in connection with visions received or (on the Northwest Coast) on contracting marriage. Many people change their name after the decease of a relative; whether the motive is that the person in question bears the tabooed name of the deceased, or that it is desired to prevent the dead person from finding his relatives, or again, that the deceased has been attached to the person's name, perhaps actually gave it. In all of these cases, however much the name may express of the essence of the individual, it may be renounced without ill-effects for the bearer. Where the name is transferred to another the characteristics associated with the name accompany it—otherwise the transference of the name would be meaningless.[8]

We thus see that the name is not, like the shadow and the image, always an intimate and inviolable part of the individual. As is the case with certain concrete extensions mentioned earlier (§ 17), the name sometimes has a very loose connection with the individual; even if it contains something of his essence, it may be disposed of and communicated to other persons at any time. At the same time, however, it is

[6] Mooney 1891, 343.

[7] Spier 1928, 304. The uninhibited frequent use of names has according to Spier had a deleterious effect upon the use of the kinship-terminology.

[8] With the giving of a name to an individual, the latter becomes the bearer of the qualities and privileges associated with this name. A chief inherits the name and qualities of his predecessor, a warrior takes over, with the name of a successful and courageous fighter, also his qualities, and a child is named after some celebrated man—obviously to be able to emulate his virtues—or after some ancestor whom he resembles outwardly, and therewith also, it is considered, inwardly. Among the Northwest Indians certain hereditary names entitle the bearer to a definite rank and honour; but this function does not become effective until after a *potlatch*-feast arranged by the bearer. See further Pettitt 1946, 62 sqq., 65 sqq. Concerning the interpretations of the significance of the *potlatch*, see, e.g., the French literature quoted in Forsberg 1943, 21 note 5.

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obvious that precisely on account of its usual connection with the qualities or essence of the individual, the name may in many cases attain such a high degree of identity with the individual himself as to become inalienable. Among the Eskimo the name is so firmly connected with the owner that it appears as a soul in the sense as defined by us (§ 5). One should of course see in this a specific historical product of development due, evidently, to the isolation of Eskimo culture—especially in the east, where the name-soul has been most comprehensively dealt with (see below).[9]

There is a vast difference between the name as an adventitious attribute and the name as a permanent, essential soul. Let us consider more carefully the causes of this wide range of variation in the conception of the name.

As we have seen, the Havasupai do not attach any deeper significance or meaning to the name, while the Inland Salish, for example, quite definitely regard it as a mystical extension. This difference, which is quite certainly historically conditioned, shows that the name is a verbal covering for different realities: for the individual application of a simple system of classification, for human qualities. The material in its entirety shows that the name also occurs as a principle of social distinction, as the external form for a supernatural capacity, as a paraphrase for or adequate designation of the essence of the individual, and as an expression for the soul that sustains the whole of this essence, the free-soul. Thus: the name has no independent substantial existence *in et per se*, but only in association with qualities and entities which themselves have existence.[10] To name an individual after a dead person implies, or may imply, that the deceased *in persona* once more appears among the living.[11] The name is then completely identical with its bearer, although in itself it only constitutes the external form for an essential content integrated with the person.

We shall here give some of the different contents the name may

[9] Concerning the Eskimo connections with the Indians, see especially Boas 1891 a, 17 sqq.

[10] It thus implies a simplification—but scarcely an error—to say that "names tend to have a reality or even a personality of their own aside from the individuals who possess them" (Pettitt, op.cit., 59).

[11] Such a naming custom is in North America generally connected with the idea of reincarnation, but not always. If a child among the Sinkaietk gets an ancestor's name, qualities and appearance, this does not mean to say that the ancestor in question is reincarnated in the child (Spier 1938, 104, 107). Cf. the Ingalik (Jetté 1911, 100), Cochiti (Goldfrank 1927, 77).

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represent, and we shall in this connection base our discussion chiefly upon the name-qualities which may be regarded as mystical extensions or souls. Our account will show how the name can quantitatively and qualitatively fill such different functions as *nomen* for a part of the individual, *nomen* for the whole essence of the individual, *nomen* for the whole individual as a soul (i. e. the free-soul).

Let us first consider the name as the bearer of a quality.

It is a well-known fact that many Indian peoples give their newborn babies or their as yet unnamed fellow-tribesmen names after some striking quality characterizing them.[12] But it is just as common for names to bear qualities as it is for qualities to bear names. In this way names acquire a substantiality and an independence that justifies talk of the name as a part of the individual himself.

Many North American Indian peoples are of the opinion that by assuming "strong" names individuals ensure for themselves vitality and health.[13] The Central Eskimo believe that a sick child becomes healthier and stronger if it is given a new, effective name.[14] The Eskimo at Bering Strait assume new names in the autumn of their old age to strengthen their flickering flame of life.[15] A sick Naskapi changes his name in order to get better.[16] Jenness relates the following of the Ojibway: "So weak did they consider the bonds uniting the shadow, soul, and body of a young baby that the Parry Islanders refrained from spreading the news of its birth until it had received a name, through fear that an evil *manido* might steal and destroy its soul. A good name, they believed, focused the attention of the baby's shadow on its significance and thereby gave it strength and power throughout the duration of its owner's life. A poor name correspondingly weakened it and sometimes caused the child's death".[17] "Names seem to have lost their power today, but formerly a good name ensured a child long life", said an Ojibway.[18] An old Atsina gave his name to a youth with the words: "I give you my name in order that you may have as long a

[12] Cf. e.g. the Yuchi (Speck 1909 a, 93); Havasupai (Spier 1928, 305). Closely allied to this is the custom of naming the child after some event in connection with its birth—a custom which has, as we know, been discussed in detail in the debate concerning the origin of totemism.

[13] By vitality it is of course not the life-potency connected with the life-soul that is meant here (§ 13).

[14] Boas 1888, 612.

[15] Nelson 1899, 289.

[16] Strong 1929, 286.

[17] Jenness 1935, 92.

[18] Jenness, op.cit., 93.

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life as I".[19] Among the Blackfoot, "there is the feeling that the name itself carries with it some power to promote the well being of him upon whom it is conferred".[20] And among the Eastern Dakota, "the name given the child helps it to grow and to become strong".[21] The qualities represented by and implicit in the name have often been formed by a deceased ancestor who bore the name in question.[22]

The name may also be associated with the supernatural power. The Kwakiutl Indian who receives supernatural power from a supernatural being assumes, with the power, also the name of the spirit conferring it.[23] Among the Pawnee a man on the warpath often assumed a new name, "believing that it would contribute to the success of the expedition".[24] According to the Navajo, "names are full of power, ritualistic items of tremendous value".[25] In times of need the Navajo Indian relies upon the innate strength in his name.[26]

The instances might be multiplied. They show that a quality is transferred with a name; whether the connection is due to the mystical power of the pronounced word, to the connection of the name with spirits and the dead, are problems which we are not called upon to discuss in this context. At all events, it is not the name as such which is the origin of the quality. "The mana given in connection with a name has only connection with the person bearing the name, and none with the meaning of the name", consider the Pomo Indians, according to Loeb.[27]

The name which incorporates a quality in the individual is as a rule only in a partial sense representative for him. There is, however, generally a name catching the personal aspect of the person, which refers to him as a person and individual. This is the name that the mourners change after the decease of a relative, that the murderer conceals after committing the deed, and that the patient relinquishes during or after an illness—all to prevent the dead or other evil spirits from seizing him.[28] But above all, this is the name that one is careful not

[19] Kroeber 1908 b, 182.
[20] Wissler 1911, 17.
[21] Wallis 1947, 38.
[22] Pettitt, op.cit., 67, 68 sqq.
[23] Boas 1930 II, 49.
[24] Dorsey & Murie 1940, 92.
[25] Reichard 1950 II, 577.
[26] Reichard 1928, 96.
[27] Loeb 1926, 261.
[28] Change of name in case of sickness may, however, be dictated by other motives:

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to mention (and therewith expose to) outsiders, even if these belong to the individual's own social group.

As the last-mentioned custom illustrates in a particularly high degree the identity of the name with its bearer, we shall consider it a little more closely.

A certain shyness about pronouncing especially one's own name, but also that of others, occurs all over North America.[29] This form of conduct which is reminiscent of the more rigorous tabooing of the names of deceased persons, is so general that one is almost tempted to see it as an expression of a psychological pattern comprising the whole of native North America. The matter is not, however, so simple as this. There are important exceptions from the rule.

Especially in two great culture-areas, the Northwest Coast and the Plains, the fear of mentioning the name is less pronounced. Among the peoples of the Northwest the name was rather a title than a personal name, and was, moreover, intimately associated with the system of privileges which in such a high degree sets its stamp upon the Northwest culture.[30] In the Plains culture, with its sensitiveness concerning military prestige, it could also occur that the name was used freely on particular occasions with a social sanction.[31] This was the case on the warrior's return from a victorious battle, when his name was shouted out over the whole camp. This custom was so strongly rooted that it

apart from soul-snatchers, it may be desired to cheat intruding spirits seeking a host, and the new name may be assumed to possess more healing virtue than the preceding one (cf. above). Concerning the motives for an exchange of name after a death, see also above, p. 318.

[29] The Greenland Eskimo (Holm 1914, 81, Birket-Smith 1924, 413 sq.); Ingalik (Parsons 1921—22, 57); Chilcotin, Carrier, Nahané (Morice 1889, 123); Makah (Swan 1870, 88); Wishram (Spier & Sapir 1930, 258); Chinook (Kane 1925, 140); Kootenay (Chamberlain 1893, 596); Montagnais (JR V, 93); Ojibway (Kohl 1859 II, 72, Lowie 1917, 455, Jones 1861, 162, Reid 1874, 107); Arapaho (Dorsey & Kroeber 1903, 124); Blackfoot (Grinnell 1892, 326; cf., however, Wissler 1911, 17 sq.); Atsina (Kroeber 1908 b, 182); Sauk and Fox (Forsyth in Blair 1912 II, 212); Lenape (Hulbert & Schwarze 1910, 80); Yuchi (Speck 1909 a, 94); Karankawa (Gatschet 1891, 69); Hidatsa (Matthews 1877, 55); Wind River Shoshoni (Hultkrantz Ms, Lowie 1923, 149, Lowie 1924, 272); Lemhi (Lowie 1909 a, 211, Lowie 1923, 149); Paviotso (Steward 1941, 350); Shivwits (Drucker 1941, 141, 205); Klamath (Spier 1930, 59 sq.); Yurok (Kroeber 1925, 47 sq.); Hokan and Penutian groups in California (Kroeber 1923, 131); Nomlaki (Washington 1906, 95, Goldschmidt 1951, 372); Northern Maidu (Dixon 1905, 231); Nisenan (Powers 1877, 315); Miwok (Aginsky 1943, 448); Diegueño, Akwa'ala (Drucker, op. cit., 141); Mohave (Kroeber 1925, 749); Maricopa (Spier 1933, 197 sq.); Yavapai (Spier 1930, 322); Pima, Papago (Drucker, op. cit., 141); Tepehuano (Lumholtz 1902 I, 462); Apache (Bourke 1891, 423, Opler 1941, 431); Navajo (Reichard 1928, 90, Kluckhohn & Leighton 1947, 66 sq.); Santa Ana (White 1942, 165); Zuni (Parsons 1939 I, 461 note); Hopi (Parsons 1925, 73 and note 116, Parsons 1921, 101).

[30] Cf. Benedict 1946, 132 sqq.

[31] Lowie 1923, 149.

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even overcame the fear of the names of dead persons; the names of famous Cree warriors "were recalled and pronounced long after their deaths as a means of perpetuating their glory".[32]

Even among some tribes outside these culture-areas the freer attitude to the use of the name may possibly have existed, perhaps as a result of influence from European-American culture (such influences are also to be deduced among a number of Plains tribes). The Copper Eskimo mention their names without any inhibitions.[33] Freeland has denied that the Pomo believed that the name of a person could be used as "a source of power over a man"; Loeb, however, has asserted that the use of a person's name magically affected its bearer.[34] Steward's assertion that the Northern Paiute name-taboo on the living is of modern origin is scarcely correct.[35]

If we abstract from the exceptions referred to above, it was probably normal that the name was not pronounced in the presence of strangers either by its bearer or by any of his relatives (otherwise than —possibly—in a whisper). Even in the closest family circle, a reserve name might be used.[36] The motives adduced vary; among the Hopi one who pronounces a name is overtaken by death, in other cases the person whose name has been pronounced is for the most part the one who suffers. Apart from the fact that in many cases it is vaguely assumed that the mentioning of a name brings down misfortune on the head of the person named, it is stated more definitely that the name becomes worn out (the Navajo), that its owner will be accorded less respect ("ça diminue notre valeur", the Ojibway), that the name is stolen (the Chinook), that its bearer falls ill and dies (the Makah), that the stranger will get the whip-hand over the individual by knowing his name (the Arapaho), that a hidden power over the owner of the name is placed in the hand of the stranger (the Apache).[37] Behind all these explanations we glimpse the fear that the person as such will be exposed to the arbitrary will of another, be ruled by another. Frazer adduced the name-taboo as an instance of contagious magic; we wish to emphasize its value as a protection for the integrity of the person. Swanton rightly refers the inhibitions concerning the use of the personal name to the circumstance that for the Indian the name possessed a

[32] Mandelbaum 1940, 242.
[33] Stefánsson 1914, 234.
[34] Freeland 1923, 70 note 7; Loeb 1926, 315.
[35] Steward, op. cit., loc. cit. Cf. also the Havasupai (see above).
[36] Schoolcraft 1851 I, 213.
[37] See the references above, p. 322 note 29.

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"sacred character", since it so "perfectly expressed his inmost nature as to be practically identical with him".[38] The name interprets the essence of the individual; it incarnates him, it epitomizes him as a person.

The secrecy observed with regard to the name need not necessarily have anything to do with the belief in a name-soul, as has been opined in folkloristic quarters.[39] In certain areas the concealed name has been a soul, in others not, and the latter is the rule.

The conceptions referred to last have brought us to the threshold of the soul-belief. It is of course rather clear that if the name includes the essence of the individual, the person's ego *in nuce*, it may easily enough become a symbol for and incarnation of the extra-physical ego of the individual, his free-soul.[40] In the following we shall adduce some instances of the way in which, as the bearer of the individual's essence, the name may sometimes acquire an existence of its own outside the individual, so that it approaches—but, to judge by all the evidence, never wholly coincides with—the extra-physical soul.

In several North American Indian communities it is the rule that children are not given names until they have attained a certain age.[41] The Eskimo in western Canada do not give their children names until they are ten or twelve years of age. It is at this point in their lives that their soul takes possession of them.[42] The Wishram and Klikitat waited up to two years before giving their children names, for a too early naming entailed the death of the child.[43] Among the Yurok, children may be six or seven years old before they are given names.[44] The Karuk, too, waited for several years before naming their children with the motivation that if the children died young, "they would not be thought of by their names".[45] Nor did the Wintu give their children names at a tender age, for such a measure might cause their premature death.[46] The Maidu waited for two years before naming their babies.[47] The Havasupai only name their children after they have begun to prove

[38] Swanton 1910, 17.
[39] Jameson in Leach 1950 II, 782; Charles 1951, 19. Miss Charles, however, also speaks neutrally of the avoidance of the name as "a tribute of respect to the sacred powers of the name" (Charles, op. cit., 34).
[40] Cf. Dieterich: "Name ist voreinst Seele und Wesen" (Dieterich 1913, 25).
[41] Cf. above, p. 49. See also § 28.
[42] Stefánsson 1913, 398 sqq.; cf. Thalbitzer 1930 b, 96, Alexander 1916, 10 sq.
[43] Spier & Sapir 1930, 258.
[44] Kroeber 1925, 49.
[45] Kroeber, op. cit., 107.
[46] Du Bois 1935, 51.
[47] Dixon 1905, 231 sq.

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humanly interesting, i. e., after one or two years, sometimes even after five to seven years following the birth of the child. Spier interprets this to mean that "the need of a name awaits the creation of a personality".[48] The Yuchi, finally, named the child on the fourth day after birth. Speck reminds us that the journey between the realm of the dead and the world of the living takes four days, and that the spirit of an ancestor was believed to be reincarnated in the child—there evidently exists a connection between the name and the deceased.[49]

We are here confronted by an obviously ancient custom, and it would be vain to seek its original motives among the varying *aitia* that are adduced. Two basic motives are, however, to be distinguished, one social, one religious. The first implies that the individual is not in the social sense a person until he has attained a certain age. The giving of the name, as Miss Charles points out, is a dramatic act; it is intended to introduce the individual into the process leading to his socialization and enculturation.[50] The name is then meant to express the essence of the individual, we might say. The second motive may be that name and soul belong together, so that the name cannot be conferred on the individual until his soul has arrived. Especially does the Yuchi instance support such an interpretation. But it is also conceivable that the social motivation is primary, and that the late use or conferring of the name has given rise to the belief in the development of the soul etc.; here, too, the necessary condition is an intimate relation between name and soul (the Eskimo instance).

One of the risks connected with the early conferring of a name is that the child may get the wrong name. It is often stressed that in this case the child howls until it gets the right name.[51] Here the name is a necessary prerequisite for the health of the child, at the same time as it constitutes an independent something outside the individual. The conception most closely corresponding to this description is the free-soul. It is, moreover, adduced in the majority of the cases mentioned here that the child cries because it has not been given the name it bore in its previous existence.[52] The dead person with whom the name is

[48] Spier 1928, 305. Cf., however, above p. 318.

[49] Speck 1909 a, 93 sq.

[50] See the following works: van Gennep 1909, 89; Miller 1927, 585 sqq.; Larock 1932; Charles, op., 34 sq.

[51] Examples: the Eskimo on Greenland (Thalbitzer 1930 b, 82, 92 sq.); the Hudson Bay Eskimo (Turquetil 1926, 421); Ingalik (Chapman 1921, 306); Ojibway (Jenness 1935, 93); Saulteaux (Hallowell 1940, 50 note 1); Eastern Dakota (Wallis 1947, 39); Modoc (Curtin 1912, 6).

[52] Thus among the peoples mentioned in the previous note, except, possibly, among the Dakota and Modoc.

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associated may in relation to the new-born child be regarded as a pre-existing free-soul that is reincarnated at the moment of (a proper) naming.[53] We must of course be careful not to press the logical possibilities here too far. It does nevertheless appear probable that the name here possesses an existence of its own as the bearer of the individual's free-soul. This existence, however, is no longer regarded when the name has been "incorporated" with the individual through the act of naming.[54]

Some instances clearly illustrate how the soul of a deceased person is realistically conceived to take up its abode in a person through the name (we will for the present ignore data from the Eskimo region).[55] When a deceased Carrier Indian has been burned on a pyre, the medicine-man catches his soul in his hands. The soul is then blown into a living Carrier, who assumes the name of the dead person "in addition to his own".[56] A dead Sanpoil comes to life again in a living person when his name has been transferred to the latter.[57] When a child is named among the Yuchi, the soul of an ancestor enters it, as Speck has shown.[58]

From a number of peoples in eastern North America we have several instances of reincarnation in connection with the act of adoption after a death. The rite of adoption may in many cases be regarded as a kind of dramatic reincarnation through the conferring of the name.[59] The following quotation from Father Le Jeune refers to the Algonquin on Allumette Island: "When he who has passed away has been raised from the dead,—that is, when his name has been given to another, and presents have been offered to his relatives,—then it is said that the body is 'cached', or rather, that the dead is resuscitated".[60] Sagard relates of the "neutral" nation closely related to the Huron that dead chiefs are brought back to life when their names are given to persons who have their virtues and qualities. The way in which the deceased is

[53] It is not always the free-soul of the deceased that is reincarnated; I hope to be able to return to this problem in a later work. It is, however, probable that the original belief was that the free-soul was reincarnated, whereas the life-soul did not survive the individual (§ 32).

[54] As the first name of the individual the reincarnated name, on the other hand, is during his whole life the essence of his personality (cf. e. g. the Yuchi, Speck 1909 a, 94). The significance of the first name to be conferred emerges also in the fact that it is precisely this name which is secret (Aginsky, op.cit., 464).

[55] Instances of reincarnation in connection with the conferring of names may be found in Pettitt 1946, 68 sqq. Cf. also Wachtmeister 1925, 32 sqq.

[56] Wilkes 1845 IV, 453.

[57] Ray 1932, 113 sq.

[58] Cf. above, p. 325.

[59] Cf. Conard 1900, 48.

[60] JR IX, 275 sqq.

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taken up from the grave and resurrected in the other person, who is then regarded as the deceased himself, is graphically represented in mime at the rite of adoption.[61] Finally, a marginal note by Radin concerning adoption among the Winnebago: "As the name for adoption indicates, it is closely connected with the common belief in reincarnation, meaning either the exchange of one spirit for another or the replacing of the spirit".[62] Many Winnebago parents seem to believe that the adopted child is really their own reincarnated offspring.[63]

In the Pueblo area the conferring of the name is often accompanied by the custom of letting the child breathe in the essence with which the name is associated.[64] One has the impression that it is the breath-soul functioning as unitary soul that is received with the name.[65] The Hopi even go so far as to give a child that has died nameless a name post-mortally[66]—obviously so that it shall be able to live among the souls in the realm of the dead.[67] It is in this connection of interest to note that the *nagual* (§ 24) reminiscent of the free-soul comes into existence through the name among the Mexican Aztecs and Maya.[68]

The receiving of a name *may* thus also imply the receiving of a soul.[69] The identity between name and soul in connection with the naming is most definitely demonstrable where the belief in reincarnation is a powerful conceptual factor. It is, on the other hand, not definitely given in other cases, and it is sometimes provably non-existent, as among the Kickapoo. A Kickapoo baby gets two names, one for his soul and one for himself.[70]

After the naming—in the cases instanced above—the identity of the name with the free-soul seems no longer to be considered.

The name may, however, be firmly associated with the free-soul during the whole lifetime of the individual, in certain cases developing an actual identity therewith. We can distinguish between three forms of permanent connection between name and free-soul.

[61] Sagard-Théodat 1632, 289 sq.
[62] Radin 1923, 139.
[63] Radin, op. cit., 139 note 8.
[64] See e.g. Parsons 1939 I, 46 note (Laguna), 423 (San Juan); White 1932 a, 133 sq. (Acoma). Cf. above, p. 163.
[65] In the western Pueblo area the breath-soul plays a prominent rôle, see above, p. 142.
[66] Beaglehole 1935, 13.
[67] The dead Hopi Indian is always given a new name, "to use in the other world" (Parsons 1925, 75 note 121).
[68] Spence 1910 a, 561.
[69] Cf. Charles, op.cit., 11, 34 sq.
[70] Charles, op. cit., 27, after an unpublished Ms by Hockett.

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1. The free-soul is frequently called by its owner's name, since in a genuine dualistic soul-relation it is the individual himself, although in an extra-physical form.[71] But as soon as the free-soul is conceived as an entity separate from the individual, as an emancipated "soul", its connection with the name ceases.

2. The name "binds" the free-soul to the individual.[72] This binding is certainly an expression for the magical power of the name, also demonstrated in the belief that through the naming of a name one deprives someone of his soul, conjures up spirits, and so forth.[73]

3. The name is in some cases a mystical symbol for the free-soul. In practice this implies that the name functions as a free-soul ("the name-soul"): it no longer exists as a designation for the individual as such, but appears as an independent being with the substance and qualities of the free-soul, "a kind of personality".[74] The name-soul presupposes, theoretically, a fusion between "soul" and "essence". Through its association to an entity representative for the individual, separable (but in most cases inalienable), and which in consequence of its character easily enough coincides with the free-soul, the name may change its significance from the designation of an essence to the designation of a soul. In practice this change of import seems to have occurred extremely rarely.

In North America it is, as far as I know, only the Eskimo who have a regular name-soul. We shall conclude this account of the religious significance of the name with a presentation of the conceptions associated with the name-soul by the Eskimo.

Like many other North American peoples, the Eskimo believe that a child's name reincarnates some previously existing individual.[75] Thus here the identity between name and soul is already evident. It has since in many places been retained and firmly established, in contradistinction to what has been the case among the Indians. By thus frequently identifying soul and essence in the name, the Eskimo manifest a peculiar historical evolution without parallel in other quarters in North America.[76] But not even among the Eskimo is the name *only* free-soul. The more primitive significance of the designation for the

[71] Cf. above, p. 47 (the Cora).
[72] Cf. above, p. 320 (Jenness's instances from the Ojibway).
[73] Cf. the Dakota: if one names the spirits, they appear (Linck 1926, 100).
[74] Alexander, op.cit., 281. Cf. above, p. 319 note 10.
[75] The conception is, as Birket-Smith has shown in detail, distributed over the whole Eskimo area (Birket-Smith & de Laguna 1938, 468 note 5). Concerning its significance for the name-soul, see Boas 1910 b, 618.
[76] See above, p. 319.

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individual's essence is everywhere evident, and the free-soul has by no means in all places become identical with the name. A rapid survey of the name-conceptions of the Eastern and Central Eskimo groups illustrates the variation in significance.

On East Greenland, according to Holm, the name, *atekata*, is "of the same size as a man and enters the child at the moment when a finger dipped in water is passed over the child's mouth, the names of the dead ancestors being simultaneously pronounced". The name is here an independent reality of free-soul type; and it is, like the free-soul, essential for the individual: "Care must be taken not to offend the 'name' in any way; for then he may desert the man, who is then sure to fall ill".[77] It is understandable enough that Thalbitzer identifies the name with the most prominent soul, apparently the free-soul.[78] The linguistic import of the name—"the basis, the support on which something is based"—seems to me, however, to indicate that the name was originally the designation binding the soul to the individual.[79] Its identity with the free-soul is in this case secondary.[80]

On West Greenland "the name is a mystical, to a certain extent independent part of the person, and after his death the name roams about restlessly, until it is once more attached to a new-born babe".[81] Thus we are here, in principle, confronted with the same ideas as those obtaining on East Greenland. Among the Polar Eskimo, according to Kroeber, the name ascends, after death, into the air, *sila*.[82] Probably no emanatistic speculation lies behind this belief.[83]

The Eskimo on Baffin Land connect the body-soul with the transmigration of souls and believe that a reincarnated person retains the name he bore in his former existence.[84] The name is here associated with the body-soul because in this case the latter represents the dead person. But there is no reason to believe that during the lifetime of the individual the name is the bearer of the body-soul. Presumably the name has the position of a free-soul among the Central Eskimo.

[77] Holm 1914, 81.
[78] Thalbitzer 1930 a, 139, 137 (the table); Thalbitzer 1930 b, 93.
[79] Cf. above, p. 328.
[80] It should be pointed out that even if in a living individual the name has a free-soul character, it is, before the naming, only a part of the deceased, but not the deceased himself (Thalbitzer 1930 b, loc.cit.). That with its transference to a living individual it must represent the whole of the dead person is, however, beyond doubt. Cf. Stefánsson 1914, 357 (the Copper Eskimo).
[81] Birket-Smith 1924, 413.
[82] Kroeber 1899, 309.
[83] Cf. above, p. 190.
[84] Boas 1901—07, 130.

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This assumption is supported by the fact that a child which has died before being named is not mourned.[85]

Finally, we will quote something of what Rasmussen adduces concerning the Netsilik Eskimo notions connected with the name: "It is as if a name had its own particular soul acting quite independently of the body's soul, and this soul is for the benefit of all those who have the name. According to some people, this means that the soul of the body, the real fountain of life, is the one that makes mankind human, while the soul of the name merely makes it generally strong, keeps it up and protects it".[86] Even if the name here is not the free-soul—which is, however, by no means impossible—it has "soulic" qualities.

The Eskimo name-soul was thus originally a mystical extension, which has more or less become identical with the free-soul without for this reason losing its original character—it would appear nevertheless to be this latter which is always predominant.

21. The external soul

On the boundary between soul and mystical extension is also the so-called external soul. It now remains for us to discuss this enigmatic phenomenon and the conception of the life-symbol, the life-token, closely connected therewith.

The term "external soul" has for quite a long time been applied to a certain type of popular notions which have been classified as a part of the primitive soul-belief. A modern folkloristic handbook defines the external soul as "the concept that the soul can reside apart from the body, for safekeeping or other reasons".[1] In this sense the term was first used by Frazer, who, for the rest, is the one who coined it and also made it the subject of a first comprehensive investigation.[2] To Frazer it is evident that the external soul is identical with the soul that can temporarily be absent from the body.[3] As he pays no attention to the dichotomy between free-soul and body-soul, his view im-

[85] Turquetil 1929, 60. Cf. Rasmussen 1929, 58 sq. (the Iglulik).
[86] Rasmussen 1931, 219.
[1] Leach 1949 I, 360.
[2] In the first edition of "The Golden Bough", 1890.
[3] Frazer 1923, 95 sq.

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plies in one word that it is an unitary soul, identified with life, that appears as an external soul. It is evident that the definition of the external soul traceable to Frazer is no longer satisfactory. The "external soul" must be delimited as a phenomenon and defined in relation to the dualistic soul-ideology.

The very term "external soul" is a trifle misleading, but as it has been generally accepted, we must retain it. It has, however, contributed to a certain lack of clarity about the conception. For what is there that an external soul cannot be? First and foremost, of course, every soul-entity appearing outside the body to which it belongs more or less permanently may be regarded as a kind of external soul. Especially does this apply to the free-soul. Frazer's coupling of the soul of free-soul type with the external soul proper has given rise to much terminological confusion.[4] Especially the double-ganger developed from the free-soul has often been identified, in theriomorphic shape ("the soul-animal"),[5] with the external soul or with the animal-being containing the external soul.[6] The *nagual* (§ 24) has also been understood as an external soul.[7] Furthermore, many of the participation phenomena we have examined in earlier sections of this chapter have been described by Frazer and his successors (especially by Hartland) as external souls.[8]

As we shall find, both a soul and an extension of the indivdual may appear as "external souls", but a so-called external soul need not necessarily be an ordinary soul. By external soul we mean an essence bound up with the individual's life which participates not only in his life, but has the complete and exclusive function of sustaining this (without, however, being identical with the individual as such). The conception might just as well be referred to as the hidden life (rather

[4] The term "separable soul" has in English linguistic usage (evidently through Frazer's influence) been applied to both the free-soul and the external soul. In the above-mentioned handbook "separable soul" is said to be "the more usual term" for external soul (Leach, op.cit., loc.cit.; Leach 1950 II, 996). On the other hand, "soul" is taken to mean something covering the more common manifestations of what we have here defined as free-soul and body-soul (Leach 1950 II, 1050 sq.). E. O. James, however, distinguishes very definitely between external soul and separable soul, which latter he understands as a soul with a predominantly free-soul aspect (James 1927, 341 sqq.). It is probably wisest to reserve the designation separable soul for the free-soul.

[5] See Leach, op.cit., II, 1051.

[6] Cf. Leach, op.cit., I, 143.

[7] From a wider viewpoint the nagual is actually an external soul. But in a narrower sense it is an entity distinct from the external soul (Lévy-Bruhl 1927, 293 sq.; cf. below, pp. 365 sqq.).

[8] Cf. Hartland 1895 II.

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than "the hidden soul"), for the life is conceived as hidden and kept in a safe place, whether this is identical with an unnatural place within the individual (e.g. the heart in the little toe), or whether it is identical with a secluded spot outside the individual (e.g. the heart on a remote island). Even if one inflicts the most serious injuries on the possessor of the hidden life, he runs no immediate risk to his life, as long as "the life" itself has not been damaged at all. The motif is known, above all, from the hero-tale in all countries, but it has also—although perhaps not so often—its counterparts in popular belief and popular practice.

The conception doubtless has its roots in the same everyday experiences of connection and participation that have given rise to other mystical extensions, such as the shadow, the image and the name.[9] But the main stress in the relation individual—extension has shifted from the former to the latter, so that the individual almost constitutes a part of his extension. Life as a whole is maintained by the latter, and it is thus not to be wondered at if the actual life-potency, the life-soul, is transferred to the extension. The latter thus becomes identical with the life-soul, which now animates the individual "by virtue of a sort of sympathy or action at a distance".[10] Such a removal of the life-soul must be regarded as extraordinary in the extreme and atypical outside of the myth and miracle-tale.

The external soul is thus in the first place a mystical extension, sometimes also a life-soul; but can it, too, be identical with the free-soul? We cannot altogether reject this possibility.[11] The North American material does not, however, afford any definitely positive instances. As Lévy-Bruhl has observed, our sources concerning the external soul speak less of the soul than of the life.[12] The life-soul seems to be the idea which is most closely associated to the function of the external soul.[13]

Thompson has recorded a large number of instances of the external soul from practically the whole of North America.[14] We shall content

[9] Cf. van der Leeuw 1930, 63 sq.; Lévy-Bruhl, op.cit., 160 sq.; Read 1925, 103.
[10] Frazer, op.cit., 95.
[11] Arbman 1927, 132 note 1.
[12] Lévy-Bruhl, op.cit., 160.
[13] As is known, in the first edition of his "Golden Bough" Frazer has connected the origin of totemism with the external soul: the totem-animal and the totem-plant were the animal and the plant respectively in which life was deposited. As Frazer has since abandoned this theory (see his Totemism and Exogamy, I—IV, London 1910), there is no point in our discussing it.
[14] Ten instances from the Northwest Coast, three from North California, three

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ourselves by giving in a very concentrated form some typical examples from different parts of the continent. This will be a representative selection, instancing both mystical extension and life-soul. Following Frazer's example, we divide the source-material into narratives, i. e. myths and legends, and popular beliefs. We shall begin with the first-mentioned category.[15]

Boas asserts that the conception of the external soul, "the mythic notion of the "life" which is kept outside of the body", occurs with especial frequency on the North Pacific Coast and in California.[16] The Northwest Coast seems to be a central area for the conception, with North California and the Mackenzie, Plateau and Great Basin areas as offshoots. But also the Plains, the Eastern Woodland area and the Southwest contribute.

In a Bella Bella tradition we are told how a twin dies as a result of an eagle's consuming the heart of a salmon; evidently the heart is or includes an essential part of the twin's life.[17] The Kwakiutl have a legend of a giantess who was repeatedly killed and always came back to life. Not until a hemlock spruce in which her life was preserved had been shot was she definitively dead.[18]

The motif of the external soul occurs in different versions of the previously mentioned legend of the Bear Woman.[19] Thus the Chilcotin relate that the Bear Woman used to carry a little basket which she sometimes hung on the roof of her house. When her brother put a bullet through the basket she fell down dead, for in the basket she had her "life". Curiously enough, her external "life" had to be killed three times before she disappeared for ever from the world of the living. An interesting episode from the description of the long drawn-out fight with the Bear Woman throws light upon the relation between (the supernatural) individual and the external soul. We are told that the basket with the woman's "life" was thrown into the fire in her absence and began to burn. She immediately began to scream, and rushed back to the house; but before she got there the "life" had been consumed, and she fell dead to the ground.[20] In a

from the Great Basin, six from the Plains, three from the Northeast, one from the Southeast and two from the Athapascans of the Southwest (Thompson 1929, 346; cf. Thompson 1946, 357 sq.).

[15] Cf. the instances in Frazer, op.cit., 151 sq.

[16] Boas 1910 b, 618.

[17] Boas 1932 a, 54.

[18] Boas 1897 b, 372 sqq. This tale is not restricted to the Kwakiutl; see Thompson 1929, 190, 351.

[19] See above, pp. 168, 301.

[20] Farrand 1900, 21 sqq.

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corresponding tale from the Bella Coola the Bear Woman is invulnerable, "since she had taken her heart and lungs from her chest".[21]

A Tillamook tradition tells how an old hag was killed and cut into pieces, but nevertheless came back to life. Blue Jay, the culture-hero of the Oregon Indians, knew what to do: "You must not take her body, but take her hat. You will find a small, long thing in the top of her hat. That is her heart. You must tear that and throw it into the sea, then she will be dead".[22] A narrative from the Kathlamet (a Chinook group) describes a supernatural being with the life-principle in his little finger; as in some other well-known myths (see below), the external soul is not removed from the body, but is in a peripheral, insignificant part.[23]

Also the legends of the Algonquin tell of the external soul in an obscure part of the body, commonly in the heel or in the toe. Thus we find the heel of Achilles in a Penobscot tradition: when the heel is shot, the heart preserved there is also shot.[24] The Wawenock, an Indian tribe of the Abnaki group, believe in a supernatural being who carries a piece of gold in his mouth. He once put it down to be able to drink, it is said, and a hunter took advantage of the opportunity of stealing it. The spirit then cried: "My friend, please do give me back that, my gold ... That is my life".[25] The Central and Plains Algonquin have two types of narratives with the motif of the external soul: in the one we are told of an evil magician whose heart is on a remote island (the Algonquin, Ojibway); in the other, which is identical with the widespread tradition of the Bear Woman, the episode of her "life" is adduced, here as the heart placed in the little toe (the Cree, Ojibway, Arapaho, Atsina, Blackfoot).[26] The Ojibway, for example, relate that one could only kill her by wounding her in the toe with a needle.[27] Through the motif "life in toe" the narrative of the Bear Woman appears in an Algonquin oicotype form.[28]

The Algonquin Arapaho have also a tradition about dwarfs who had their hearts hung up in their camp while they were away. A person came on a visit and saw the hearts. "He took an awl and pricked

[21] Boas 1898 a, 113.
[22] Boas 1898 b, 38.
[23] Cf. Boas 1897 a, 375.
[24] Speck 1919, 258.
[25] Speck 1928 b, 193 sq. Thompson mentions only one narrative of the external soul from the Coast Algonquin, a Micmac tradition (cf. Rand 1894, 245).
[26] Fisher 1946, 248.
[27] Jones 1916, 377 sq.
[28] Concerning oicotypes, see von Sydow 1948, 44 sqq. Cf., however, the Zuni instance below, p. 337.

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each of the hearts. Out on the prairie the dwarfs dropped dead".[29] The same story recurs in two variants among the Wichita.[30]

In a Modoc legend we are told how an old man who fed on human flesh kept his life in a mortar.[31]

The Jicarilla Apache tell of two bears who "preyed upon the people, who were unable to kill them, as they left their hearts at home when off on their marauding expeditions". While they were out marauding Fox cut their hearts into pieces. "The bears were aware that their hearts had been tampered with, and rushed with all speed to rescue them, but fell dead just before they reached Fox".[32] Here, the loss of the external soul evidently did not entail the immediate death of its owner.

A Navajo myth relates how the Coyote—the trickster and culture-hero—once fell to the bottom of a canyon and dashed to pieces. But: "He did not, like other beings, keep his vital principle in his chest, where it might easily be destroyed; he kept it in the tip of his nose and in the end of his tail, where no one would expect to find it; so after a while he came to life again".[33] The Navajo also have the legend of the Bear Woman, who is here said to take her "life" out of her body when she goes out to fight, and to put it back in its usual place after the struggle.[34]

Also the mythology of the Pueblo Indians reveals the conception of the external soul. In the Zuni origin myth we are told of a woman of a hostile tribe whom the Zuni vainly shot at with arrows. She did not die, for she had her heart in a calabash rattle.[35] And the Hopi tell of a girl whose life had been taken by wizards because she resisted their courting. Her breath was transferred in a mysterious way to a wheel adorned with feathers, and from here it was later returned to the body.[36] As we have already seen, among the Hopi the breath is identical with an unitary soul.

The motif with the external soul is evidently a not uncommon element in the Indian store of legend. But just how common is it in popular belief, how often does the external soul occur as an experienc-

[29] Dorsey & Kroeber 1903, 122, 122 sq.
[30] See Dorsey & Kroeber, op.cit., 123 note.
[31] Curtin 1912, 323 sqq.
[32] Russell 1898, 262 sq.
[33] Matthews 1897, 91, 93 sq.
[34] Matthews 1887, 406 sq.
[35] Parsons 1939 I, 224.
[36] Voth 1905, 126 sqq.

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ed or imagined reality in the present? The supernatural beings of the myth and the fairy tale may place "the life" outside themselves; but can human beings of to-day do so? We shall try to answer this question at once.

Frazer has a single genuine instance of the external soul in North American popular belief and practice.[37] He reports, after J. A. Jacobsen, that the medicine-man of the Alaska Eskimo sometimes takes a sick child's soul out of its body to keep it in an amulet, which for safety's sake is concealed in his medicine-bag. Which soul, is not mentioned.[38] As we have noted earlier, the Eskimo children among the nearby Mackenzie Eskimo can dispense with the life-principle without any ill-effects.[39] Perhaps the same soul among the Alaska Eskimo appears as an external soul.

The conception of an external soul projected upon existence after death would appear to occur among the Ingalik. A baby which dies is wrapped in bark and buried in the wood under a spruce sapling. "As long as the tree lives, the spirit of the child lives, too, under its protection. The spirit dies with the tree".[40] The mystical participation existing here may be best characterized by saying that in consequence of its close association to the child (e.g. through age and locality, both common to them) the tree becomes its guarantee of life, i.e., external soul.

A Cherokee tradition which seems to be based upon an historical event is also worth adducing. We are told that a war-chief among the Cherokee once exposed himself boldly to his Shawnee enemies, who shot at him without wounding him. The Shawnee chief then had his men shoot in the branches above the warrior's head, with the result that he fell down dead—before the battle he had placed his "life" in the top of the tree.[41]

The Pueblo Indians often connect the belief in the external soul with the belief in witches. Among the Nambé a witch in modern times kept in a bag "a little stone, which was her bad heart". When the bag was thrown into the fire and consumed the woman died; "they burned her heart". The same fate also overtook other witches when their "hearts", which were kept in the same way, were burned.[42]

[37] Cf. above, p. 189 note 66 (the Shawnee).
[38] Frazer, op.cit., 155; quotes J. A. Jacobsen, Reisen in die Inselwelt des Banda-Meeres (Berlin 1896), 199.
[39] See above, p. 49. Cf. § 28.
[40] Parsons 1921—22, 68.
[41] Mooney 1900, 394.
[42] Parsons 1929, 306.

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A Zuni Indian, Nick, was accused of witchcraft; he got drunk, started brawling and was beaten. "When he came to, he boasted, being still drunk, that he would not die because his heart was in his toenails and he was wise, that is, a witch".[43] The Zuni Indians make use of clay dolls in order magically to stimulate a woman's fertility; the doll, called the "baby", is handed to the woman by a kachina dancer. Mrs Parsons was once shown such a doll that through its beneficial influence had given a woman a son. The doll "was being kept carefully as 'the heart' of the child. Were anything to happen to the doll or were they to sell it, 'the child it brought would not live' ".[44] James has drawn attention to the fact that the corn-cob fetish among the Zuni functions after the death of the individual as a reservoir for life, a kind of external soul.[45] Among the Cochiti, San Felipe and Hopi the maize fetish is the "heart" of the deceased or a substitute for him.[46] Concerning the owner of such a fetish it is said among the Zuni that he lives as long as the fetish wishes.[47] When James, however, uses the term external soul of a certain other type of fetish ("seed-filled cane"), he is going too far.[48]

Our survey leads us to the following results. In myth and popular tradition the legendary figures and heroes are equipped with an external soul which in the majority of cases is identical with the life-soul. People in our days are sometimes in spiritual contact with objects which may be said to constitute or contain some mystical extension of the nature of the external soul. More seldom, however, such an entity is an "external" life-soul, unless its human counterpart and owner has at least in part been removed to a supernatural sphere, as has happened with the deceased or the witch or the successful warrior who has had a strong medicine.[49] It is of course self-evident that to the extent to which the external soul is identical with the life-soul and its existence thus tantamount to the permanent stay of the life-soul out-

[43] Parsons 1939 I, 65. Cf. also op.cit., 423 sq.
[44] Parsons, op.cit., 317 sq.
[45] James 1927, 341.
[46] Parsons, op.cit., 320 sq. Cf. above, p. 141 (Cochiti, San Felipe). Concerning the heart as life-centre among the Pueblos, cf. above, p. 172.
[47] Parsons, op.cit., 322 sq.
[48] James, op.cit., loc.cit.; cf. Parsons, op.cit., 323 sqq. James's interpretation of the Sauk view of the medicine-bags is no more acceptable: he is confusing vitality with supernatural power (James, op.cit., 341 sq.). Concerning the distinction between these, see below, § 22.
[49] It is very probable that the life-soul has been read into such cases on the pattern of mythological instances.

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side the body, it cannot form part of the equipment of ordinary living people. The life-soul of the Eskimo child is not so firmly attached to the body, and therefore forms an exception.[50]

Let us once more consider the fact that what is characteristic for the external soul does not lie in its supposed soul-nature. The external soul is a projection of essence, which has only secondarily acquired the value of a life-soul.[51] This notwithstanding, our data—especially our data from the mythology—strikingly often give us to understand that the life-soul has combined its functions with those of the external soul. This is indicated by the facts that the external soul is called the life or the heart, that the individual is invulnerable as long as it is not in the body (if the life-soul were to be injured, this would of course have evil consequences), and that its destruction results almost immediately in the owner's death. This late identification of the two conceptions justifies in some measure our use of the term "the external soul".

As a mystical extension, the external soul comes near to the conception of *nagual*, and sometimes merges imperceptibly with this, as we shall see.[52] As a mystical extension, the external soul also has strong points of contact with the conception of the life-token and with divers blend-conceptions, such as the Bella Coola ideas of the tally post. We shall now consider the two last-mentioned conceptions.

Like the external soul, the life-token constitutes a projection of the life-essence, but without the weight and significance for the life of the individual of the external soul. The life-token does not guarantee the life of the individual, but it shows its mystical identity with him by succumbing at the same time as he does. In a number of cases its state reflects the degree of the individual's happiness and well-being; we have a good example of this in the notions connected with the birth-tree regarded as a life-token.[53] Hartland, who has dealt more comprehensively and in greater detail than any other writer with the problems connected with the life-token—in the second part of his investigation of the Perseus legend—distinguishes between two different kinds of life-token: "such as have some original connection with the hero, and such as are merely arbitrary".[54] Common to both

[50] Cf. also below, p. 438.
[51] See above, pp. 154, 332.
[52] See below, pp. 366 sq.
[53] Leach 1949 I, 145. In Sweden this tree is called the soul-tree ("vårdträd").
[54] Hartland 1895 II, 1.

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types is the belief that the life-token "is part of the substance of the personage whose welfare it indicates. It is the converse and essential correlative of the External Soul".[55] Hartland tries, however, to make out that one cannot, as Frazer does, draw a definite line between the life-token and the external soul, since the life-token sometimes takes on the function of the external soul, and the external soul always succumbs at the same time as its owner.[56] The conclusion seems to be not well motivated, for in the majority of cases the dividing line between the conceptions is sharply marked. This is of importance to us, for while the external soul is frequently a life-soul, the life-token is always only a mystical extension.

Some instances will suffice to show that the life-token may very well be defined as a particular, self-contained idea, which in itself is of no importance for the life of the individual and does not, therefore, constitute any soul-conception.

In the mythology and in legendary tradition we find the conception of the life-token in all parts of the North American continent. Everyone knows of the story of the Iroquois hero, Dekanawida, the half-mythical founder of the Iroquois confederation (end of the 15th century). We are told, inter alia, that he "departed southward, first assuring his mother that in the event of his death by violence or sorcery, the otter skin flayed entire which, with the head downward, he had hung in a corner of the lodge, would vomit blood".[57] In a Modoc legend concerning a doctor with remarkable powers it is said that he had a life-token, a wooden comb which he hung up when setting off on a journey. To his mother he said: "If this comb falls, you may know that somebody has killed me". The comb fell, and the mother then knew her son's fate.[58] The Mohave tell of the twin brothers who before going hunting hung a quiver in the hut and a hair from each of their heads over the door. They told their wives that if the quiver fell this would be a sign that they were dead, and if the hairs were snapped this would signify that they were dying.[59]

One might adduce many other instances. There are, above all, tales of "a plant that withers, or a pot that boils to signify that the hero is imperiled, or a digging stick that breaks".[60] All this would be deserv-

[55] Hartland 1896 III, 185.
[56] Hartland 1895 II, 30, 232, 441 sq.
[57] Hewitt in BBAE 30: 1 (1907), 384.
[58] Curtin 1912, 379 sq.
[59] Bourke 1889, 187. Cf. Spier 1933, 388, 391 (the Maricopa).
[60] Leach 1950 II, 619.

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ing of an investigation of its own, but it is not relevant to our present account of the soul. The examples already adduced are clear enough evidence that a typical life-token has no points of contact with the soul-beliefs.

But there are, as Hartland has pointed out, transitional forms between life-token and external soul. Such a transitional form is the Haida conception of the thread of life, represented in legend and in living popular belief. The Haida believe that every person and every animal is provided with a thread of life.[61] "In a grisly-bear story the male bear goes hunting, and in his progress unwinds a thread of life, one end of which is fastened in his den. When this thread stopped unwinding, his wife knew that he had gone as far as he intended to, and was about to return. Desiring to kill him, she cut the thread".[62] In other narratives, too, we read how the life-thread, which reveals a person's state, may when tampered with by another change the course of its owner's life. Two conceptions, that of the life-token and that of the external soul, have among the Haida merged in one undifferentiated conception. It should, however, be pointed out that not even here is it a matter of a life-soul or of any soul-conception proper at all.[63]

Finally, the external soul has also, it seems to me, close contact with a peculiar notion among the Bella Coola Indians, "the tally post".[64] That this conception falls within the circle of ideas of the "totem-pole culture" is immediately obvious, but the fundamental conception of the reciprocity between the individual and an external object whose appearance determines his health and duration of life shows an unmistakable connection with the external soul.

"The tally post", which looks like a totem-pole, is placed in the celestial realm of death by the Supreme God himself, and is raised simultaneously with the birth of the individual. "As long as this (post) remains upright and straight, firmly fixed to the ground, its owner continues to be strong and prosperous, and has success in all his undertakings; if it becomes loose, or is crooked, he ceases to succeed".[65] The condition of the life-pole thus determines that of the

[61] Swanton 1905 a, 189 note 17. This conception must of course not be confused with the life-line (cf. above, pp. 168 sqq.).
[62] Swanton 1905 b, 34.
[63] Cf. above, pp. 63 sq.
[64] McIlwraith 1948 I, 100 sqq.
[65] McIlwraith, op.cit., 101.

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individual. But the life-pole does not constitute an immutable destiny. Through his own activities the individual can cause a leaning pole to assume an upright position.[66] And the medicine-men are in special rites able to reach the other world and straighten a sick man's falling pole.[67] In this way a feeble individual gets new vitality.

Some of the Bella Coola believe that the tally post is always invisibly in the vicinity of the individual as an entity bringing good luck. McIlwraith considers, presumably rightly, that this conception is secondary, and has arisen through a fusion between the tally post and another entity.[68] This entity is perhaps the guardian soul (see § 25). The same vacillation between celestial being and essential substance localized near the person characterizes the conception of "the wash-basin", whose function is almost completely identical with that of the life-pole.[69] "There is a firm belief", writes McIlwraith, "that an individual's fortune in life depends upon the activity of spirit, tally post, and wash-basin".[70]

Also other peculiar conceptions have been developed around the notion of the external soul. It would, however, take us too far from our central theme to consider them all here. What has emerged emphasizes that the boundary between soul and essence may often be very vague.

[66] McIlwraith, op.cit., 115.
[67] McIlwraith, op.cit., II, 200 sqq., 242.
[68] McIlwraith, op.cit., I, 102.
[69] McIlwraith, op.cit., 103 sq.
[70] McIlwraith, op.cit., 104.

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VI. THE SOUL AND THE CONCEPTION OF POWER

22. The soul and supernatural power

The souls—and particularly the free-soul—may arrive at a remove from their central tasks and functions in two ways. Either they lose in concentration and clear outline by gradually becoming merged in more or less impersonal essence (and "life-stuff"); or else they acquire an individual concretion and an enhanced mystical value, and are then conceived as guardian spirits invested with power.

We shall devote this chapter to the emergence of the guardian spirit developed from the soul, which in the sequel we shall refer to as "the guardian soul", in order to be able to distinguish it from the guardian spirit detached from the person's life and as a rule acquired from without. The chief characteristic of the guardian soul is that it emanates supernatural power. It is herein distinguished from every other soul-conception. As we shall find, a real problem is presented by the fusion between the conceptions of soul and of supernatural power that has here taken place.

By supernatural power we mean a particular potency which is believed to be inherent in or possessed by spirit-beings, living persons (human beings, animals etc.) or objects, and which through the nature of its effect is considered to reveal a supernatural quality.[1] The belief in a supernatural power which is conceived now as a personal, now as an impersonal, potency constitutes the *sine qua non* of all religion.[2] From the psychological (but not from the evolutionistic!) point of view, the belief in a supernatural power constitutes the essential core of all religion; the significance of spirits and gods for their worshippers is due

[1] Concerning the question of supernatural power, see above all Arbman 1931, passim. Like Arbman, I wish to stress that in primitive popular belief power does not represent any collective quantity, distributed among the individual cases (cf. the French sociologists), it is an independent, individual property or potency wherever it appears.

[2] Tylor's well-known minimum definition—the belief in spiritual beings—is thus far too narrow (Tylor 1871 I, 383). Cf. Marett 1909, 137, Goldenweiser 1946, 225.

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first and foremost to the fact that they give expression to supernatural power.

The belief in supernatural power as a consciously delimited phenomenon is best known from Melanesia, where, as we know, it is called *mana* (Codrington). The Indians of North America, however, are not unfamiliar with the belief in a supernatural potency which, in its exact sense, sometimes comes rather close to *mana*. This is especially the case with the *orenda* of the Iroquois, which, like *mana*, shows a chiefly impersonal aspect.[3] The term orendism has even been launched as a substitute for the older designations for the belief in *mana* (preanimism, animatism, dynamism).[4] But also other Indian tribes have had similar ideas of an impersonally conceived power, particularly the Siouan tribes; we may here mention such conceptions as the *mahopa* of the Hidatsa,[5] the Crow *maxpé*,[6] the *wakan* of the Dakota.[7] We have already seen how these concepts have in speculative and higher religious belief taken on a wider significance.[8] Of other power-conceptions of which we know the names we may adduce the *sulia* of the Salish Indians,[9] the *manitou* of the Algonquin,[10] *boha* of the Shoshoni[11] and *tipni* of the Yokuts.[12] Further instances might be adduced.[13]

Not infrequently the power is possessed by a human being, a medicine-man, for instance. Like the soul (or souls), power then constitutes a property of the person in question. It is therefore frequently mentioned together with the soul, though this does not mean that the two conceptions are necessarily tantamount to each other—the contrary is as a rule the case. "The Dacotas", writes Keating,"admit that there are in man two distinct essences, to which they respectively apply the terms of Wanare and Wahkan, which our interpreters translate by soul and spirit".[14] Here the two concepts are classed side by side, but no identity is presumed to obtain between them. Sometimes they are even given under the same religious category.[15] This has occurred among the Oglala,

[3] See further above, p. 191 and the literature adduced in the notes.
[4] Cf. von Sydow 1941, 82 sq.
[5] Matthews 1877, 48.
[6] Lowie 1922, 315 sqq.
[7] Walker 1917, 152 sq.
[8] See § 14.
[9] Hill-Tout 1907 a, 173, 174 sqq.
[10] Jones 1905.
[11] Hultkrantz 1951, 23.
[12] Kroeber 1925, 512.
[13] See Schnepp 1932, 54.
[14] Keating 1825 I, 410. Cf. above, p. 90 note 34.
[15] Cf. Arbman 1927, 221.

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where *wakanlapi*, "the Gods-like", constitutes a common designation for the various souls and the power.[16] But one is for this reason not entitled to deduce an inner identity of essence.

This careful distinction is from psychological points of departure fully motivated. The difference between the soul and the supernatural power is fundamental. Power is a mysterious capacity, which violently breaks through the familiar dynamics of natural events. The soul, in its turn, may, certainly, as among the Bella Coola and Dakota, be referred to the supernatural potencies in man; but its mode of operation is less unexpected and mystical, more congruent with our everyday experience.[17] The soul expresses, in other words, no extraordinary, miraculous capacity, even if its activity does not lie on the natural plane. The free-soul, man's extra-physical replica, may undertake marvellous voyages in supersensuous worlds; but despite its remarkable abilities it possesses no supernatural power. Nor may the body-souls be compared with the power, although as potencies they come rather close to it. The life-soul gives rise to life-force; and this profane force has often been uncritically identified by research as the supernatural power.[18] The similarity here lies only on the surface; qualitatively the conceptions are distinct.[19]

Several data support the assumption that the distinction drawn here between the soul and the supernatural power, that we have taken as psychologically primordial, has in many places been essential to religious belief. In a Kwakiutl narrative reproduced in the foregoing (§ 4) a definite distinction is drawn between the souls and the supernatural power, here conceived as a quartz crystal introduced into the lower part of the breast-bone, while the life-soul as breath finds its entry through the mouth and the free-soul enters through the crown of the head.[20] Among the Sinkaietk "one's power was something quite distinct from his soul".[21] The Ojibway Indian formulates in groping terms the difference between soul and *manido* which is self-evident to him.[22]

[16] Walker, op.cit., 80. Three souls are mentioned, as well as "the imparted supernatural potency", *sicun* (cf. above, p. 122). Concerning *sicun* and *wakan*, see further below, p. 348.

[17] We may add that the soul is as a rule endogenous and intimately connected with the individual, whereas the power is exogenous and loosely connected with the individual.

[18] See Arbman, op.cit., 221 and note 1.

[19] Cf. Arbman, op.cit., 222 note 2; Schnepp, op.cit., 55, 60. See also the distinction between soul and spirit drawn by Nieuwenhuis, above, p. 22.

[20] Boas 1930 II, 49 sq.

[21] Spier 1938, 133.

[22] Barnouw 1950, 108.

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Hewitt, through a careful linguistic investigation, has been able to show that "*orenda* is not regarded by the Iroquoian speakers as a synonym of some biotic or psychic faculty".[23] The distinction among the Dakota between soul and power that may possibly be read out of some lines by Keating, quoted above, becomes clearly apparent in Pond's remark that the term *wakan* is never used of the soul, even if in its nature the latter is *wakan*.[24] The Wind River Shoshoni distinguish at least theoretically between the free-soul and the supernatural power.[25] The Paviotso believe that if a shaman is awakened from his sleep his "powers" are irritated and take away his "mind".[26] Among the Sinkyone the soul's absence from the body caused the individual to sink into unconsciousness, whereas power, the supernatural helper, "could leave his body at will without his losing consciousness and without any other extraordinary manifestation".[27]

Also the distinction between supernatural power and life-force is to be found in our source-material. The Iroquoian peoples have different designations for muscular, physical strength and force in a more general sense; but none of these terms is identical with *orenda*, which alone signifies mystical power.[28] The Wind River Shoshoni also distinguish between the ordinary profane life-force and supernatural power.[29] The circumstance that in many places power, like the life-force, is measurable—a doctor, for instance, may have more or less of it[30]—takes nothing from its qualitatively peculiar character.

As far as I am able to find, it is probable that power and the soul (or souls) were originally distinct, since they express conceptions which are different in kind. This does not, however, mean that the original distinction between them has remained. As we have seen earlier, an historical development may wipe out the traces of an older belief based upon direct psychological factors.[31] Also the belief in supernatural power has undergone changes. In the first place it has been formed according to the pattern of the soul-belief. And in the second place it

[23] Hewitt 1902, 44.
[24] Pond 1889, 217. *Wakan* has the double significance of supernatural in origin and supernatural in virtue of miraculous activity, i.e. as a supernatural power. Cf. Riggs 1890, 507 sq.
[25] Hultkrantz, op.cit., 34.
[26] Park 1938, 41.
[27] Nomland 1935, 168 sq.
[28] Hewitt, op.cit., 45.
[29] Hultkrantz, op.cit., 23.
[30] Cf. e.g. Hallowell 1940, 33 (the Saulteaux).
[31] See above, p. 247.

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has in certain cases merged with the soul-belief. We shall later endeavour to ascertain whether the last-mentioned process has directly to do with the former.

The belief in a supernatural power has been organized in the same way as the soul-belief. To judge by the evidence, this has not necessarily implied that it has thereby noticeably lost any of its own strength and original character. Formally, however, power has been reduced to one potency amongst several others in man. One may discuss the point as to whether the soul-conception has in this connection had an inspiring effect, or whether the result has been due to man's innate natural conceptual tendencies; for my own part I incline to the latter hypothesis. At all events, the conceptions of soul and power have often assumed an external resemblance which may have a striking and confusing effect. We shall here give an account of some dominant aspects of power which strongly remind one of the soul. One is led to think now of one of the body-souls, now of the free-soul.

Supernatural power is often conceived, like the soul, as given by some high divinity, perhaps a Supreme Being. Among the Wind River Shoshoni "certain persons were born with *boha*, a gift from the Maker".[32] A Yuma doctor possesses "a divine power, an immaterial essence which flows into him from his guardian spirit and ultimately from the creator himself".[33] Like the soul, power may be permanently connected with the individual. As we have seen, one is sometimes born with it; the Fox believe that the human beings who have been gifted with power from birth have a darker complexion than others.[34] Like the soul, power leaves a person at or shortly before his death,[35] perhaps to follow the soul on the other side.[36] Among the Algonquian and Siouan peoples power follows the soul through several existences, i. e. is reincarnated with the individual (who is then a medicine-man).[37] Power may also, like the soul but independently of this, be incarnated in a

[32] Hultkrantz, op.cit., 30.
[33] Forde 1931, 199. Cf. also Eliade 1951, 105.
[34] Jones 1939, 30; Michelson 1932, 55; cf. Michelson 1925, 413.
[35] Turney-High 1941, 171 (the Kootenay), Spier 1938, 133 (the Sinkaietk), Jenness 1932, 343 (East and Central Canada); see also Collins 1952 a, 349 (the Skagit).
[36] Cf. e.g. *sicun* among the Oglala (Walker, op.cit., 158). Other data concerning the guardian spirit as the soul's guide: the Slave (Jenness 1932, 392); Shawnee (Voegelin 1936, 16); Fox (Jones 1939, 12); Missouri tribes (Hunter 1826, 253); Skidi Pawnee (Dorsey & Murie 1940, 101); Southern Paiute (Kelly 1939, 155); San Juan (Parsons 1929, 63); Cochiti (Dumarest 1919, 167, 169 sq.); Santa Ana (White 1942, 173). Cf. also the White Mountain Apache, above, p. 32, note 79.
[37] See Conard 1900, 48 (the Algonquin); Pond 1889, 238 sq.; Schoolcraft 1860 VI, 652 (the Dakota).

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relative of its deceased owner.[38] But power reminds one of the soul above all by being most often personally conceived and by sharing its seat with the soul.

The American Schnepp, who has made an inventory of conceptions coinciding with *mana* from all over the world, asserts that "a mana power that is 'personal' seems untenable".[39] This conclusion, which seems in part to be a consequence of his interpretation of power as "all-pervading", is based upon an erroneous view of the psychological possibilities of the idea of power. For supernatural power may in one and the same case oscillate between personal and impersonal. If Schnepp had observed this, he would not have eliminated those cases in which the conception of power is closely allied to the conception of the guardian spirit.[40] Nor, in this case, would he have found it necessary to represent the conception of power as an, also in North America, idea of less than general occurrence, and one whose geographical distribution would indicate that "the mana-concept was probably not part of the earliest magico-religious culture of man".[41]

The defective delimitation among the Indians between the conceptions personal and impersonal has already been pointed out by Radin.[42] Some instances will suffice to show how easily in North America supernatural power glides from its impersonal to its personal aspect.

The medicine-bag has, as we know, been understood as a symbol for the attachment of the guardian spirit to the individual; but over and above this it has been conceived to possess mysterious powers that have made it a representative for the spirit itself, indeed, an entity identical with the spirit. Catlin assumes the existence of this identity when he speaks of the Indian's "guardian *Spirit*, that is buried with him, and which is to conduct him safe to the beautiful hunting grounds".[43] Among the Wind River Shoshoni both the guardian spirit and the medicine-bag were designated by the same name, *boha*. Like the *wakan* of the Dakota and the Yokuts' *tipni*, *boha* is both substantive and adjective. A person may have *boha* in his hair, which may, but need not necessar-

[38] See e.g. Swanton 1905 b, 53 (the Haida); Smith 1940, 57 (the Puyallup-Nisqually).
[39] Schnepp, op.cit., 60.
[40] Schnepp, op.cit., 58, 60. Cf. also Benedict 1923, 8.
[41] Schnepp, op.cit., 60.
[42] Radin 1915, 279. Schnepp finds that it has not been possible to prove the occurrence of such a conceptual gliding.
[43] Catlin 1841 I, 37. Cf. Tylor 1871 II, 142, and Coleman 1937, 50. Catlin does not say which Indians he is referring to. The custom of burying the medicine-bag with the dead has, however, not been general (cf. e.g. the Papago, Underhill 1946 a, 283).

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here been combined with so many spiritual attributes. Originally, this turquoise or agate man was not a soul; it is not "inherent or immortal", but acquired by ritual.[64] That it is in this connection a supernatural power emerges from the myth. The Sun God says to his son Monster Slayer concerning the agate man he has placed inside him: "the man I put inside you will make you invincible to any evil you may encounter in the future".[65] However, this power is described in its external aspect in a manner which reminds one of the soul: it is said to have its seat in the breast,[66] and it is represented as a person: it is an interior miniature being, conceived entirely anthropomorphically.[67] Reichard has also half and half chosen to understand it as some kind of soul-being when it occurs in natural objects. She points out that a mountain has an "inner form" which stabilizes it, "doubtless a counterpart of the Agate or Turquoise Man which makes a man invincible".[68] This inner form is "something which gives it life, perhaps makes it sentient".[69] It is therefore, Dr. Reichard seems to opine, in certain respects a parallel conception to the soul.[70] This has not, however, been fully proven. But it is nonetheless certain that the notion of a miniature spirit inside man has possessed qualities that have created the soil for its conversion from a power-conception to a soul-conception.

Is one then also to venture the assumption that a fusion between soul and power developed spontaneously in other quarters, without any mediating missionary influence, but in other respects with the same primary conditions obtaining as in the Navajo case? Theoretically there is nothing to contradict the possibility that a long development of tradition and speculation might in course of time bring the two different conceptions closer to each other on the strength of their external characteristics. A definitive fusion might perhaps in a number of cases be facilitated and hastened by the circumstance that both the soul and power may be identified with a third spiritual entity, such as the name.[71] But one must not overlook the fact that there are definitive obstacles in the way of the fusion as long as the belief in the supernatural power connected with the individual is a reality—which, certainly, is no longer the case in mission-circles among the Navajo.

[64] Reichard 1950 I, 32 sq.
[65] Reichard, op.cit., II, 583. Cf. also Reichard, op.cit., I, 212, II, 382.
[66] Reichard, op.cit., I, 32.
[67] Reichard, op.cit., I, 212, II, 583.
[68] Reichard, op.cit., II, 452.
[69] Reichard, op.cit., I, 20.
[70] Reichard, op.cit., II, 382.
[71] Concerning the name as a basis for supernatural power, see above, p. 321.

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breath. Dr. Bunzel reports that among the Zuni this is "the seat of power or mana".[54] But it is above all in the heart, this central station for all man's qualities and potencies, that supernatural power is localized. In the Tsimshian narrative "The Hunters" we are told how nine brothers who had been killed by Chief Grizzly Bear come to life again when the heart of the finally slain bear is swung over their bodies.[55] Concerning power, "the Okanagon believed, in a vague way, that it resided inside him, perhaps in his chest or in his heart".[56] A Cahuilla legend localizes "the source of power" in the shape of a lizard to the heart.[57] And so forth.

Especially in the Pueblo region power has its seat in the body at the heart, as have also the soul and numerous qualities.[58] The kachina dancer[59] carries a "heart", containing "a small package of corn kernels of all colors, squash, melon, and sometimes wild seeds". These "hearts" are said to give the dancers their supernatural power.[60] "Now you shall be my heart", says the kachina dancer in Zuni to this fetish, before personifying the supernatural guest in the dance. "You shall make me into a raw person (spirit). You will bring good luck, for me and for all my people, so that our corn may grow".[61] Even after a person's death the heart is a centre of power. "On a slope below First Mesa (Hopi) under a conspicuous old cedar there is buried the heart of a Navaho chief, which is deemed a protection for First Mesa".[62] The extraordinary qualities of the dead warrior, concentrated in the heart, acquire after his death a supernatural value.

The points of agreement between the soul—i.e. one or more of the souls—and supernatural power adduced here lie, it is true, on a superficial plane. They do not touch what is essential, the import of the conceptions. But it does appear possible that the formal resemblances may pave the way for a fusion between the soul and power.

The modern soul-belief of the Navajo affords an instructive example.[63] The transformation of a turquoise being inside man from a power-conception to a conception of the soul effected on missionary initiative would presumably not have been able to take place if the power had not

[54] Bunzel 1932 a, 481.
[55] Boas 1916, 150 sq. Cf. Boas 1912, 163.
[56] Spier, op.cit., loc.cit.
[57] Hooper 1920, 339.
[58] Cf. above, pp. 171 sq., 174.
[59] Concerning the kachinas (katcinas), cf. above, p. 186.
[60] Parsons 1939 II, 733 sq.
[61] Bunzel 1932 b, 894; Parsons, op.cit., I, 423 sq.
[62] Parsons 1925, 7.
[63] Their modern soul-conception and its origin has been mentioned above, p. 46.

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here been combined with so many spiritual attributes. Originally, this turquoise or agate man was not a soul; it is not "inherent or immortal". but acquired by ritual.[64] That it is in this connection a supernatural power emerges from the myth. The Sun God says to his son Monster Slayer concerning the agate man he has placed inside him: "the man I put inside you will make you invincible to any evil you may encounter in the future".[65] However, this power is described in its external aspect in a manner which reminds one of the soul: it is said to have its seat in the breast,[66] and it is represented as a person: it is an interior miniature being, conceived entirely anthropomorphically.[67] Reichard has also half and half chosen to understand it as some kind of soul-being when it occurs in natural objects. She points out that a mountain has an "inner form" which stabilizes it, "doubtless a counterpart of the Agate or Turquoise Man which makes a man invincible".[68] This inner form is "something which gives it life, perhaps makes it sentient".[69] It is therefore, Dr. Reichard seems to opine, in certain respects a parallel conception to the soul.[70] This has not, however, been fully proven. But it is nonetheless certain that the notion of a miniature spirit inside man has possessed qualities that have created the soil for its conversion from a power-conception to a soul-conception.

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[64] Reichard 1950 I, 32 sq.
[65] Reichard, op.cit., II, 583. Cf. also Reichard, op.cit., I, 212, II, 382.
[66] Reichard, op.cit., I, 32.
[67] Reichard, op.cit., I, 212, II, 583.
[68] Reichard, op.cit., II, 452.
[69] Reichard, op.cit., I, 20.
[70] Reichard, op.cit., II, 382.
[71] Concerning the name as a basis for supernatural power, see above, p. 321.

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A clearer light falls upon our problem if we subject the natural qualifications of the individual souls for the fusion to a closer examination. Which of man's souls shows the most obvious tendency to merge with the supernatural power to form an unitary conception?

It is remarkable to note that the body-souls so very seldom show tendencies to merge with power. The life-soul should otherwise, of course, offer good possibilities of contact. But it is only among the Shoshoni that one glimpses a more definite connection between the life-soul and power. The life-soul conception *mugua* among the Wind River Shoshoni has a suspicious tendency to glide over into supernatural power; one of my Shoshoni informants even assured me that the two conceptions are almost identical.[72] An old squaw among the Sheepeater Indians (of the Shoshoni tribe) informed me that the heroes of former times were invulnerable by the gunshot of the enemy because they possessed a strong *mugua* or several *muguas*.[73] The White Knife Shoshoni believed in the supernatural power, *Buha*, which according to Harris, however, also played a further rôle. "Merely in order to live every person must possess the bird-like *Buha*, the life-principle. But beyond this essential minimum, supernatural power was accorded each individual in varying degrees".[74] It is difficult to avoid the impression that the Shoshoni identification of life-soul and power had a single origin, from the historical viewpoint. In all the Shoshoni groups referred to here the life-soul has a peculiarly transient attachment to the body; it can also, amongst other things, function as a free-soul. That this is significant in this connection we shall presently become aware.

In certain cases there are linguistic indications of a possible connection between supernatural power and the ego-soul. In a Modoc myth the Fox says: "I have two minds; I can do anything".[75] The linguistic usage reminds one of that of the Sheepeaters in the example adduced above. An older Iroquoian word for the wish-soul, still retained among the Huron as the name for this soul, now signifies "medicine" among other Iroquoian groups. The displacement of meaning, which according to Hewitt was stimulated by a linguistic development, has not, however, led to any identification between power and ego-soul.[76] The *sila* of the Eskimo is, as we have tried to show, the force of intelligence

[72] Hultkrantz, op.cit., 23, 30.
[73] Hultkrantz, op.cit., 21.
[74] Harris 1940, 56 sq.; cf. also op.cit., 65 note 20.
[75] Curtin 1912, 344.
[76] Hewitt 1895, 113; Hewitt 1902, 44.

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in man and as such a quality, related to the ego-soul.[77] According to Thalbitzer, it is connected with "the magic power of the air"; it does not clearly emerge whether this implies identity between the intelligence and this vaguely formulated conception of mystical power.[78] However, the conception *sila* probably expresses a profane life-force rather than a supernatural power.

Of these linguistically motivated collocations, none gives definite support to any assumption of the development or merging of the ego-soul into a supernatural power. Greater importance as evidence must be attached to a couple of ethnographical notes from the Chipewyan and Naskapi.

In the soul-belief of the Chipewyan the thought-potency plays an important rôle. "Simply by the thought alone the soul can bring happiness or misfortune over another".[79] No more detailed accounts of how this takes place are available. Perhaps it is here not a matter of a one-sided magical activity, but of a religio-magical, as among the Naskapi. Speck reports from the Naskapi that by concentrating his intellect-soul upon certain goals a person might attain them; "the individual concentrates upon his desires and waits for his Great Man to make it a reality for him". Through such an operation an individual may be in a position to cross a watercourse: he finds ice building a bridge over the water, or he suddenly finds himself removed to the other bank.[80] Among the Naskapi, power and the ego-soul have in a way come to be contained in one and the same conception. We note, however, that the ego-soul here does not directly express the ego of the individual, but constitutes a higher dignity above this.[81] The ego-soul is, as we know, as a rule a potency, which does not altogether coincide with the personality itself;[82] in this case the potency in question has been distanced from the personality in the shape of a superior ego, a power-being.[83]

In contradistinction to the body-souls, the free-soul is often found to have joined forces, as it were, with the supernatural power, as a large number of data have shown (§ 25). There can be no doubt but that this is not an accident, but a regular state of affairs, which throws light upon the problem of the origin of the power-soul. It may therefore

[77] See above, pp. 190, 217.
[78] Thalbitzer 1930 a, 138 sq.; Thalbitzer 1930 b, 98.
[79] Birket-Smith 1930, 79.
[80] Speck 1935 a, 184 sq. Cf. above, pp. 209, 217 sq., 234, 234 sq.
[81] Cf. above, pp. 234, 234 sq.
[82] See above, pp. 208, 240 sq.
[83] Cf. above, p. 234.

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be in place to give here some conclusions concerning the preconditions upon which the general fusion between soul and power is based.

The remarkable thing is that the fusion has taken place so rarely, as long as the soul has been intimately connected with the body. The supernatural power has seldom merged with any of the body-souls, whereas it has rather often become identical with the extra-physical soul—something which is calculated to surprise, since power seems to be nearest to the life-soul, both through its association to vital parts of the body and through its reminder of the life-force. The conclusion to be drawn must be that external agreements between power and the soul have not played the rôle for a fusion that we have perhaps expected.[84] In general, the body-souls have not, without risking their functions, which are bound to the life of the body, been able to meet the sovereign conception of power, which is in the last analysis independent of the body. The free-soul has been better able to adapt itself: the more remote from the body it has been, the nearer it has come to the supernatural power.[85] It is only when the body-soul has acquired free-soul qualities (the Shoshoni) or been converted to a superior potency relatively detached from the body (the Naskapi) that the fusion between body-soul and conception of power can be realized.

The continued investigation of the soul's transition to power must thus be concentrated chiefly on the free-soul. The qualities in the free-soul and in power that definitively produced the power-soul are to be found in an extreme form in the conceptions of the double-ganger and nagual. It will be as well to describe these first, partly because they represent lines of thought presupposed by the power-soul, and partly because in themselves they constitute peculiar offshoots in the extensive sphere of soul-beliefs.

23. The double-ganger

With "double-ganger" or "double" we refer of course generally to the conception of a replica of the individual resembling him in all essentials, yet being not himself, but his wraith.[1] In order to be able in

[84] Cf. above, pp. 345 sq. See however, below, p. 401, concerning indications of a fusion between power and unitary soul among the Pueblo Indians.

[85] Cf. above, pp. 34 sq.

[1] We abstract here from the fact that in everyday speech a person may be de-

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the following to make the phenomenon psychologically comprehensible, we shall here extend the definition, defining as follows: a double-ganger is a spiritual being coordinated with the individual and connected with his existence, and for different reasons—sometimes on account of its resemblance to him—identified with him and appearing simultaneously with its human partner, but in another place. This definition calls for an elucidatory codicil if we are to be able to distinguish the double-ganger effectively from the nagual: the double-ganger is a special variation of the idea of the free-soul. It is often anthropomorphous, but certainly not always. It is as a rule presumed that both the person and his double-ganger are active at the same time; in certain cases, however, the person is rather passive, as for instance when the double-ganger manifests itself shortly before or at the time of his owner's decease.

We are first confronted with the question of the origin of the conception of the double-ganger. It is at once obvious that this conception may in the first place be traced to subjective experiences, and may in the second place derive from the conditions of an already existing soul-belief.

The subjective experiences are predominantly hallucinations and illusions, which occur most frequently in connection with shallow trance.[2] Many of the experiences are visionary: people make false observations, see phantoms. Among the latter are to be noted especially the so-called autoscopic hallucinations, visions of the subject's own ego, which appear in connection with fatigue and hypnoidal states of mind or as side-phenomena of certain diseases.[3] To the visionary hallucinations belong also the visions of persons whose death is imminent. Attempts have been made to explain these as telepathic products: it has been imagined that they are caused by thought-transference from a person at the moment of his death.[4] That thought-transference may give rise to an auditive hallucination of an absent person seems, curiously enough, to be asserted by a number of Indians themselves. Cline's report on the Sinkaietk mentions this: "Living people who were absent could sometimes be heard talking. One evening when Johnnie's uncle

scribed as another's "double" on account of his likeness to him. Concerning the wraith, cf. Leach 1950 II, 1185.

[2] Cf. above, p. 277. Cf. also Crawley 1909, 193.

[3] Lhermitte 1951, 431 sqq. Cf. Baerwald, 98 sq.

[4] It is incontestable that a person's psychic resources, and not least his telepathic capacity, are strong in states of great emotional stress, e.g. on the verge of death (Schmidt 1923, 73). It is experiences of this kind that have stimulated the belief in the power of the dying (Ström 1947, 7 sqq.).

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had been away and was expected home, his people heard him singing outside the house, but as his voice came nearer it died away. He did not return for two or three days. Johnnie explained that the uncle must have been thinking 'strong' of coming, but was unable to return so soon".[5] It may be thought that also the visionary experience of the double-ganger of a dying man may best be explained in this way, as well as the majority of other "veridical" hallucinations.[6] We cannot, however, judge of this here. Also the expectation of a person's approaching death may give rise to hallucinations, provided that the necessary condition—the belief in the appearance of the apparition—obtains.[7]

This belief exists. The visual image of the double-ganger of a person about to die is nothing other than a portrait of the free-soul as this appears on its departure from one who is dying—as we shall see, this departure may take place days, months, indeed even years before the individual's physical decease (see § 31). The notion of the double-ganger is a variant of the conception of the extra-physical soul, and is, one might say, a product of the special development of the free-soul that we have already observed (§ 16). As we know, the free-soul tends to become objectivized and distanced from its owner, to appear as a half detached being, an *alter ego*. This process may have, inter alia, the following two consequences, of significance for the origin of the double-ganger conception. Firstly, it is rather natural to identify an objectivized free-soul with the physical shadow.[8] Secondly, it is only to be expected that a soul which is so loosely connected with the individual as is the emancipated free-soul should be able to leave its owner at practically any time. "The soul can leave the body at any time, and wander around like a ghost", is the Shuswap belief.[9] In these circumstances we find the necessary ideological soil for the figure of the double-ganger.

The conception of the double-ganger has thus developed from the conception of the free-soul, as some writers have already pointed out.[10] When the free-soul is called a "double", its connection with the double-ganger is actually indicated. In a few cases it is possible to show lin-

[5] Spier 1938, 170. Cf. op.cit., 169.

[6] By "veridical hallucinations" are meant those hallucinations which are believed to correspond to actual occurrences (see Gurney, Myers & Podmore, Phantasms of the Living, London 1886).

[7] The Swedish folklorist von Sydow refers to such experiences as "expectancy hallucinations".

[8] See above, pp. 302, 308 sq.

[9] Teit 1909, 611.

[10] Cf., besides Wundt, Crawley 1911, 855; Arbman 1927, 132 note 1, 139 note 1; Körner 1937, 24 sq. (cites data from Africa and the South Seas).

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guistically the inherent tendency of the free-soul to develop into a double-ganger, viz. when the name for it expresses reduplication or repetition, as among the Eskimo on Greenland, among the Okanagon and among the Delaware Indians.[11]

A double-ganger is thus the free-soul when its extra-physical appearance occurs *at the same time as* its owner is a waking, active individual.[12] The double-ganger herewith falls somewhat outside the scope of the free-soul's normal mode of functioning; it assumes a stamp of its own, which sometimes makes its connection with the free-soul rather problematic. Whether it is ever passive is never clearly stated; nor, as a rule, is one told whether it can exist by the side of an ordinary free-soul, or whether it is always conceived as identical with this free-soul. The double-ganger is, in other words, a rather vague conception, now and then of actual topical interest, but never fully thought out. It is an "Elementargedanke", whose distribution it is pointless to try to ascertain.

It is thus not so surprising if the North American material concerning the conception of the double-ganger is both fragmentary and unevenly distributed. It is, however, sufficient to be able to give us a general, orientating picture of the phenomenon, in some points thorough-going and detailed. If one escapes the temptation to include irrelevant but more or less similar conceptions in one's investigation, one soon becomes aware of the characteristic features of the double-ganger.[13]

The chief characteristic of the double-ganger is, of course, that it operates simultaneously with is prototype, the human being. The Ojibway Indian sees his acquaintance at a short distance, although he should by rights be far away—it is the shadow-soul which manifests itself, they say then.[14] One can oneself see one's own wraith, as the following instance from the Wahpeton Dakota shows: "When a man

[11] Thalbitzer 1930 b, 96; Spier 1938, 168; Brinton 1885, 69. Cf. also Curtis 1911 VII, 127 (the Kootenay). Thalbitzer translates *tarnikka* as "my two souls", which appears to be a meaningless substitute for "my soul" (cf. Thalbitzer 1930 a, 139). "My double soul", i.e. my double-ganger soul, is a more meaningful rendering of the dual form.

[12] Wundt refers also to the free-soul observed by the dreamer himself in the dream as a double-ganger (Wundt 1910, 70 sq., 173, 177, 210). We have described this emancipated dream-soul earlier (cf. above, p. 275).

[13] The label of double-ganger has frequently been arbitrarily applied to phenomena of quite another order. When Krickeberg states that the wooden masks of the Eskimo represent, amongst other things, the guardian spirit *tornaq* he blithely refers to this as a double-ganger (Krickeberg 1922, 89). Crawley's interpretation of the *oyaron* of the Iroquois as a double-ganger is also over-hasty (Crawley 1911, 857); it is as a matter of fact species-soul and guardian spirit (see § 34).

[14] Jenness 1935, 20.

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sees a will-o'the-wisp and is not frightened by it, he is looking at his own spirit which has temporarily left the body, as it will do permanently at death".[15] Sproat's Nootka informant "asked me if I had ever seen a soul, and said he had once seen his own, when, at the close of a severe illness, it was brought to him by the sorcerer on a small piece of stick, and thrown into his head".[16]

A secondary distinguishing feature of the double-ganger is that it is not, like the shadow, merely an attendant being following in its owner's wake, but is generally freer in its movements, unbound by both time and space. Among the Naskapi, where the soul is called "companion-being" or "corresponding-being",[17] and among the Polar Eskimo and the Mohave, who conceive of the shadow-soul as a shadow altogether outside the body,[18] the double-ganger is incompletely developed. Among the Shahaptin and Wintu the free-soul walks before and behind its owner respectively, and at least among the Wintu the distance between the person and his double-ganger is very great.[19] The Wintu also tell one that during its owner's lifetime the free-soul "is always around the house".[20] The shadow-soul of the Ojibway is a fully developed double-ganger, whose movements are very little bound by its owner's doings.[21] The Wind River Shoshoni were formerly able to evoke shadows representing themselves, placed far in front of them—thus a kind of double-gangers. In this case, however, it is doubtful whether the double-ganger may be regarded as a derivation of the free-soul.[22]

It is impossible to establish whether the double-ganger of the North American Indians, like that of the Swedes and the Lapps, possesses the qualities of its owner.[23] On the other hand it is certain that the North American double-ganger can be both an amiable spirit and a horrible demon. In the former case, when as among e.g. the Ojibway the spirit communicates warnings and information to its owner in signs and speech, we may best characterize it as a guardian spirit (see § 25).[24] In the latter case the double-ganger is regarded with negative feelings,

[15] Wallis 1923, 48.
[16] Sproat 1868, 214.
[17] Speck 1924, 269.
[18] See above, pp. 208 sq. Cf. also above, p. 341 (the Bella Coola).
[19] Du Bois 1938, 32 (the Shahaptin); Du Bois 1935, 77 (the Wintu).
[20] Du Bois 1935, loc.cit.
[21] Jenness, op.cit., loc.cit.
[22] Hultkrantz 1951, 42 note 50. Cf. above, pp. 302 sq.
[23] Ström, op.cit., 50 note 1.
[24] Cf. Jenness, op.cit., 19 sq.

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since it is either directly malicious or is thought to possess an ominous quality. If the double-ganger is of the first-mentioned character, its malice may be directed against its owner, as among the Ungava Eskimo, where every person is believed to have a double-ganger that annoys him, and that can only be placated with offerings of food, water and clothes.[25] As a rule, however, the mere appearance of the double-ganger is regarded as a bad omen.

This is connected with the fact that the double-ganger most often makes its appearance at or before a death. "The special meaning of the term 'double', as the so-called 'spiritual double', is", writes Crawley, "the 'wraith' or visible counterpart of the person, seen just before or just after or at the moment of, his death".[26] We have just given an account of the premisses upon which this belief in the double-ganger is based.[27] But the double-ganger foretokening death is not exclusively visually perceived. In the majority of cases it manifests itself only to the sense of hearing, i. e. its presence is deduced on the strength of certain auditory impressions. Especially the "auditory" double-ganger runs the risk of evaporating in vague conceptions. But also the "visual" double-ganger may experience the same fate. The idea of the double-ganger pales away into a belief in omens based upon chance visual and auditory associations and without any relation to the existing soul-belief.

In the following we shall consider more closely the double-ganger foretokening death, as well as the contiguous visual and auditive phenomena with a similar ominous character mentioned above. We shall first consider the visual double-ganger.

In its capacity of ominous, death-foretokening being, the visually perceived double-ganger is, as has already been pointed out, the conventional form for the free-soul, which leaves the body to depart for the realm of the dead. The appearance of the double-ganger often presages its owner's imminent death—only in exceptional cases do we find that the sight of it causes any injury to anyone else.[28] The identity of the double-ganger with the free-soul appears also from the circumstance that both the free-soul seen in dreams and in the state of unconsciousness and the double-ganger beheld in the state of waking consciousness may have the same death-foretokening import. But whereas the free-

[25] Turner 1894, 193 sq.
[26] Crawley, op.cit., 855.
[27] See above, p. 355.
[28] An example from the Coast Pomo: if a man sees another man's shadow, and the man himself is not there, "the man gets scared, and may get sick" (Loeb 1926, 317). Cf. also the Carrier (Jenness 1943, 536).

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soul observed in dreams as a rule assumes its ominous import on account of its situation (it is proceeding towards the realm of the dead, is actually there, and so forth), the sight of a double-ganger is in itself an omen of death. In many cases, of course, the double-ganger may through its ghost-like appearance strengthen the validity of the prognosis of death. Among the Lemhi the wraith indicates with its skeleton-like appearance that its owner's death is imminent.[29] And the Penobscot assert that "humanly formed creatures of a fiery appearance are seen walking about where calamities are going to occur. Many claim to have witnessed this".[30]

The belief that the sight of a person's double-ganger is an omen of his death is rather common in all parts of North America.[31] It is in this connection of lesser importance whether the revelation is received by the medicine-man notorious for his visionary powers or the ordinary layman. We get a rather typical picture of the popular view of the ominous significance of the double-ganger's appearance by referring to Osgood's account of some experiences by his informant among the Tanaina. "One day he was walking along the trail to the village and he saw the shadow-spirit of one of the men living in that community. In the following days he saw the man himself going about his work without any presentiment of death, but before the week had ended the man whose shadow-spirit had appeared to the shaman, was dead".[32] Also the vision of one's own double-ganger is expected to lead to similar consequences. Grinnell relates from the Cheyenne: "If a man sees his shade, it is a sign that he will soon die. A sick man may send for a friend to come to him, and say: 'Well, my friend, I have sent for you that I may see you once more, for I am about to die. I have seen my shadow' ".[33] The Carrier Indian who had seen his own double-ganger undertook measures to persuade it—i.e. the free-soul—to return to its owner. As long as it was at large away from its host it annoyed

[29] Lowie 1909 a, 227.

[30] Speck 1935 b, 31. The psycho-physical person himself (and not his spiritual double) may sometimes be beheld by shamans or by persons in a shallow trance in his future ghost-form, which bodes his decease in the very near future. See Boas 1895 a, 581 (the Niska); Boas 1898 a, 42 (the Bella Coola); Voegelin 1938, 66 sq. (the Tübatulabal).

[31] Instances may be adduced from the Eskimo (Alexander 1916, 5); Tanaina (Osgood 1937, 169 sq.); Western Déné (Morice 1889, 158, Hill-Tout 1907 a, 177 sq., Jenness 1943, 536); Kwakiutl (Boas 1891 b, 611); Thompson River (Teit 1900, 372); Cheyenne (Grinnell 1923 II, 93); Cherokee (Gilbert 1943, 368); Omaha (La Flesche 1889, 3 sq.); Lemhi (Lowie, op.cit., loc.cit.); Mohave (Devereux 1937, 418, 419); Cocopa (Gifford 1933 b, 306 sq.).

[32] Osgood, op.cit., 169.

[33] Grinnell, op.cit., loc.cit. Cf. above, p. 288.

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other persons, amongst other things by throwing sticks and stones at them.[34]

It is interesting to note that the religious speculation among the Mohave has set apart the death-foretokening double-ganger as a separate soul.[35] This soul, we are told, "is seen only when one is about to die. Once it has been seen there is no recovery. It is either seen approaching or heard talking or coughing (or both) in the house. The ailing person will then think 'It is like me'. After this vision death is but a matter of hours or days".[36]

The Mohave are able, as we see, to deduce the presence of the double-ganger from sounds. As we have just remarked, the majority of people's experiences of the double-ganger are auditive, the sounds in question being more or less clearly ascribed to the activity of the double-ganger. It is also an incontestable fact that the free-soul is seldom beheld by waking individuals—unless they are shamans—whereas it may, on the other hand, frequently be heard by them.[37] We shall here reproduce a couple of cases in which peculiar auditory perceptions are ascribed to a death-foretokening anthropomorphic double-ganger.

One night a Sinkaietk Indian "heard an adult weeping in the next room which was supposedly empty. On the following morning it became known that the owner of the house had died".[38] Dr. Hooper communicates the following experience of a couple of Cahuilla Indians. "August Lomas and his wife, of Martinez, a young couple of excellent education, told me of an experience they had about a year ago. They were in bed one night and knew that they had locked their doors, but they heard someone come in, walk all around the room, and then walk out again. That same night, Mrs. Lomas's sister had the same thing happen in her home. A few months later their uncle died, so they knew then that it was his *telewel* (soul) that had been wandering around".[39]

The visual and auditive phenomena so far mentioned have been directly traceable to the conception of the double-ganger. It is difficult, however, to indicate to what extent other similar and similarly ominous phenomena belong to the same ideological complex.

[34] Jenness, op.cit., loc.cit.
[35] See above, p. 125. Cf. above, p. 356.
[36] Devereux, op.cit., 419.
[37] See above, p. 41. Cf. below, § 26.
[38] Spier 1938, 170. Cf. Teit 1900, 373 (the Thompson River).
[39] Hooper 1920, 340.

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Especially does this apply to the auditive phenomena. It is not uncommon for the Indians to state that they are able to hear a variety of mystical noises before a person's death. But one is seldom told anything concerning the source of these sounds. They may, certainly, emanate from the double-ganger; but they may also be attributable to dead persons who have come to fetch the soul of one dying; or they may be "signs" of a more indefinable kind. One instance among many: Hill-Tout reports from the Squamish that "when the screech-owl *(cai'u)* was heard hooting around a house it was regarded as a sure sign that some of the inmates would shortly die. *Cai'u* signifies 'ghost', or 'shade' ".[40] One wonders: was the owl a spook-animal simply in general, or a deceased person, or the double-ganger of a living individual? It is pointless to lose oneself in speculations concerning such ideologically undecided phenomena.

What may, on the other hand, be discussed is the question as to whether a whole series of visual phenomena which are considered to foretoken death do not refer to the double-ganger, although this is not directly stated. The characteristic feature common to all of these cases is that the bringer of the premonitory sign is not anthropomorphous, but an animal or a light-phenomenon—as will be remembered, the free-soul may assume these shapes.[41]

If stumbling upon a dying bird or a dead mouse is taken as an omen, this is undoubtedly only a case of ordinary homeopathic magic.[42] But when a bird fluttering into a person's house and then flying out again is taken as an omen, the connection with the ominous double-ganger will immediately be suspected by one who gives the matter a little thought. The Kamia, for example, obviously believe that the bird in this case is the double-ganger: "Such a bird was thought to come from a long distance and to already embody the soul of the doomed person. It was believed that the person's soul had left sometime before and returned temporarily in bird form on this occasion".[43] The following occurrence, related by a Picuris Indian, seems to have been interpreted in a way that leads one at once to think of the notion of the double-ganger: "Once many years ago, when I was still small, a bird flew into our house. This bird had a very big head, and also

[40] Hill-Tout 1900, 485. Cf. also the Apache (Bourke 1891, 421).
[41] See above, pp. 260 sqq., 266 sqq.
[42] Cf. e.g. Gifford 1933 b, 305 (the Cocopa); Teit, op.cit., loc.cit. (the Thompson River).
[43] Gifford 1931, 74. See also Spier 1938, 171 (the Sinkaietk); Gifford 1933 b, 304 (the Cocopa).

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a very long beak, a small body, and a short tail. When it flew into our house we caught it and burned it up. And it was not very long after that that my grandfather died".[44] Although the idea of an external soul lies within the bounds of possibility, and it is not altogether inconceivable that the bird's death was only diffusely understood as an ominous sign, the notion of the double-ganger does nonetheless appear most probable in this connection—not the fully developed, clear conception, but its dimly felt embryo. But we must bear in mind that we are here groping our way on the bog of mere hypothesis.

That a shooting star signifies a death is a common belief all over the world, and not least in North America. In North America it is frequently believed that the falling star foretokens a coming death.[45] Not infrequently we are told in what relation the falling star stands to the individual to which it refers. Thus the Iroquois affirm that "the fire stone" (the meteor) is identical with "the Soul Gatherer", a supernatural being whose task is to fetch souls to the land of the dead.[46] We find the same notion among the Cahuilla.[47] But it was doubtless less common than another conception, which we also find, for example, among the Cahuilla: the meteor is identical with a person's departing soul.[48] As the loss of the soul here does not necessarily signify that its physical owner dies immediately, we are justified in referring to the meteor as a double-ganger.

It is probable that the interpretation of the meteor as a soul or double-ganger represents a later conceptual line of thought, developing from a simple total experience with an ominous association between the celestial phenomenon and a death. It is at all events not probable that the meteor was conceived as a soul on account of the fact that it had its fiery appearance in common with the free-soul.[49] The omen may have resided in the vanishing movement, or in the receding light —lights which go out and eclipses of celestial bodies are well-known death-omens in North America.[50] But the gleaming light may also

[44] Harrington 1928. 393.

[45] This is the case among: the Kwakiutl (Boas 1932 b, 218); Mohegan (Speck 1928 a, 273); Iroquois (Converse 1908, 52); Plains Indians (Alexander 1916, 96); Wahpeton Dakota (Wallis 1923, 44); Yana (Sapir & Spier 1943, 285); Costano, Gabrielino (Harrington 1942, 30); Yokuts, Mono, Tübatulabal, Kawaiisu (Driver 1937, 87); Cahuilla (Hooper 1920, 337, 341); Picurís (Harrington 1928, 393).

[46] Converse, op.cit., 51 sq.

[47] Hooper, op.cit., 364.

[48] Hooper, op.cit., 337, 341.

[49] See Speck 1935 a, 50. Cf. above, pp. 260 sq.

[50] Cf. e.g. Parsons 1939 I, 86 (the Zuni); McClintock 1910, 487 (the Blackfoot); Drucker 1950, 204 (the Tsimshian).

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become an omen in consequence of its mighty, sudden appearance, breaking through the drab uneventfulness of everyday occurrences.[51]

The double-ganger, the "spiritual repetition" of the living man, is never, like the ordinary free-soul, the bearer of man's ego-consciousness. It appears as a separate entity in relation to the individual to which it is attached. This paves the way for a further development. For in virtue of its distance from its owner the double-ganger may become a spiritual power-being; and through the nevertheless inescapable bond to the individual this power-being generally (but not always, as we have seen above) becomes his guardian spirit. We shall conclude this section with the presentation of a guardian spirit that is in all essentials identical with the double-ganger developed from the free-soul.

Among the Kwakiutl, as we have mentioned earlier, the owl is both the free-soul—double-ganger and the dead person.[52] Not everyone can appear after death in, as it is termed, an "owl's mask"; but the majority may wear it.[53] The owl with which the ego is united after death exists already in this life as a closely related being, whose life must be respected; if the owl is killed, the person is killed.[54] This is explained by the fact that "one side of us is an owl".[55] It is stressed that the owl is not an ordinary soul (free-soul).[56] But the connection with the free-soul is nevertheless obvious.[57] The owl is apostrophized as "you who are the owner of my soul"; "you are not seen when you are inside of me". The owl is evidently the soul as double-ganger. But it is also a guardian spirit, as appears from the Indian's greeting to the owl when the latter has come flying and alighted on his head: "Welcome, Supernatural One, thank you for coming, trying to come to me that I may see you, Long-Life-Maker. Please, do not leave me and pray, take good care of me that nothing evil may befall me, you, Long-Life-Maker".[58]

[51] Cf. JR VI, 115 (the Montagnais).
[52] See above, p. 267.
[53] Boas 1896, 579; Boas 1921 I, 727; Boas 1932 b, 221; Boas 1935, 36, 132, 166; Drucker 1950, 291.
[54] Boas 1932 b, 221; Boas 1930 II, 257 sqq.; Wilson 1950, 337.
[55] Boas 1930 II, 258.
[56] Boas, op.cit., 257.
[57] Boas 1940 a, 616. Boas has elsewhere discussed the owl's qualifications for appearing as a free-soul (Boas 1910 b, 618).
[58] Boas 1930 II, 208. Cf. also below concerning the possibility of interpreting the owl as nagual (below, p. 367).

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24. *The nagual*

In the following we shall discuss a subject which lies, strictly speaking, somewhat aside from soul-belief, though it is nonetheless extremely close to it. We shall describe a religious conception which is of rather common occurrence in North America (though not often noted by investigators), and which in a way throws light upon the problem of the identity between the soul and the guardian spirit. This conception is best known under the name nagual.

Although opinion is divided concerning the import of the concepts nagual and nagualism, the ethnographic material leaves us in no doubt as to the nature of the phenomena that may be included under the heading "nagual". The following description gives a fairly adequate delimitation of this complex of phenomena from the phenomenological viewpoint. *Nagual* is a well-known designation in Central America (Honduras, Guatemala, South Mexico) for a phenomenon of nature or (preferably) a living being—the latter commonly conceived in the shape of an animal—which is united with a mystical bond to a human being, whom it often protects. Some people are born with a nagual, although they do not always find out which nagual they have been gifted with. Others acquire their nagual at a ripe age, and are then as a rule able to identify it without difficulty. It sometimes happens that a human being is transformed into his own nagual. If the nagual dies, the person dies.[1] Nagualism may be defined as the belief in the nagual.

Nagualism is mentioned in our sources right back as far as the 16th century.[2] Even to-day it is a living belief in Central America.[3] Despite the wealth of material connected with this complex of beliefs, researchers are not, as hinted above, entirely agreed as to how it should be interpreted. Herrera's classical description, upon which the majority of later interpretations are based, depicts nagual as a guardian spirit or rather serving spirit, *spiritus familiaris*.[4] Brinton, however, with the support of other older sources and linguistic data, asserted that nagualism had a wider import than the belief in personal guardian spirits; the term should in his opinion be used to cover an esoteric cult,

[1] See also the definitions in the following articles: James 1921, 489; Ankermann 1925, 172; Leach 1950 II, 714 (Foster).

[2] Frazer gives all the essential sources before 1900 (Frazer 1923, 212 sqq.).

[3] Some modern testimony: Wagley 1949, 65 sq.; Oakes 1951, 170 sqq.

[4] Antonio de Herrera, Historia de las Indias Occidentales, Dec. IV, Lib. VIII, Cap. 4; see the English translation in Frazer (after a translation made in 1725—1726).

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"which united many and diverse tribes of Mexico and Central America into organized opposition against the government and the religion which had been introduced from Europe".[5] As it has been developed this theory is perhaps somewhat hazardous. What is, however, essential is Brinton's remark that the word nagual has had the double significance of animal-companion, guardian being, and sorcerer, wizard, priest, that can assume the shape of his guardian being. Nagualism thus includes two main aspects, which Foster has distinguished by designating the companion-animal as *tonal* (from nahuatl: *tonalli*, personality) and the shape-changing wizard as *nagual*.[6] This distinction, however, seems to me to be in practice superfluous, since both the conceptions not only accompany each other as parts of the same complex, but also to a certain extent presuppose each other. It is probably also quite correct—as in the description given above—to designate with the name nagual firstly "the companion", and secondly the sorcerer in the shape of the companion.

Nagualism in the sense in which we have understood it here has occurred not only in Central America, but also in North America.[7] For it is one of the expressions for a psychic experience of a primary, universal nature, namely, the perception of unity and organic connection between the accidentally colliding elements in a given experiential situation. The "associative" tendency, which has been responsible for the growth of so much magic, has also contributed to the merging of the individual and his nagual to form a mystical entity. Such everyday occurrences as a meeting between a human being and an animal, or a fall of rain at a suitable moment have in modern times provably been able to convince individual Indians that they have met their naguals; and one may venture to guess that such experiences once directly gave rise to the belief in nagual.

The following account refers to nagualism in North America.

Neither psychologically nor phenomenologically is nagualism a clearly delimited type of conception. The nagual shows great resemblances to the external soul, the soul-animal—double-ganger and the guardian spirit. We shall here try to indicate wherein the points of agreement lie and where the boundaries should be drawn.

As we have already remarked, the nagual may in a way be regarded

[5] Brinton 1894, 4 sqq., 11 sqq., 55 sqq., 61.
[6] Foster 1944 b, 103; the same author in Leach, op.cit., 1117.
[7] Cf. Voegelin in Leach, op.cit., 780.

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as a so-called external soul.[8] There is an essential kinship between the human being and his nagual, reminding one of the relation between the individual and his external soul. Frazer and Wundt have also unhesitatingly referred the nagual and therewith comparable conceptions to the class of external souls.[9] But if we consider the matter more narrowly we find definite differences between the nagual and the external soul; differences which are not observed in the derived, mixed conceptions, but which come to light in connection with a study of the pure type-conceptions. The differences are the following:

1. The nagual neither includes nor represents any of man's souls. As we know, the "external soul" is often conceived to be the life-soul, concealed in a foreign object or being, occasionally identical with this object or being (less typically). The entire nagual is in its essence connected with the human being.[10] But it neither contains nor sustains the person's life in the exclusive manner of an external soul.

2. The nagual is therefore not always a guarantee for a man's life. Its destiny does, on the other hand, bear a sympathetic relation to that of the person: if the nagual is destroyed, the person dies, and vice versa.

3. The nagual is generally the person's guardian spirit; the person is frequently able to transform himself into his nagual, and he shares its qualities.

In practice, of course, the difference between the nagual and the external soul will frequently be found to be a mere shade, so that one does not properly know to which type-group an actual case should be referred. The following instance is illustrative. The Western Mono believed that there was an intimate connection between every individual and a species of animal, which was called one's "life" but was not an ordinary external soul but a personal guardian spirit.[11] "A person might not be aware of what creature was his 'life' until a shaman informed him, even though the creature had been his 'life' since his birth. Moreover, a person might have more than one 'life'. An evilly

[8] See above, p. 331 note 7.

[9] Frazer, op.cit., loc.cit.; Wundt 1910, 333.

[10] It is probably this that James means when he says that the human being "wears about his person a portion of the *nagual* as an embodiment of its soul-substance" (James 1927, 345 sq.).

[11] Gifford 1932 a, 38. Gifford makes a definite distinction between this guardian spirit and the moiety totems of the tribe. No-one was called after his life-bird (Gifford, op.cit., 46).

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disposed shaman could cause a person's illness and death by taking away the victim's 'life' ".[12] The qualities of this "life" affect the individual to which it belongs. "The mountain lion was Tugayan's 'life'. He was strong, could lift anything, and fight a bear, too".[13] If we compare these data with the distinctions adduced above, we get the impression that the boundary-line between nagual and external soul has here been completely effaced. It should, however, be remembered that such a fusion is not the rule. In general one can distinguish between the categories without difficulty. They represent different forms of the conception of the projection of essence.

In a way one may define the nagual in certain situations as the person himself in another form.[14] It may therefore coincide with one of the shapes assumed by the free-soul, especially the soul-animal of the dreamer and the double-ganger of the waking individual.[15] The Ojibway Indian who turns himself into the shape he wore in a previous existence—an animal about which he has dreamed—may be said to incarnate physically his free-soul and his nagual at one and the same time.[16] The "ghost" of the Jicarilla Apache and the mystical owl of the Kwakiutl are conceptions on the boundary-line between double-ganger and nagual.[17] And the witch of the Nambé can turn himself into a helping spirit without for this reason being identical with it.[18]

Ideas like those mentioned above are, however, exceptions, conditioned by the natural tendency of the Indians to fuse notions that converge upon certain of their provinces. In this case, too, we must remember that fusions of this kind are rare. The nagual is a species of double-ganger, but it has not been developed from the notion of the soul as has the real double-ganger. It is, for the rest, not easy to establish whether the nagual is a spiritual being (like the double-ganger) or not. The zoomorphous nagual, for example, appears to be

[12] Gifford, op.cit., loc.cit.
[13] Gifford, op.cit., 39.
[14] The human being does, as we know, sometimes appear transformed into his nagual. Cf. Krickeberg 1922, 190.
[15] Cf. Thomas 1908, 496 sq. Among the Tzeltal Indians in Chiapas, Mexico, the nagual has its abode during the day in its master's heart, while at night it acts (Villa Rojas 1947, 583 sq.). Thus here it strongly reminds one of the free-soul.
[16] Cf. above, p. 33 note 80.
[17] Cf. above, pp. 104, 363.
[18] Parsons 1929, 306 note 582.

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now an ordinary, individual animal, and now a spirit in the shape of an animal.[19]

Finally, the nagual may appear as its owner's protector, in which case it acquires a mystical aura, which entitles us to call it a guardian spirit. Bancroft was instrumental in stabilizing the view that the nagual is simply a "tutelary genius".[20] But this is certainly not always the right interpretation. It is, however, true that the shift in the import of the nagual-conception from coordinated animal to guardian spirit presents no difficulties.[21] A mystical phenomenon like the nagual, bound to the individual in a strange way yet nevertheless emancipated from him, easily becomes a power-being.

Nagualism may therefore in the majority of cases be understood as a variation of the ordinary North American belief in the guardian spirit.[22] We shall not here enter into a detailed discussion of the last-mentioned complex of conceptions, which is probably sufficiently well-known.[23] The difference between the nagual and the regular guardian spirit is perhaps best expressed thus: the nagual is (or may be) a guardian spirit, distinguished from other guardian spirits by the intimate way in which it is bound to the individual, owing to the essential community between individual and nagual. This essential community may lead to complete identification (through the transformation of the person to his nagual on special occasions). One may thus characterize nagualism as a deepening of the relation to the guardian spirit. Ankermann employs the term manituism of the ordinary belief in a guardian spirit, in order to distinguish it from nagu-

[19] The important question as to whether the animal is individual or collective will be discussed later (§ 34). Raknes is definitely of the opinion that the nagual is a single individual animal (Raknes 1927, 92, 95). The nagual-belief among the Western Mono, however, shows us that a whole animal species may be a person's nagual (Gifford, op.cit., 39). Thus the nagualism appears to lead to the ideology of clan-totemism, where each member of a clan is connected with and identified with the species of animal constituting the totem of the clan. Among the Sauk and Mascoutens, for example, the dead are buried in the same position as their animal clan-totems (Skinner 1923, 37; Skinner 1924, 49 sq.). On the coffin of the Tsimshian Indian the clan-bird is represented in such a way that it appears to be flying out of the coffin (Boas 1916, 535. Cf. below, pp. 373 sq.). The concepts of nagual and of clan-totem are here very close to each other, as are otherwise the ordinary guardian spirit and the clan-totem. But in both cases there is the gulf between individual totemism and clan-totemism: how could the guardian being of the individual have become the guardian being of the entire group?

[20] Bancroft 1875 II, 277; cf. James 1921, 489. See also Thomas, op.cit., 496 (the nagual = acquired guardian spirit).

[21] Cf. Brinton, op.cit., 13.

[22] This view is also shared by Foster.

[23] See Frazer 1910 III, 370 sqq.; Benedict 1923.

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alism.[24] The designation seems apt, and the distinction well-motivated.

Where the nagual appears as a guardian spirit it is most easily distinguished from such similar conceptions as the external soul and the free-soul—double-ganger. The best and most reliable account of nagualism in North America will thus result from giving the preference to instances of the nagual in its guardian-spirit aspect. Moreover, what here particularly interests us in nagualism is precisely the belief in the nagual as guardian spirit. In the following we shall accordingly discuss exclusively this form of nagualism.

Nagualism (in the narrower sense indicated above) is characterized chiefly by the tendency to identify the guardian spirit with its protégé. This tendency finds expression in two ways: the person lives in a close community with his guardian spirit, and—above all—he shares in its nature. A less common characteristic of the nagual in North America is that it may be exploited by its owner as a subordinate serving spirit or *spiritus familiaris*.[25]

The rôle of the guardian spirit or power as life-companion of the individual has already been briefly touched upon.[26] We find the conception fully developed in Santa Ana: every individual is conceived as possessing from birth a guardian spirit, *tsayotyenyi*, which "looks after his ward during his lifetime, protecting him from harm and keeping him from doing wrong. Whenever one sits down to a meal he takes up a piece of food and offers it to tsayotyenyi before tasting food himself". On the individual's death it follows the soul on its journey on the other side.[27]

This close community frequently implies that the nagual and its human ward have common destinies.[28] Probably in several places the

[24] Ankermann, op.cit., loc.cit.

[25] A couple of cases may be adduced in which the nagual obviously has the significance of serving spirit. Parsons mentions a married couple in Laguna, of whom she says that "although they were known to be poor, (they) always seemed to have plenty. They were supposed to pilfer corn by night, like an Aztec nagual" (Parsons 1939 I, 66). The Caddo sorcerer who has cast a spell upon a person generally sends his nagual, an owl, "to the invalid's house to spy out how he is doing" (Parsons 1941, 33). In these instances the nagual closely resembles a *spiritus familiaris* like the Swedish *bjära* or *troll-hare* (see Gadelius 1913 II, chap. 5).

[26] See above, pp. 346 sq.

[27] White 1942, 173. See also above, pp. 141 sq.

[28] The agreement between nagualism and totemism is, as mentioned above, striking (see above, p. 368, note 19). It is seen not least in the community in the destinies of the person and his nagual or totem after death. Among the Menomini "the totem animal of the departed is painted on the (grave-) post, inverted, or with head down, to show that it is dead (!)" (Skinner 1921, 80).

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death of the person has also led to the death of the guardian spirit, as among a number of groups on the Plateau.[29] A more common version, however, has been for the death of the guardian spirit to be fatal for the individual. Sometimes the consequences of the loss of his guardian spirit have been restricted to some harm to the person. The sorcerer of the Caddo has the owl as his guardian spirit; "whenever a bird is shot, there in the corresponding part of the witch's body will be a hole or bruise".[30] But often enough the consequences of the loss of the guardian spirit assume a more serious character: the person falls ill and comes to grief. We are here confronted with the belief in power loss, which has unfortunately not always been kept distinct from the belief in soul loss by the ethnographers themselves.[31]

By power loss, or spirit loss, is meant here the loss of a guardian spirit that is so intimately connected with the individual that his life is imperilled when the guardian spirit is lost.[32] The conception is especially characteristic for the Indians at Puget Sound and for a number of Salish groups on the Plateau in the interior, but it occurs sporadically also outside this north-western area of distribution.[33] It is not very probable that the power-loss idea has any historical or psychological connection with the conception of power emission, i. e. the shaman's despatching of his guardian spirit for the soul of a sick or dying person.[34] The main areas of distribution of the conceptions do, certainly, roughly correspond; and in both cases, it is true, the supernatural power has intervened in place of the free-soul, and in its type of activity has in this connection been formed according to the pattern of the free-soul's mode of functioning. But the motives are not the same in the two cases. In the case of power loss the guardian spirit replaces the free-soul for the reason that through its fixation

[29] Ray 1942, 238.
[30] Parsons 1941, 34.
[31] This has been pointed out by Spier (Spier 1935, 14 note 26).
[32] It is of no avail for an alien guardian spirit to ally itself with the sick person who has lost his own spirit—on the contrary, he is then definitely lost (Underhill 1945, 199). Cf. below, p. 440.
[33] The Puget Sound groups (Haeberlin 1918, 249 sq., Haeberlin & Gunther 1930, 81, Waterman 1930, 131, Smith 1940, 78, Olson 1936, 142 sq.; cf. also Benedict, op.cit., 80 sq., Underhill, op.cit., 196, 198); the Shuswap, Sinkaietk, and other Plateau tribes (Teit 1909, 612, Spier 1938, 103, 153, 162, 169, Ray, op.cit., 246 sq.); Penobscot (Speck 1919, 258); Iroquois (Hewitt 1910 b, 179, Hewitt 1910 c, 793, 794; Yuchi ? (Speck 1909 a), 109); Pawnee (Dorsey 1906 b, 339 sq.; Frazer 1923, 151); Caddo (Parsons 1941, loc.cit.); Wind River Shoshoni (Hultkrantz 1951, 35 sqq.); Paviotso (Park 1938, 136 sqq.); Nambé (Parsons 1929, loc.cit.). For the Southwest, cf. Santa Ana (see above) and Underhill's account (Underhill 1948, 36). Cf. further Ray 1939, 98 sqq., Elmendorf 1952, 108.
[34] See above, pp. 281 sq.

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to the individual it has become just as indispensable for the latter as the free-soul.[35] Whereas in the case of power emission the shaman makes use of his guardian spirit because the latter is better able to fetch a soul from the realm of the dead than is the free-soul.

The intimate nature of the connection between the guardian spirit and the individual leads to the latter's participating in the nature of the guardian spirit. This has often been testified to. Among the Shuswap, twins had one and the same guardian animal as that of which their mother had dreamed—a black bear, a grizzly bear or a deer. Twins who had bears to guard them were never harmed by these animals, and were able to growl like them.[36] Among the Central Algonquin a person suffers because his guardian spirit is suffering.[37] The Crow Indian who had ghost-medicine "made a noise like an owl, went out of the smoke hole, and returned to the tent".[38] The Wind River Shoshoni consider that a person acquires the specific abilities that are typical for the species of animal whose form the guardian spirit has taken. The image of the guardian animal is often found drawn on the breast of the sun-dancer.[39] Among the Basin Shoshone, "swift birds gave the power of fleetness, mountain sheep the power to climb rocks, wolf, bear, and other pugnacious animals the power to fight, insects the power to hide, etc."[40] The Lemhi medicine-man imitates the voice of his guardian spirit when he is healing the sick, and a Bannock with bear's power imitates his guardian spirit when he has been wounded and is counting on its help.[41] The Pawnee Indian who has been initiated in the mysteries of the bear-medicine and received the bear's blessing must be careful not to become wrathful in the circle of his kinsmen, for then the canines of the bear come out of his mouth.[42] And the Tarahumare sorcerer who unexpectedly meets a bear exclaims: "Do not harm this animal, for it is I."[43]

The foregoing examples, which only constitute a random selection

[35] To obviate misunderstanding it should be added that only on the South and East Plateau and among the Kalapuya has power loss succeeded in ousting soul loss (Ray 1942, 246, 247; Elmendorf 1952, 108). And if the guardian spirit is lost, the soul is also lost.

[36] Teit 1909, 586. The closely related Lillooet, on the other hand, regarded twins as incarnated grizzly bears (Teit 1906, 263).

[37] Radin 1944, 351.

[38] Lowie 1922, 381.

[39] Hultkrantz Ms.

[40] Steward 1940, 492. Cf. above, pp. 366 sq. (the Mono).

[41] Steward 1943, 285.

[42] Dorsey 1906 b, 339.

[43] Hartman 1895, 284. Other instances: the Thompson River (Teit 1900, 356); Omaha (Fletcher 1897, 582).

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from the rich material, show that in order to get a proper share of the power of his guardian spirit a person must sometimes strengthen the contact with the spirit by imitating it. The imitation sometimes merges into actual transformation; this occurs when the suggestive factor of belief is strong. This form of nagualism is not at all uncommon in North America. There are three types.

1. The person brings about the identification with the guardian spirit ritually—through a fixed pattern of behaviour. The transformation takes place as soon as a mask or animal skin for example is put on.[44] The Laguna woman who dons a wolf's skin is therewith transformed into her nagual, which is a wolf.[45] This belief in metamorphosis is above all connected with the bear-medicine in California and among the Pueblo peoples.

In California so-called bear-doctors, i.e. shamans who had received the power of the bear and who were able to transform themselves into bears, were of rather general occurrence.[46] As bears they were a danger to those round about them, and they killed persons who were disagreeable to themselves. If they were killed in their bear shapes they came to life again.[47] We often hear that the bear-shamans acquire their skills by putting on bear-skins; but curiously enough the Indian informants are not always sure whether the disguised bear-man under the skin is a human being or a real bear.[48] Some accounts, however, describe how the man disguised as a bear is transformed in the course of the bear-dance into a bear.[49]

As has been mentioned, the same type of bear-nagualism occurs in the Southwest. "Of all the curing societies, Keresan, Zuni, or Tewan, Bear is the particular patron", writes Dr. Parsons. "The doctors or shamans are called bears; by drawing on the bear paws which lie on the altar the shamans impersonate bears; the paw is the equivalent of the

[44] The belief that a person is transformed into an animal by putting on the disguise of an animal is a well-known theme in North American myths and legends, such as those of the Bear Woman, Fox Woman, Dog Husband and Swan Maiden (Thompson, Motif-Index etc., D 361.1). Cf. above, p. 301.

[45] Parsons 1939 I, 65 sq.; cf. op.cit., 66 note.

[46] Kroeber gives an account of their existence among the Shasta, Yuki, Pomo, Wintun, Maidu, Yokuts, Salina, Gabrielino and Diegueño (Kroeber 1925, 303, 200 sqq., 259 sq., 361, 427, 514 sq., 516 sq., 549, 628, 718). Cf. also Kroeber, op.cit., 854 sq. Gifford reports the existence of bear-doctors from the Luiseño and Cupeño (Gifford 1918, 209 sqq.). Concerning the bear-doctors among the Pomo, see especially Barrett 1917, Cody 1940.

[47] Kroeber, op.cit., 200 (the Yuki), 517 (the Yokuts).

[48] Kroeber, op.cit., 200 sq. (the Yuki), 427 (the Maidu).

[49] See especially Gayton 1948 II, 173 (the Yokuts). Cf. op.cit., index under "Bear transformation".

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mask. It is believed that shamans have power literally to turn into bears, just as bears may divest themselves of their skins and become people".[50]

2. The transformation may also be brought about mystically, by an act of will, and without any external requisites such as animal hides and masks. In the majority of cases the person makes his appearance after the transformation, without the act of metamorphosis being known. The outside observer—we presume—makes false associations or perceives an illusory shape, whereas the person who changes shape realizes, with genuine identification through sheer force of imagination, combined with hypnotic power, his guardian spirit when playing his rôle. The Yokuts testify that one's transformation to one's guardian animal takes place "under conditions of great stress".[51] It does not, on the other hand, appear probable that the person undergoing transformation becomes possessed by the spirit.[52]

Some instances may be adduced. The Nootka tell of young men who in connection with their puberty-fasting and guardian-spirit quest have joined wolves, when, "after a time, body and soul have changed into the likeness of these beasts".[53] Johnson tells of the Penobscot and Passamaquoddy shaman that "when he has decided upon what should be done he turns himself into his guardian animal and goes off to do what he wishes".[54] The Ojibway warrior who has a certain animal as his guardian spirit calls to it when he has been wounded, and is then seen to escape in its shape.[55] A Teton Dakota who has dreamed of an elk leaves the footprints of this animal after him.[56] And an Iroquois sorcerer was able, if he was hard pressed, to turn himself into his guardian spirit, for example an owl.[57] That owls are disguised and temporarily transformed sorcerers is a common belief in south-east North America.[58]

3. The individual survives death in the shape of his guardian animal. This belief has been recorded from different parts of North

[50] Parsons, op.cit., I, 189.
[51] Gayton, op.cit., I, 112.
[52] Cf. Stewart 1946, 336.
[53] Sproat 1868, 173.
[54] Johnson 1943, 71.
[55] Densmore 1929, 79. Cf. above, p. 367.
[56] Densmore 1918, 178.
[57] Hewitt 1895, 115.
[58] See e.g. the Catawba (Speck 1939, 36 sq.); Creek (Swanton 1928 b, 632, Hewitt & Swanton 1939, 157); Chickasaw (Swanton 1928 c, 252); Caddo (Parsons 1941, 33, Sjoberg 1951, 399). Cf. also the Tarascans (Beals 1946, 161).

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America.[59] It shows that the boundary between transformation and transmigration may be a floating one.[60] And it reminds us of the totemism of a people like the Omaha, who believe that the dying Indian goes to join the totem-animals of his gens.[61]

We thus see that in its nagualistic form the belief in guardian spirits is not at all unknown to the aborigines of North America. If the guardian spirit may be so easily identified with its ward, it is less surprising if it is also able to combine with the latter's free-soul, which is of course nothing other than himself in an extra-physical manifestation.

25. The guardian soul. The soul as guardian spirit

When the soul and the supernatural power meet in one and the same conception, we may speak of "the guardian soul" or "the power-soul" —the terms should be used as interchangeable synonyms. The guardian soul is a spiritual entity whose whole essence is leavened with supernatural power.[1] It is associated with the individual as a personal guardian spirit to which he is subordinate, and it is often as independent in relation to its owner as is an ordinary guardian spirit acquired from without. It helps and supports, watches over and punishes its protégé; and it sometimes receives sacrifices from him. But at the same time it has functions which show its close connection with the free-soul of dreams and visions.

That the soul can insensibly develop into a rather independent pow-

[59] The Nootka (Sproat 1868, 173 note); Cowichan ? (Hill-Tout 1904, 324); Yokuts (Kroeber, op.cit., 517); Pueblo Indians (Parsons 1939 I, 190); White Mountain Apache (see above p. 32 note 79); Tarahumare ? (Hartman, op.cit., loc.cit.). Cf. above, pp. 368 note 19, 369 note 28.

[60] Cf. Wachtmeister 1925, 13.

[61] Dorsey 1894, 420 sq. Cf. below, p. 418.

[1] The guardian soul thus does not possess power as an external quality, an appendage. The difference is fundamental. The free-soul of a medicine-man is the bearer of his power (since the free-soul is the medicine-man himself); but it need not for this reason necessarily be in itself a power-being (any more than the medicine-man is as a rule a power-being). The free-soul of the individual easily enough becomes an instrument for the supernatural power. Among the Carrier "powers in the animal or spiritual world captured and imprisoned men's shadows, and such men, after recovering them, became imbued with special gifts of foresight and of healing not granted to the ordinary layman" (Jenness 1943, 536. Cf. above, pp. 278, 282, concerning visions of vocation).

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er-being is no new discovery. Lévy-Bruhl finds that between the soul and the guardian spirit "il y a une participation que les observateurs n'ont jamais pu rendre claire, et qui ne doit pas sans doute le devenir"; the French writer is here referring to Indian conceptions in New France.[2] Mauss, too, stresses that it is difficult to distinguish the soul from the guardian spirit.[3] Mensching asserts that the notion of the guardian angel has emerged from the same group of conceptions as the free-soul and the external soul (which he seems to wish to identify).[4] Ström sees in the free-soul's exercise of power a manifestation of its natural tendencies in the individual's states of absence.[5] Boas finds that the difference between the soul and the guardian spirit lies in the degree of association to the body; he therefore considers it best not to class the guardian soul as a soul.[6] Arbman, finally, asserts that where the disseverance of the free-soul and the individual is intensified, development will lead to a far-reaching objectivation of the free-soul conception.[7]

How does the North American source-material itself testify to the development of the guardian soul? Generally speaking we find the answer to this question in our account in the foregoing (§§ 22—24). We shall here try to summarize and elucidate our viewpoints.

The soul which more than any other is qualified to develop in the direction of a guardian spirit is of course the free-soul. The more independent a soul can become, the more it tends to merge into a spiritual principle coordinated with the individual and yet emancipated, a being that is beside or over him. The free-soul is the soul that more than any other offers these possibilities of development. It never slips its moorings from the individual, but it easily becomes distanced from him and develops into a being with a will and with powers of its own. The distance from the owner together with the mystical appearance constitutes the free-soul a power-soul of the same order as the spirit-beings of Nature; but because it is bound to its owner, this power-soul tends to assume the character of a guardian spirit.

The free-soul realizes its metamorphosis to guardian soul in two forms, as dream-soul and as double-ganger.[8] In dreams we may find the

[2] Lévy-Bruhl 1925, 120 sq.
[3] Mauss 1947, 201.
[4] Mensching 1949, 141.
[5] Ström 1947, 54 (observations on Nordic soul-belief).
[6] Boas 1940 b, 604.
[7] Arbman 1927, 139 note 1; cf. op.cit., 168 note 1, 171 note 1, 137 sqq.
[8] With the dream-soul I compare in this connection the free-soul operating in other states of lethargy.

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peculiar contingency that the subject and object of the action coincide. The dream-soul, in reality the dreamer himself, is suddenly seen as the being one is dreaming about, i. e. the ego-consciousness is no longer represented by the dream-soul, and the latter takes shape as a person alien to the ego.[9] The dream is no longer a consequence of the experiences of the dream-ego, it is a revelation of a half alien being.[10] This opens wide perspectives. One is reminded in this connection of the dream-experiences in the North American cases of guardian-spirit quest: the guardian spirit inaugurates the dream, just as does the objectivated dream-soul, and, like the latter, it figures in the dream and changes shape between animal and man.[11] The fusion between dream-soul and guardian spirit thus does not seem far-fetched, it is quite natural.[12]

The double-ganger, the active free-soul of the waking consciousness, manifests still more than the almost emancipated dream-soul an independence of its own, divorced from the activity of the living prototype. It ends up more or less automatically in the category of guardian spirits in consequence of its innate tendencies.[13]

It has, however, emerged that at least in a couple of cases also the life-soul and the ego-soul may don the mantle of the guardian soul (§ 22). Among the Shoshoni the life-soul and supernatural power have to a certain extent become identical concepts.[14] But, as we pointed out in connection with this observation, the life-soul among these peoples has a peculiarly loose association to the individual and frequently appears as a free-soul. It is probable that it is in its temporary function of free-soul that the life-soul of the Shoshoni has become a supernatural power-being. Presumably not in dreams, but in other visionary states of lethargy it has been equipped with remarkable powers.

Nor should we be surprised to see the ego-soul in certain situations tending towards the conception of the guardian spirit. As a potency in the living individual the ego-soul—where it is not also a life-soul—has to a far lesser extent than the life-soul a vital function bound to the body. It is therefore more easily freed from the body than is a normal

[9] See above, pp. 275, 276 note 244.
[10] See above, p. 276.
[11] Among the Wind River Shoshoni the name for the free-soul signifies "dream" (Hultkrantz 1951, 32). Among some other peoples the designation for the guardian spirit is related to the word for "dream": this is the case among the Puyallup-Nisqually (Smith 1940, 58 note 1) and among the Maricopa (Spier 1933, 236 sq., Spier 1946, 72).
[12] Cf. Hultkrantz, op.cit., 33 sq.
[13] See § 23, especially pp. 357, 363.
[14] See above, p. 351.

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life-soul; and in the strength of feelings, the endurance of the will and the sway of reason it may manifest a tension and a span suggesting superhuman resources and potentialities. Crawley and Boas particularly stress the origin of the guardian spirit in conceptions connected with the individual's own subjective possibilities (will, feeling, etc.).[15]

It is, however, difficult to show what rôle in the origin of the guardian soul has been played by the ego-soul. It is in practice not so easy to isolate the cases in which the ego-soul has developed into a principle superior to the individual, as the free-soul has at the same time undergone a similar development, and the result—the guardian soul—often appears in the light of a blend of ego-soul and free-soul components. The guardian soul is, certainly, frequently a principle of character, conscience.[16] In this capacity it gives expression chiefly to the ego-soul aspect. It should, however, be realized that when through its mystical relation to its owner the free-soul has become a spiritual principle to which he is subordinate, it automatically acquires, in virtue of this function, those qualities which otherwise belong to an ego-soul of higher rank. The "conscience-soul", which in several cases is a product of an elementary ego-soul,[17] may presumably develop as an aspect of the guardian soul, independently of whether it has earlier developed from the ego-soul or not.

Wherever, superficially seen, the ego-soul appears to form the core of the guardian soul, it has merged with the free-soul (e. g. the Naskapi), but the converse, that the conception of the guardian soul depending on the free-soul is always identical with the ego-soul, does not hold true (e. g. the Bella Coola). We may therefore in general reckon with the free-soul as the basic conception for the guardian soul, and when in the sequel we speak of "the soul" we shall be referring—unless otherwise specified—to the free-soul.

The guardian soul is a power-conception intimately associated with the individual, even if in its origin it is only a soul. I find it likely that the guardian spirit served as model for the conception of the guardian soul, even though it is difficult to prove this. The recently mentioned connection between the objectivated dream-soul and the guardian spirit experienced in dreams points, however, in this direction. But a power-belief like nagualism, with its intimate connection between the individual and the guardian spirit, has doubtless been still more significant as

[15] Crawley 1909, 259; Boas 1910 b, 617.
[16] See above, pp. 235 sqq.
[17] See above, p. 236.

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a pattern-forming factor. Nagual and guardian soul may in the long run become almost identical conceptions (but the individual can never be transformed into his guardian soul). The fusion that may occur between the guardian spirit and the soul is generally one-sided: the soul assumes the most essential qualities of the guardian spirit, but the guardian spirit is only very slightly brought into alignment with the typical qualities of the soul.[18] Nor, as a rule, does the appearance of the guardian soul imply that the guardian spirit is ousted from its position; one who has a guardian soul may also be the owner of a guardian spirit.[19] Thus the origin of the guardian soul does not imply a transformation of the conception of the guardian spirit, but an addition to this.

We may summarize our views thus: the soul or souls that through their independence in relation to the body may be distanced from the life and consciousness of the individual easily develop into a personal guardian spirit, whereby already existing guardian-spirit conceptions exercise an attracting influence.[20] The final product in this development, which we have designated the guardian soul, seldom reveals that it has emerged from an original free-soul or ego-soul conception. In the majority of cases, however, the free-soul was probably best fitted for the transformation to guardian soul. The guardian soul may therefore as a rule be regarded as an extreme free-soul.

Let us now investigate more closely the North American data concerning the fully developed or almost fully developed guardian soul (the line of demarcation separating it from the soul-conception upon which it is based is as a rule very difficult to trace). Our exposition is so planned that we are taken step by step away from those qualities which the guardian soul has in common with the regular soul-conception and towards those qualities which belong specifically to the guardian soul as a power-being.

[18] Hultkrantz, op.cit., 37 sqq. Among the Wind River Shoshoni the guardian spirit has nagualistic qualities, but the guardian soul is nevertheless more firmly associated to the individual than is the guardian spirit.

[19] Cf. e.g. the Bear River (Nomland 1938, 94, 98); Eastern Mono (Steward 1934, 427). Cf. the differentiation in the region around Puget Sound between the guardian spirits of laymen and those of shamans (Haeberlin & Gunther 1930, 67; Smith 1940, 58 sqq.). Cf. also Eliade 1951, 93.

[20] I find it rather unlikely that the conception of the guardian of the species (see § 34) served as a prototype for the conception of the guardian soul. That human beings had a guardian of their species as was the case with the beasts is not likely, although one may sometimes get this impression from our source-texts (see below, p. 504 and note 40; cf. also Thalbitzer's way of expressing himself, Thalbitzer 1930 b, 89; cf. also Jones 1911, 216).

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The fundamental prerequisite for the appearance of the guardian soul is, as has been mentioned, the independence of the underlying soul-conception in relation to its owner. The soul is objectivated so intensively that is has ascribed to it a consciousness, will and feelings of its own.[21] One manifestation of this independence of the soul is that it often leaves the body of its own accord to wander about or to journey to the realm of the dead, whither it is easily enticed, indeed, whither it often seems, curiously enough, to long to go.[22] Perhaps the explanation is that in consequence of its nature the soul belongs to the supernatural world (see § 28), and that the happiness of that mystical world exercises a particular attraction for an extra-physical being. But it also happens that the free-soul returns to its owner "of its own accord".[23] Probably in the last analysis the doings of the emancipated soul conform to the current doctrines of the causes and course of disease (§ 31).

When the soul has become an independent being outside or by the side of the individual, it frequently appears as a forewarner, gives premonitory signs concerning coming events and warns the person if danger is threatening. The guardian soul of the Bella Coola causes its owner to recollect in time important things that he has happened to forget; "his spirit is always striving to pierce the future and obtain information for him, however indefinite".[24] The soul's activity frequently, of course, becomes that of the warner, especially retrospectively. "Looking back after the event, a man easily persuades himself that he 'felt' a warning, and is more than ever convinced that his spirit, the cause of his thoughts, has supernatural ability".[25] Sudden pains and physical changes give symbolic hints of misfortunes that will occur.[26]

Instances from other quarters show the same trend. The shadow of the Ojibway, says Jenness, is during the lifetime of the individual "the 'eyes' of the soul, as it were, awakening the latter to perception and knowledge. It often causes a twitching of the hunter's eyelids, informing

[21] Cf. instances from the Ojibway (Jenness 1935, 19); Fox (Michelson 1925, 358; cf. Joffe 1940, 273); Huron and Iroquois (JR XXXIII, 191, JR XLII, 51); Oglala (Walker 1917, 86); Wind River Shoshoni (Hultkrantz, op.cit., 34 note 36); Achomawi (de Angulo 1928, 577); Atsugewi (Voegelin 1942, 246); Mohave (Devereux 1937, 417).

[22] The Western Déné (Morice 1889, 158); Coast Salish (Barnett 1938, 136, Smith 1940, 95, 96); Shuswap (Teit 1909, 611); Iroquois (cf. Wolf 1919, 43); Wind River Shoshoni (Hultkrantz, op.cit., loc.cit.); Southern Paiute (Kelly 1939, 157 sqq.); Bear River (Nomland, op.cit., 93); Yuma (Forde 1931, 180). Further examples are supplied by the numerous Orpheus legends: the dead person or persons it is desired to restore to life do not wish to return.

[23] See e.g. the Nootka (Sapir 1921, 594).

[24] McIlwraith 1948 I, 94 sq. Cf. above, p. 230.

[25] McIlwraith, op.cit., 515.

[26] McIlwraith, op.cit., 96.

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him that is has seen game ahead. There are times when a man feels that some one is watching him, or near him, although he can see no one; it is his shadow that is warning him, trying to awaken his soul to perceive the danger".[27] Since the "shadow" is obviously a soul at a considerable remove from its owner, it is not so surprising if its active doings sometimes play a less central rôle for the welfare of the individual. An aging Ojibway no longer perceives any warning impulse, "for people tend to lose it as they grow old".[28] The neighbours and kinsmen of the Ojibway, the Plains Cree, also believed in the soul's capacity as a forewarner. "Only when danger threatened did a man feel the presence of his soul along the back of his neck".[29]

Closely allied to this is the soul's function of communicator of knowledge, scout. The soul, i. e. the free-soul, receives in its emancipated state (often in dreams) communications which it later passes on to its owner.[30] These communications may be of varying import: they constitute now diagnoses,[31] now prognoses, predictions concerning coming events.[32] The way in which the information is conveyed to the individual varies, according to the degree of the soul's objectivation. Sometimes the person naturally receives the new knowledge as an inner certainty, a premonition of coming events (see above); but often enough the message is conveyed verbally: the soul speaks to the person.[33] If on such occasions the free-soul is not at a far enough remove from its owner's personality, the respective egos of the soul and of the individual alternate with each other in an interesting way.[34]

Thanks to its informing and forewarning activities, the soul easily acquires a dominating grip of the individual.[35] Among the Wind

[27] Jenness 1935, 19.
[28] Jenness, op.cit., loc.cit.
[29] Mandelbaum 1940, 251.
[30] Concerning the dream-soul as knowledge-soul, see above p. 276. It is absurd to claim, like Pettitt, that among the Blackfoot every impulse of the mind was ascribed, independently of its nature, to the activity of the dream-ego or the dream-power (Pettitt 1946, 96; cf. Wissler 1912, 102 sq.).
[31] A good example from the mass of data: Kroeber 1935, 192.
[32] Cf. e.g. the Kaska (Honigmann 1949, 203); Bella Coola (McIlwraith, op.cit., 612); Ojibway (Barnouw 1950, 108); Eastern Mono (Steward 1934, 427); Walapai (Kroeber, op.cit., 236).
[33] See instances from the Kwakiutl (Boas 1921 I, 725); Ojibway (Jenness 1935, 19); Creek (Hewitt & Swanton 1939, 157); Eastern Mono (Steward, op.cit., 425, 427); Bear River (Nomland, op.cit., 94); Walapai (Kroeber, op.cit., 236; cf. op.cit., 231).
[34] See above, p. 275.
[35] This development is not always a matter of course. Among the Coyukon, the guardian soul becomes in the hands of the shaman a serving spirit that obeys his good and bad commands (Jetté 1911, 102). Cf. further below concerning ways of influencing the guardian soul through magic.

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River Shoshoni it is, like the guardian spirit, man's guide and counsellor.[36] And the one who instructs easily becomes the one who directs. From the Naskapi Speck reports that "when the soul-spirit of man is strong and active, he believes that he may expect from it continual direction and guidance in all affairs".[37] In this connection the soul gives instructions especially for the hunt.[38] These instructions, which are generally given in dreams, must be followed; for "cessation of revelations as to when and where to go for game, how to proceed, and how to satisfy it when it is slain, would result in the loss of a powerful and far-seeing guide, the individual's 'Providence,'—and a doom of failure and starvation".[39] We find the same belief among other Algonquin tribes, especially the Fox.[40] The large soul of the Fox Indians watches over the life-soul; "that is why we are bad".[41] And the free-soul of the Oglala controls the actions of the individual.[42] Obviously, the controlling soul is in many respects closely akin to the ego-soul, since its activities remind one of the ego-potency.[43]

The powerful soul that in this way intervenes in man's life, like a power coming from without, is in its essence generally a benevolent guardian spirit.[44] The "Great Man", the guardian soul of the Naskapi, is very solicitous of its protégé's welfare. "It is the Great Man of the teacher that makes him strong and wise, of the leader that gives him fertile schemes and influence over others, of the successful hunter who garners game for him, of the warrior who garners enemies for him. By the same explanation, too, these primitive men of the North explain the power of leaders, inventors, and wealthy men among the whites".[45] The Bella Coola Indian thinks in the same way: "If a man prospers in his ventures and has success in life, it is due, not to his own efforts, but to the activity of his spirit. When a man acquires wealth with little labour, he knows that his spirit has been constantly trembling at

[36] Hultkrantz, op.cit., 30, 32.
[37] Speck 1935 a, 181.
[38] Speck 1924, 269.
[39] Speck 1935 a, 43 sq., 183, 190.
[40] See also Flannery 1939, 161 (New Netherlands).
[41] Michelson 1925, 358.
[42] Walker 1917, 86.
[43] Also the ordinary, "exogenous" guardian spirit may exercise great influence upon its protégé's modes of acting, and may injure him in all kinds of ways if he does not show obedience; see e.g. Wilkes 1845 V, 118 (the Chinook, Tillamook). Concerning the ego-aspects of the guardian soul, cf. above, p. 377.
[44] For exceptions, see above, pp. 357 sq. (the Ungava Eskimo) and the Fox, above Concerning the free-soul of the Quileute, interpreted as a guardian spirit, see above, p. 70. Cf. further pp. 383 sq.
[45] Speck 1935 a, 41, 46.

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the back of his neck; when he is unfortunate, that it has become inert or sluggish".[46] This capacity to give happiness and wealth is among the Mohave divided between two souls. The one, called by Devereux the "power soul", decides the social position of the individual both in this world and in the world to come. "It gives general good luck, special powers (especially shamanistic powers), luck in love, etc., but can also bring unhappiness and bad luck".[47] Concerning "the soul through whose agency one acquires wealth", Devereux writes that "it never causes trouble and its sight augurs success".[48]

Among the Fox the protective activity of the guardian soul is mainly restricted to the existence *post mortem:* after death the large soul remains with the corpse, and "it seems as if it guarded the body". Until the body has decayed the large soul watches over it as a grave-ghost to see that it is not disturbed.[49]

Among the Coyukon, the free-soul has become a guardian spirit with dangerous properties, relates Jetté. "The *yega* is a protecting spirit, jealous and revengeful, whose mission is not to avert harm from the person or thing which it protects but to punish the ones who harm or misuse it, and to visit them with the calamities most dreaded by the Ten'a: sickness and death of the offender, or of his near relatives. In this manner it really protects the one in its charge, by the fear it inspires to those who would be tempted to harm him".[50] Above all it is the task of the *yega* to avenge the death of its protégé, or to see that it is expiated.[51]

But the guardian soul also punishes the one it is protecting, viz. when its wishes have not been fulfilled or its bidding has not been done. If among the Wind River Shoshoni a medicine-man does not follow his guardian soul's instigation to steal the souls of other people, he will be overtaken with misfortune.[52] A worse fate, according to Ragueneau, will be the lot of the Huron who does not carry out the wishes of the soul active in dreams: if this soul "be not granted what it desires, it becomes angry, and not only does not give its body the good and the happiness that it wished to procure for it, but often it also revolts against the

[46] McIlwraith, op.cit., 94.
[47] Devereux 1937, 418.
[48] Devereux, op.cit., 419.
[49] Michelson, op.cit., 359. Cf. Jones 1939, 12.
[50] Jetté, op.cit., 101 sq. The notion of this attitude in the guardian soul is doubtless inspired by the belief in the surviving animal soul (cf. § 34).
[51] Jetté, op.cit., 602 sq.
[52] Hultkrantz, op.cit., 36.

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body, causing various diseases, and even death".[53] And a Naskapi or Iroquois who is disobedient to his guardian soul must acquiesce in the latter's abandonment of him.[54]

Thus, in these cases the soul is at such a remove from its owner that it can now abandon him entirely without his life being jeopardized.[55] It is not only for the purpose of punishing its owner that the guardian soul leaves him. The Naskapi Indian also loses his guardian soul when he attains an advanced age;[56] curiously enough, the guardian soul seems then to enter the service of another person.[57]

Particular attention must be paid to the problem of the exact significance of the relation between the individual and the guardian soul. As might be expected, the psychic attitude varies from religious veneration to indifference (manifested in the exploitation of the guardian soul for magical purposes).

In its special function the guardian soul is helper and protector. But from a wider point of view it is an awesome, dangerous being of the same kind as the spirits of nature. The guardian soul or "spirit" of the Bella Coola is said to be "small, but of great power, since it belongs to the world of the supernatural; in fact, the spirit of a man is not mortal, but *siut* (supernatural being)".[58] The guardian soul of the Naskapi gives almost the impression of a possessing being:[59] despite certain ethical features the untrammelled spirit of nature breaks through in completely asocial activities.[60] The guardian soul of the Ojibway frightens animals with its whistling,[61] and the free-soul of the Iroquois is "sharp-sighted by night", "specifically carnivorous", and has "the ability of uttering sounds, speech, sometimes resembling the whistling or the trilled note of the cricket, and sometimes resembling that plaintive and doleful exclamation so largely used and imitated in the chants

[53] JR XXXIII, 189, 199.
[54] Speck, op.cit., 44, 47 sq.; Converse 1908, 94. According to Naskapi belief the soul's abandonment of its client may lead to the latter's sickness and death (Speck, op.cit., 224).
[55] Cf. above, pp. 246 sq.; see also below, pp. 458 sq.
[56] Cf. Jenness 1935, 19 (the Ojibway).
[57] Speck, op.cit., 47 sq. Cf. Spier 1938, 169 (the Sinkaietk). A possible parallel exists also in Kootenay belief, depending upon whether the guardian spirit here is the soul of a living or of a dead person (Boas 1890, 855). Cf. also the Huichol (Lumholtz 1900, 63 sq.), Chukchee (Bogoras 1902, 588 sq.).
[58] McIlwraith, op.cit., 94. Concerning *siut*, see op.cit., 30 sq.
[59] Cf. Stewart 1946, 335.
[60] See above, pp. 236 sq.
[61] Jenness, op.cit., 19.

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of death and of public and private condolence and mourning".[62] The power-soul of the Mohave is "sacred and dangerous", *sacrum* according to Durkheim and Mauss.[63] The Nomlaki believe that a man's guardian soul "may bother him or may help him during sickness".[64] Among the Huchnom, a branch of the Yuki, thunder is caused "by the flight of some Indian's many-winged spirit up to heaven, flapping its pinions loudly as it ascends".[65] In this case, however, one need not necessarily assume that the soul has been a power-being during the lifetime of the individual; for after his death every soul is—in so far as it survives—a supernatural power.

It is of course often necessary to approach a power-being like the guardian soul with a devout attitude. When the Penobscot call the soul "goodness", the Creek call it "the good spirit", and the Naskapi-Montagnais designate it as "the Great Man", these names imply more than a mere characterization.[66] Everything is done, chiefly through sacrifices and prayers, to please the guardian soul, whether one is addressing oneself to one's own guardian soul or that of another. A Coyukon who has killed a person and is therefore menaced by the latter's avenging *yega* can easily avoid the danger. "This is done by cutting open the body of the victim, and devouring a small piece of his liver. After offering this satisfaction to the *yega* of his victim, the Ten'a feels safe on that score, and has only the human avengers to deal with".[67] The Naskapi hunter "proceeds toward further communion with his own soul-spirit by smoking tobacco in his stone pipe", his intention being "to feed the soul".[68] Particular solemnity is observed in the adoration of "the Great Man" when a bear has been killed. "Then they throw a wooden spoonful of the grease with some meat into the fire for the *Mistápeo*, 'Great Man' (their soul-spirits), so as to satisfy him. And they drink it using a wooden spoon to satisfy their *Mistápeo*".[69] After mentioning that in outbursts of rage the "rational" soul of the Onondaga is thrown out of the body, Father de Quens writes: "That is why,

[62] Hewitt 1895, 109. Hewitt speaks of the "soul" in general, but he is probably referring chiefly to the free-soul.
[63] Devereux, op.cit., loc.cit.
[64] Goldschmidt 1951, 352.
[65] Powers 1877, 144. Cf. above, p. 267 note 189.
[66] See Speck 1935 b, 18 (the Penobscot); Hewitt & Swanton 1939, 157 (the Creek); Speck 1935 a, 41 (the Naskapi). All the names adduced above are probably *noa*-names.
[67] Jetté, op.cit., 603.
[68] Speck 1924, 269, Speck 1935 a, 42.
[69] Speck 1935 a, 96.

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on such occasions, they usually make a present to restore the rational soul to the seat of reason".[70]

But religious behaviour easily merges into magic.[71] It is thus possible by magical means to strengthen one's guardian soul. Among the Bella Coola, "after the termination of a long period of continence, a man's spirit is so strong that his friends place their hands on the back of his neck in order to absorb some of the power radiating from his spirit. Ancient myths record how the mere force engendered in a man's body by lengthy abstinence was enough to kill an enemy, as if his spirit had been driven from his body by a sudden start". Even in modern times individuals who have observed ceremonial continence have been able to perform miraculous deeds. Thus we are told that a Bella Bella who had been continent for a whole year was able to walk on the surface of the water.[72] Speck points out that among the Naskapi "musical action is regarded as a means of strengthening the Great Man of the individual".[73] The Great Man is stimulated "by singing, drumming, and rattling on the part of the individual".[74] As has already been mentioned, it is possible through mental concentration on desired aims to get the guardian soul to realize them.[75]

The guardian soul may be exploited for divers commissions given it by its "master". Like the concretely conceived supernatural power, the power-soul is able to invade the body of a strange person at the bidding of its owner. The latter's intention is then either to find out his neighbour's thoughts and plans,[76] or to injure him, make him ill (power intrusion in the form of power-soul intrusion or soul intrusion).[77] It is, however, very rarely that the power-soul is sent on missions of this kind. The guardian soul as free-soul, on the other hand, is frequently used by a shaman wishing to recover the soul of a sick person. Among the Mohave it is the specialized power-soul, and not the ordinary free-soul, which is sent to catch the absentee soul.[78]

[70] JR XLII, 51.
[71] Concerning the essence of magic, see Delacroix 1922, 27 sqq.
[72] McIlwraith, op.cit., 115 sq.; cf. op.cit., 192.
[73] Speck, op.cit., 169.
[74] Speck, op.cit., 184.
[75] See above, p. 352.
[76] The Iroquois (Converse 1908, 93); cf. the Zuni (Hagar 1908, 434).
[77] The Puyallup and Nisqually (Smith 1940, 86). Among the Carrier, one who is struck by a weapon or implement that is used against him by another person's double-ganger falls ill (Jenness 1943, 536).—Concerning illness as a consequence of intrusion by an object or spirit, see below § 31.
[78] Devereux, op.cit., 418. Cf. power emission (above, pp. 281 sq.).

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The account we have given of the phenomenology of the guardian soul shows that in different traits it is represented now here, now there, and that the tendency to develop into a guardian soul or power-soul may almost be said to characterize the free-soul conception all over North America. In some quarters this development has reached its culmination in certain clearly delimited conceptions of the guardian soul; we may here mention especially the Coyukon, Bella Coola, Naskapi, Iroquois-Huron and Mohave. In all of these cases the guardian soul fulfils at the same time also the functions of the free-soul, though this is less true of the Naskapi, among whom it bears predominantly the stamp of the ego-soul.

There now remains the difficult question as to whether the soul transformed into a guardian soul has been the property of every man wherever it has occurred. As far as our source-material goes, it seems to suggest a positive answer to the question; McIlwraith, for instance, says expressly that among the Bella Coola every person—man or woman, rich or poor, chief or slave—has a guardian soul.[79] As the guardian soul has developed directly from the primitive soul-conception, and in a way constitutes an intensification and enhancement of some of the latter's properties, this would seem rather natural. But one nevertheless asks oneself whether the well-developed guardian soul does not belong chiefly to the medicine-man: it is he who by magical means is able to increase its power;[80] it is he who in its powerful form is able to journey to the realm of the dead.[81] The Coyukon medicine-man has a guardian spirit that replaces the guardian soul of the ordinary individual, the *yega*. This guardian spirit "is a sort of *yega*, but superior in power and resources to the ordinary kind, and, what is of no mediocre advantage, communicative and sociable towards the person in its charge".[82] Such differences have doubtless occurred here and there, even if the guardian soul as such has been the property of everyman.

The guardian soul is of course not only an Indian invention. It has undoubtedly occurred all over the world. Some of the best conceptions of the guardian soul have been recorded outside of North America, among the Syryenians in northern Russia and among the Tshi peoples on the Gold Coast.[83]

[79] McIlwraith, op.cit., 94.
[80] Cf. above, p. 385.
[81] Cf. above.
[82] Jetté, op.cit., 102; cf. Jetté 1907, 165.
[83] Harva 1927, 10; Ankermann 1918, 115 sq.

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VII. THE SOUL AS SUBSTANCE

26. Spirit and matter in the conception of the soul

Tylor has described the soul of primitive peoples in the following way: "It is a thin unsubstantial human image, in its nature a sort of vapour, film, or shadow ... mostly impalpable and invisible, yet also manifesting physical power".[1] This, the substantial nature of the primitive soul, has been taken to constitute one of the decisive differences between the soul-conceptions of primitive peoples and the corresponding conceptions of Occidentals.[2] It has especially often been asserted that the characteristic feature of the primitive soul-conception is its combination of spirit and substance; it is meant to be entirely spiritual, but pure abstraction has not been attained.[3] It should be taken as spiritual, for it is experienced as a faded remembered image or diffuse dream-image, and thus does not represent the massive reality of the concrete visual image. But precisely because it originates in an *image*, the soul becomes attenuatedly material, acquires an etherial substance.[4] When it is represented as shadow or breath, when it glides through solid objects or is impossible to touch, or when it is said to be invisibly present (yet still conceived in the form of an image), this primitive soul-conception has come as close to the concept of spirituality as possible.[5]

One may of course ask oneself whether the soul is in all circumstances conceived as an attenuated material essence. Wundt has tried to arrive at a clear answer to this question. He asserts that in its original shape the body-soul is bound to the body, and can thus not appear as a non-physical being; only through repercussive influences from the conception of the psyche (the free-soul) is it more and more

[1] Tylor 1871 I, 387.

[2] That the natives themselves regard the question of the soul's physicality as comparatively inessential is another matter (Radin 1923, 284; cf. Radin 1915, 279).

[3] Crawley 1909, 209; Lévy-Bruhl 1927, 154 sq., 159, 292 sq.; Lowie 1925 b, 99, 102; Arbman 1927, 103 note 1, 103 sqq., 172 note 4.

[4] See especially Crawley, op.cit., 194 sq., 209.

[5] Cf., for North America, Boas 1910 b, 618. The breath also becomes a visual experience, viz. in cold weather (cf. Wundt 1910, 128).

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freed from its substratum.[6] The shadow-soul (the free-soul), again, borrows its physical properties from the dream-image, with which, of course (according to Wundt), it is identical.[7] For other reasons the breath-soul manifests practically the same properties, and it is therefore secondarily identified with the shadow-soul.[8] Wundt is thus able to assert that it is because it is the only visible soul *and* because of its double origin in dream-image and breath that the free-soul is the only soul that was originally conceived as an etherial, floating essence.

Wundt's view is in the main correct. From the genetic point of view the breath is, certainly, a body-soul or a bodily fluid; and as far as one can judge it has seldom been conceived as a sharply defined, representable figure, for the simple reason that it is always identical with its physical substratum.[9] But: in the first place, precisely on account of the last-mentioned circumstance, it has acquired a certain substantiality;[10] and in the second place it has in certain cases as a separable body-soul taken more definite shape.[11] As we have already tried to show, also the body-soul may occur as a potency separable from the body, which in certain circumstances appears as an extra-physical soul.[12] On these occasions it is—from the psychological point of view—a free-soul, and thus manifests the features and properties of the free-soul. It is the free-soul—Wundt's shadow-soul and, sometimes, the body-soul (in our sense)—that is characterized by the fluidal nature which according to Tylor belongs to the undivided soul-principle.

From the psychological viewpoint the free-soul, as we have already pointed out (and as Wundt and Arbman believe), has obtained its external properties (form, substance) through the states of dream and trance.[13] The free-soul thus possesses the volatile, etherial consistency of the dream-image; and the body-soul takes on the same qualities when (and if) it appears as an extra-physical soul. As the following examples will show, there is a double tendency in the conception of

[6] Wundt, op.cit., 122.
[7] Wundt, op.cit., 170.
[8] Wundt, op.cit., 172, 218. Cf. above, p. 26.
[9] Cf., however, above, p. 150.
[10] See above, p. 387 note 5. Cf. Trumbull 1903, 326, concerning the "intermediate" position of breath.
[11] The Pueblo Indians have made an attempt to concretize the breath-soul appearing as an unitary soul (with, inter alia, free-soul tendencies); see below p. 392. Cf. also the Tübatulabal (see above, p. 95).
[12] See above, pp. 269 sq.
[13] See above, p. 256.

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the soul: on the one hand it is attempted to make the soul as subtle and etherial as possible, and on the other hand it is desired to invest it with a concretion that makes it a real, perceptible essence.

The etherial nature of the conception of the soul has often been testified to in our sources. The Eskimo on West Greenland declare that the soul completely resembles the body, but it is said to be "of a more subtle and ethereal nature".[14] Poul Egede writes of the Eskimo souls that "they are pale and wan, and by the touch they have neither flesh, bone nor sinews, but they are quite soft, as if they were almost nothing".[15] The Coyukon do not regard spirits and souls as completely immaterial substances; the souls "have a sort of subtle body, a kind of aerial fluid, so to speak".[16] The Kwakiutl Indian says of souls that "they have no bones in their bodies, and they have no blood, for the souls are just like smoke or shadows".[17] The soul "looks like fog" say the Quinault and the Thompson River Salish.[18] The Kootenay hint that the free-soul is transparent and non-substantial.[19] The Naskapi soul is probably, as Johnson opines, "an intangible thing".[20] An Ojibway shaman who brought back an escaped soul from the realm of the dead found that "it was light as wool, and slipped through his fingers".[21] Grinnell describes the free-soul of the Cheyenne as follows: "The shadow is a mere shape... It is like a shadow in having no detail; no clothing, no features—a silhouette".[22] The shadow-soul of the Mandan, finally, is so transparent that it can scarcely be descried.[23]

Some particular features in the soul strengthen the impression of "immaterial substance" conveyed by the preceding data. The soul glides along, freed from all earthly bands; the Omaha soul, for instance, floats through the air without touching the ground.[24] The soul has no difficulty in passing through objects,[25] or objects pass through the soul; the Lemhi Indian tells how "something came down and went clean through my soul".[26]

[14] Rink 1875, 36.
[15] Birket-Smith 1924, 443.
[16] Jetté 1911, 97.
[17] Boas 1921 I, 728.
[18] Olson 1936, 159; Teit 1900, 364.
[19] Chamberlain 1893, 559.
[20] Johnson 1943, 71.
[21] Jenness 1935, 110.
[22] Grinnell 1923 II, 93 sq.
[23] Curtis 1909 V, 19.
[24] La Flesche 1889, 3 sq.
[25] Bloomfield 1928, 125 sqq. (the Menomini).
[26] Lowie 1909 a, 226, 301.

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If the soul is sometimes believed to be invisible—in any case for individuals who lack the gift of vision—one may in this circumstance find a naive expression for its supposed spirituality.[27] It is, however, worth stressing particularly that the soul is not everywhere regarded as a more or less invisible entity. We need only to point out that the dreamer not infrequently sees his free-soul as a freely operating being, or that the waking individual sees his own soul or that of his neighbour as an animal, as a shadow-soul identical with the shadow, as a double-ganger.[28] But the categorically adduced data concerning the visibility of the soul must frequently be taken with reservation. An example: Steward reports that of the Northern Shoshoni and Gosiute only the latter believe that the soul is visible.[29] But does this mean that the soul is visible to all, or that it is visible only to the shamans? If the latter is the case, it may be asserted with the same justification that the soul (in general) is not visible. A more exact formulation of the informant's statement would have been desirable.

It is sometimes said that the soul makes itself visible or invisible at will.[30] In many places the soul shows itself as a rule only in connection with sickness and imminent death, evidently as a direct reflection of the belief that on such occasions it leaves the body.[31] Thus the Western Déné believed that a person's free-soul "was invisible as long as he enjoyed good health, but appeared wandering about in one form or another whenever disease or death was imminent".[32] The soul also shows itself in the darkness of night or during psychic twilight states. The Iroquois consider souls to be "keen-sighted only at night".[33] The soul of the Bear River Indian "could be seen by shamans during their trances, and by common people only when in faint or coma".[34] The four souls of the Mohave (all, as we know, of a pronounced free-soul character) "are occasionally visible to their owner and to shamans. Occasionally they may also appear in dream to other persons".[35] In the two

[27] Arbman, op.cit., 115 (cf. also op.cit., 100 note 1). See also Crawley, op.cit., 196, 200. Cf. also above, p. 23.

[28] See e.g. Converse 1908, 94 (the Iroquois); Boyle 1900, 265 (the Iroquois); Wallis 1923, 48 (the Wahpeton Dakota); Hultkrantz 1951, 30 sq. (the Wind River Shoshoni); Gifford 1931, 70 (the Kamia).

[29] Steward 1943, 284.

[30] The Fox (Jones 1907 b, 269); Oglala (Walker 1917, 86).

[31] See above, pp. 358 sqq., and the instances there adduced; see also below § 31. See especially above, p. 358 note 28, p. 359 note 31. Cf. also Loeb 1932, 15 (the Kato).

[32] Morice 1889, 158; Morice 1906, 209.

[33] Wolf 1919, 43.

[34] Nomland 1938, 93.

[35] Devereux 1937, 418.

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last instances one notes that those with a religious or visionary gift—i. e. in the majority of cases the medicine-men—are more apt to see souls than ordinary individuals.[36] Among many North American peoples the habitual capacity to see souls in broad daylight is reserved to the shamans and the great visionaries.[37]

There are, finally, a few cases in which the soul appears for the most part to be invisible even for the shaman.[38] Among the Carrier and the adjacent Athapascans the free-soul is nearly always invisible.[39] It betrays its presence in the vicinity of the individual only through its warmth.[40] If an Indian had fallen ill in consequence of soul loss, the medicine-men "would hang up in the evening the patient's moccasins previously stuffed with feather down, and next morning, should the down be warm, they would with great care and silence put them back on his feet with his supposed shade therein".[41] The Shasta believed that only the footprints of the soul were visible.[42]

Alongside the conception of the soul as a fragile, etherial substance —and without ousting this notion—we find at the same time the tendency to conceive the soul as a perceptible object. The soul is hereby vested with a not inconsiderable measure of coarse materiality, which has sometimes surprised European investigators. Brébeuf, for instance, found it peculiar that the Huron conceived the human soul to be "divisible and material".[43]

Even when the soul is conceived at its most subtle, it is nevertheless a thing, a concrete object. In the course of the cannibal ceremonies

[36] Among the Cheyenne the women are more visionary than the men: they see their own souls more frequently than the men see theirs, and the sight of the soul is not, as is the case among the men, followed by death (Grinnell 1923 II, 93).

[37] This is the case among the Tanaina (Osgood 1937, 170); Carrier (Jenness 1943, 536; Goldman 1940, 364); Niska (Boas 1895 a, 581); Kitimat (Lopatin 1945, 73); Klahuse, Siciatl, Squamish, Comox and Pentlatch (Barnett 1939, 265); Cowichan (Boas 1894 b, 462); Chinook (Boas 1894 a, 207); Shuswap (Boas 1891 b, 646; Teit 1909, 605, 611); Thompson River (Teit 1900, 363); Lillooet, Wenatchi, Kittitas, Klikitat, Tenino, Kalispel and Coeur d'Alène (Ray 1942, 232); Omaha (La Flesche 1889, 3 sq.); Wind River Shoshoni (Hultkrantz, op.cit., 40 and note 48); Lemhi (Lowie 1909 a, 226); Cahuilla (Hooper 1920, 340); Cocopa ? (Gifford 1933 b, 306 sq.).

[38] Cf., besides the instances adduced above, the following: the Kwakiutl (twin souls: Boas 1921 I, 713; cf. op.cit., 635 note 1); Sanpoil, Nespelem, Flathead (Ray 1932, 169; Ray 1942, 232); Lenape (Hulbert & Schwarze 1910, 131); Ojibway (usually) (Jenness 1935, 20; De Smet 1905, 1047 sqq.).

[39] Morice 1906, 209.

[40] See above, p. 155 note 36.

[41] Morice 1889, 159; Morice 1906, 209.

[42] Dixon 1907, 468 sqq.; Boas 1910 b, 618.

[43] JR X, 287. Cf. also JR VI, 175 (the Montagnais). See also Lowie 1925 b, 102!

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among the Kwakiutl a woman would place herself before an enormous beak representing a spirit, "motioning with her hands to keep people's souls from getting caught in the beak".[44] The Wind River Shoshoni did not, in connection with shamanizing, permit anyone to come between the patient and his absentee invisible soul wandering about in the vicinity.[45] Among a number of peoples on the Plateau and in the Great Basin the medicine-man blows the soul into the patient's body.[46] Among the Carrier the medicine-man allows the soul of one newly deceased to blow over to some relative, in whom it is then reincarnated.[47] The Patwin Indian returns to his body which he has left in the course of an illness "like a down-feather in the wind".[48] When the Hopi Indian calls his soul "the breath-body" he is referring directly to the substantial character of the breath.[49]

The numerous descriptions of the soul in connection with "soul loss" doubtless afford the best examples of the concrete, material way in which the soul may be conceived in some situations. The reason for this appears rather natural: a certain "materiality" must be assumed in the soul if the shaman is to be in a position to catch it and return it to its owner. It seems not out of the question that the notion of the soul's mass has, like the conception of the miniature size of the soul, been stimulated by shamanistic practice.[50]

The following data, taken from the activities of the soul and of the shaman in connection with soul loss, all presuppose a materially conceived soul.

The Puyallup and Nisqually believe that a soul—and especially a child's soul—may fasten in bushes and thickets through which its owner is pushing his way.[51] It is related that a Quinault shaman once stole a young man's soul. The shaman then "got into his canoe and started downriver. They saw him make a motion as if drawing something from his chest and throwing it into the water. They knew he had cast the

[44] Drucker 1940, 213.
[45] Hultkrantz, op.cit., 40 note 47.
[46] The Sinkaietk (Spier 1938, 150, 163); Lemhi (Steward 1943, 282); Shoshoni in Nevada (Steward 1941, 260); Southern Paiute (Kelly 1939, 158, 163). Cf. also the Eskimo (Birket-Smith, op.cit., loc.cit.).
[47] Wilkes 1845 IV, 453; Harmon 1903, 256.
[48] Kroeber 1932 a, 288. Cf. the Wintu conceptions of spirits and souls as "dandelion puffs which float away" when one blows on them (Demetracopoulou 1935, 485 sq.).
[49] See the references above, p. 142 note 107. Also the deceased has a "breath-body" (Fewkes 1897, 258 note 1).
[50] See above, pp. 263 sq.
[51] Smith 1940, 86 sq., 96.

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soul away". The young man was drowned shortly afterwards.[52] Among the Southern Paiute the flight of the soul may be checked at an early stage: the shaman makes his guardian spirit invade the patient's body and keep the soul there.[53] Otherwise the escaped or stolen soul is generally caught by the shaman at a much later stage, and a number of our sources give very clear accounts of the concrete way in which this soul-catching is conceived: the soul of the Bear River shaman, for example, "searched out and grappled with the lost spirit and returned it to its body".[54] The Menomini medicine-man catches the runaway soul of a sick person in a wooden cylinder.[55] The Shoshoni and Paviotso in Nevada imagine that the medicine-man cleans the soul when caught.[56] When the shaman has succeeded in catching the soul he sometimes demonstrates it as a material entity, for example an insect or a ball of fluff.[57] The captured soul varies in weight among the Chinook: "When a person will die, his soul is heavy; when he will recover, it is light".[58] Among the Central Eskimo, on the other hand, the lightness of the soul is a direct indication that it will be lost.[59] Finally, the shaman replaces the soul in the patient's body, sometimes in a very graphic way. Among the Southern Paiute, for instance, the shaman held the soul "between his palms and, pressing his fingertips against the patient's breast, sang until it entered the body".[60]

On account of its material nature the soul risks injury, indeed, like other living bodies even death.[61] The Algonquin sorcerers whip the souls of their enemies so that their blood flows,[62] and the dream-soul of the Pottawatomi Indian receives severe injuries when it meets with hostile beings.[63] The Lillooet and Seminole believe that souls are burned if they get too near a fire.[64] From a missionary newspaper Frazer adduces the notions of the Tsimshian Indians to the effect that a doctor may swallow his patient's soul by mistake. "A doctor who is believed to

[52] Olson, op.cit., 153 sq.
[53] Kelly 1939, 155, 158.
[54] Nomland 1938, 93.
[55] Skinner 1921, 72. Cf. also Hewitt 1895, 108 sq. (the Iroquois). Several instances of this way of catching the soul may be adduced from the Northwest Coast. See also above, pp. 263 sq.
[56] Steward 1941, 260. Cf. Lowie 1925 b, 101 sq. (the Lemhi).
[57] See e.g. the Kwakiutl (Boas 1897 b, 561); Cahuilla (Hooper, op.cit., 340).
[58] Boas 1894 a, 207. Cf. the Shasta (Dixon 1910 a, 21).
[59] Boas 1901—07, 132.
[60] Kelly, op.cit., 155. Cf. also above, pp. 263, 393.
[61] Cf. Lowie 1934, 306.
[62] JR XII, 11.
[63] Gregg 1844 II, 246 sq.
[64] Teit 1906, 288; Greenlee 1944, 324.

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have done so is made by the other members of the faculty to stand over the patient, while one of them thrusts his fingers down the doctor's throat, another kneads him in the stomach with his knuckles, and a third slaps him on the back".[65] It would scarcely be possible to conceive a soul more materially than this!

The soul of a living person dies if it is partly or wholly eaten up by an alien being. The Slave Indians warned their children not to shriek when a prophet spoke, for "the prophet might kill them by swallowing their shadow".[66] From the Tsimshian Boas reports that "no one must pass behind or in front of a shaman while he is eating, lest his soul be swallowed by him".[67] If a Bella Coola passed behind the back of a shaman who is eating "his spirit would be drawn from his body into the shaman's mouth, which would close with a click, crushing the spirit and killing the man. This is quite involuntary on the part of the shaman".[68] In other cases the eater is not a shaman, but a supernatural being. Examples of such "soul-cannibalism" (as Clements calls it) may be adduced from widely separated parts of North America.[69] It has not been less common in North America than in Siberia, where the most frequent occurrence of the conception has hitherto been sought.[70] We shall revert presently to this problem (§ 27).

There are also other ways in which the soul may succumb. The Kathlamet, for example, relate in an astral myth how the soul may be squeezed to death.[71] All such instances exemplify the extreme consequence of the tendency to materialization in the soul-conception, the belief in the mortal nature of the soul. The many assurances of the ethnologists to the effect that primitive peoples in general believe in "immortal souls" are thus not worth much. At the most it may be said that the soul is sometimes conceived immaterially and as (practically) eternal, and is sometimes conceived materially and as subject to final death.

[65] Frazer 1927, 76.
[66] Honigmann 1946, 134.
[67] Boas 1916, 560. Cf. above, pp. 393 sq. (example taken from Frazer).
[68] McIlwraith 1948 I, 573. Corresponding notions seem also to have existed among the Plateau tribes of the Salishan family; but they associate here to the shadow, not to the soul (the Thompson River: Teit 1900, 361).
[69] See, besides the preceding instances, the following: the Coyukon (Jetté 1911, 102); Chinook (Boas 1893, 40 sq., Boas 1894 a, 207); Cherokee? (Mooney 1891, 392); Choctaw (Swanton 1931, 195); Dakota (Pond in Schoolcraft 1860 VI, 649 sq.; Pond 1889, 220, 222; Dorsey 1894, 439); Cahuilla (Hooper, op.cit., 364). There are also numerous instances of the souls of already deceased persons being devoured.
[70] Clements 1932, 233, 234.
[71] Boas 1901, 11.

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This alternation between two opposed ways of conceiving the soul, often represented in the same individual, is due to the differentiation of the polar tendencies we have previously mentioned. Now it is the one, and now the other that predominates. Is the free-soul in the shape of an animal quite as concrete and massively real as it sometimes appears to be, or is it here an attenuatedly material shape? Well, this will depend very much upon which tendency predominates in an actual experiential situation.[72]

Psychologically, the free-soul is identical with the deceased (§§ 2, 32). It is therefore of interest for us to compare the conceptions of souls and ghosts from the point of view of materialization.

As one might expect, in consequence of its associations to the corpse the conception of the deceased person tends to assume a very massive and material character; especially the grave-ghost, the spook-ghost, is often conceived as a living corpse.[73] A good definition of the difference between the soul and the ghost identical with the corpse was given to Hunt by a Kwakiutl woman. "The ghost is not a soul", she said; "for he has the whole body of a man, and his bones are those of people who have long been dead. It is not the same as a soul, for they have no bones in their bodies, and they have no blood, for the souls are just like smoke or shadows. And they have no house besides our body, the body of the soul-owner".[74] But even without this definite, direct anchorage in the physical body, the deceased may be more materially conceived than the soul of the living. The soul of the Quinault Indian looks, during his life-time, like a fog; but in the realm of the dead it is changed to a person with flesh and blood.[75] Alexander finds that on the Plateau "ghosts, as distinguished from souls or spirits, are of a more substantial character".[76] The Cocopa body-soul, *loxachak*, which is invisible, is changed at death to a visible soul, a ghost. The ghost is thus "conceived of as soul which had assumed visibility, rather than different spiritual entity".[77]

On the other hand, it is stressed in several quarters that the ghost—in contradistinction to the free-soul—is invisible.[78] The invisibility of

[72] Cf. above, p. 269.
[73] Cf. Arbman 1927, 106.
[74] Boas 1921 I, 727 sq.; Boas 1940 a, 615.
[75] Olson 1936, 159.
[76] Alexander 1916, 146.
[77] Gifford 1933 b, 306.
[78] The Tanaina (Osgood 1937, 170); Shuswap (Boas 1891 b, 646; cf., however, op.cit., 647!); Kamia (Gifford 1931, 70). Cf. also Conard 1900, 234.

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a dead person may naturally be a trick or the manifestation of a supernatural property; but one also asks oneself whether the etherial, fragile consistency which we have referred to as being able to characterize the soul-conception may not also characterize the notion of the deceased. "My body lies up there, but I am here with you", says the deceased Pawnee girl who has joined her living mother. "I am not real, and if you people do not always treat me properly I will suddenly disappear".[79] Especially in the death-situation, when according to many people the free-soul becomes a ghost, the newly deceased is regarded as a very fragile substance: in this way the continuity between the soul of the living individual and his post-mortal form of existence is marked. The following examples are characteristic. The soul of the deceased Lemhi Indian rises up out of the body like a cloud, while the soul of the deceased Maidu Indian issues from the mouth "like wind".[80] The free-soul of the Kamia Indian, finally liberated at death, looks like a wraith and blows around with the wind; and the body-soul of the Cocopa, functioning as a free-soul, floats about in the air, after its owner's death, near the place where he died.[81] The Huichol free-soul, finally, glides like a draught out of the dead body towards the death-realm of the west.[82]

The conception of the deceased, which from the psychological viewpoint has about the same origin as the conception of the free-soul, has, like the latter, two polar tendencies, the one in the direction of materiality, the other in the direction of immateriality. Through attraction to the corpse in the grave the conception of the deceased may acquire a mass which the soul-conception lacks. But through attraction to the free-soul, which leaves the body at the moment of death (or before this), the conception of the deceased is bound to the fragile structure of the soul-conception.

[79] Dorsey 1906 b, 132.
[80] Lowie 1909 a, 226; Dixon 1905, 261.
[81] Gifford 1931, 71; Gifford 1933 b, 306.
[82] Preuss 1908, 596 sq. Other examples of the etherial nature of the post-mortal soul have been adduced above, pp. 389 (the Omaha) and 392 (the Carrier).

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27. *Soul-belief and cannibalism*

It has thus emerged that according to the view of the North American Indian the soul is half material, a fluid whose substantiality varies from immateriality to physicality, as may be expected of the creation of a dream. It has also emerged that it is thanks chiefly to its independence of the body that the soul has acquired its semi-material nature.

According to older religio-historical theory, represented by Wundt, the soul must, however, at one time have been still more substantial, viz., when at the beginning of religious evolution it was identical with one of the body's organs: it must then have manifested the massive structure of this organ. We have earlier rejected this view as being unfounded (§ 13). One is then, however, confronted with a problem that cannot be light-heartedly thrust on one side: what is the truth of the ethnographic assertions to the effect that there has existed a form of cannibalism having psychophagy, "soul-eating", as its motive?

Theoretically, we may distinguish between two conceivable forms of psychophagy.

1. Exclusive psychophagy, i. e. eating of the soul alone. As we have seen, in consequence of the quasi-material nature characterizing it in the liberated state, the soul is able, whether its owner is alive or dead, to serve as food for shamans and supernatural beings.[1]

2. Psychophagy with anthropophagy or zoophagy: through cannibalism one appropriates the soul. The soul is assumed to a certain extent to be identical with what it animates, i. e. the flesh. If this form of psychophagy exists, then the soul bound to matter, i. e. the completely material soul, also exists.

Concerning the form of psychophagy combined with zoophagy we may be brief. It exists where someone consumes an animal which is the bearer of the personality of a deceased person (consumption of the soul-animal of a living person, on the other hand, is exclusive psychophagy). The soul is then in the animal, and the animal itself is the form in which the deceased is reincarnated.[2] The German explorer Carl Meyer thought he had found such "cannibalism" among the Yurok; but he was not completely convinced that it was the soul that was eaten: perhaps the Yurok wanted only to absorb the characteristic

[1] See above, p. 394.
[2] Cf. above, p. 269, and below, p. 496. Cf. also above, p. 395.

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qualities of the deceased.[3] Other cases, in their import just as indeterminate, might be adduced. But since these—if they describe any psychophagy at all—tell rather of the deceased and a transformed body than of the soul and body of the person recently alive, we do not here need to particularize them further.

Of greater interest is it to know whether the natives have referred anthropophagy to the psychophagy motive. Wundt, who identified soul, life-force, *mana*-power and other potencies with their physical substratum, finds it natural for cannibalism to have developed from the belief that one acquired thereby the "psychic forces" of a deceased person; he regards hunger in this connection as a secondary incentive.[4] We shall now enquire to what extent the North American material concerning cannibalism is able to throw light upon the problem.

It should first be pointed out that according to both archaeological and historical sources cannibalism has existed over practically the whole of North America.[5] We cannot here, however, go into its distribution and historical background; we shall instead concentrate immediately upon the investigation of its possible connection with the soul-ideology.

A survey of the North American instances shows that the theory of the origin of cannibalism put forward by Wundt is obviously erroneous, as are also the corresponding theories advanced by other older evolutionists. Cannibalism cannot have arisen only from the soil offered by the soul-belief; it is polygenetic, not monogenetic.[6] In North America there are several different motives, which Alexander has classified in three groups.[7] It seems more justified to speak of four main types of cannibalism on the continent. These are:

1. Chance cannibalism arising from necessity (and of a more or less sanctioned character): hunger-cannibalism.[8]

[3] Heizer & Whipple 1951, 226 sq.

[4] Wundt 1910, 243 sq., 250, 427 sq.

[5] The reader is referred to notes on the occurrence of cannibalism in North America in Hrdlicka 1907, 200 sq., Loeb 1923, 34 sq., and op.cit., map A (North America in general); and in Flannery 1939, 126 sq. (north-eastern North America). It is difficult to verify the existence of cannibalism when it has not been directly observed: the Indians generally deny the cannibalism ascribed to them by their neighbours (see e.g. the Dakota: Keating 1825 I, 233, 411 sqq.).

[6] Leach 1949 I, 189.

[7] Alexander 1916, 281. See also Volhard 1939.

[8] See e.g. the Coyukon (Jetté 1911, 603); Hare (Morice 1910 b, 136); Naskapi (Speck 1935 a, 44 sqq.); Pottawatomi (Keating, op.cit., 101); Nisenan ? (Powers 1877, 343).

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2. Profane cannibalism: gastronomic or sybaritic cannibalism;[9] and vengeful or punitive cannibalism (eating of the flesh of slain enemies;[10] forcing a living enemy to eat of his own flesh.[11])

3. Ceremonial cannibalism: cannibalism constitutes an important element in e. g. a *rite de passage*.[12]

4. Religious cannibalism: as a rule this implies that the eater ingurgitates with the flesh of the deceased also his qualities, courage, bravery, strength of will etc.[13] This cannibalism (which is often also ceremonial cannibalism) may be intensified to *unio mystica* between the eater and the eaten, as in certain pronounced forms of endocannibalism (see below).[14]

It should, however, be observed that in certain cases one may through cannibalism arising from necessity or through profane cannibalism attain results which in respect of their nature and their significance come very close to the effects of religious cannibalism. Thus the Algonquin Indian afflicted with hunger-psychosis becomes a power-being when he resorts to cannibalism.[15] Religious cannibalism is distinguished from all other cannibalism (except some ceremonial cannibalism) in having a deliberate religious intention.

It is in connection with religiously motivated cannibalism that one should find possible traces of soul-eating. Especially the by no means uncommon custom of eating in the first place the heart of the deceased would seem to point in a " psychophagic" direction. From all quarters

[9] The Huron (JR X, 229). Cf. the Paviotso myth (Natches 1923, 257 sqq.). Loeb denies the occurrence of this cannibalism in America (Loeb 1923, 12). He is certainly wrong.

[10] The Ojibway (Keating, op.cit., II, 157); Pottawatomi (Keating, op.cit., I, 101); Yavapai (Gifford 1932 b, 186). Cf. also the Caribs (Gower 1927, 36).

[11] JR I, 271 sqq. (French Canada).

[12] The Northwest Coast: the Kwakiutl (Boas 1897 b, 437 sqq.; cf. also Drucker 1940, 204, 209, 213, 217); Bella Bella (Boas, op.cit., 664); Kitimat (Lopatin 1945, 86 sq.); Bella Coola (Boas, op.cit., 649 sq.); Tsimshian (Jackson 1879, 114 sqq.); Tsimshian, possibly also the Haida and Tlingit (Boas, op.cit., 658; cf. Drucker, op.cit., 221 sq.).

[13] See e.g. the Kadjak Eskimo (Holmberg 1855, 111); Abnaki (Prince 1908, 321); Pottawatomi (Keating, op.cit., I, 101 sq.); Sauk and Fox (Blair 1912 II, 225 sq.); French Canada (JR I, 273); Huron (JR X, 227); Indians of the Southeast (Swanton 1928 a, 705). Cf. also Conard 1900, 25 note 6.

[14] See below, p. 403.

[15] Among the Algonquin in the north, *witigo* or *windigo* designates both a mythical cannibal-being and a demonized human cannibal. See Cooper 1933 a, 21 sqq.; Saindon 1933, 11 sq.; Guinard 1930, 69 sq.; Jenness 1935, 40; Lowie 1917, 457. Cf. above, p. 235 (the Naskapi).

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in North America we have statements to the effect that in cannibalistic orgies the heart has been the part of the body preferred.[16]

Now the heart, as will be remembered, is the seat for the life-soul, ego-soul, free-soul and all sorts of qualities; above all it is the centre for qualities and the commonest abode of the body-souls.[17] Our sources never mention that it is the soul that is eaten (as regards the Juaneño, see below). Where there is any mention of the causes of the cannibalistic custom of devouring the heart the writers allude, instead, to the fact that the heart contains praiseworthy qualities, above all bravery.[18] An instance may be adduced here. It is a common superstition among the Pottawatomi, writes Keating, "that he that tastes of the body of a brave man acquires a part of his valour, and that if he can eat of his heart, which by them is considered as the seat of all courage, the share of bravery which he derives from it is still greater".[19] In the majority of cases of heart-cannibalism the most prominent warlike virtues have presumably been aimed at; and the peculiar way of acquiring them is doubtless connected with the current conviction that the qualities—in contradistinction to the soul—have been identical with the heart.[20]

Heart-cannibalism has sometimes another but at least equally important background. The heart is, as we know, sometimes conceived to harbour the supernatural power.[21] It is certainly not surprising if the devouring of the heart has also been a means of acquiring this power: the power is probably conceived to have "impregnated" the parts of the body with which it has come into contact. Among both the Dakota and the Hopi in Oraibi the hearts of slain enemies were removed, pulverized and used as medicine.[22] One note states that the Sioux swal-

[16] See reports from the Western Eskimo (Nelson 1899, 328); Montagnais and other North Algonquin (JR I, 273, JR V, 55); Pottawatomi (Keating, op.cit., I, 102); Sauk (Keating, op.cit., 233); Illinois (Strong 1938, 11 sq.); Delaware-Iroquois (Flannery 1939, 126); Huron (JR X, 227); Indians of the Southeast (Swanton 1928 a, 705); Eastern Dakota (Schoolcraft 1853 III, 242); Sioux, Assiniboin, Cree (Denig 1930, 492); Juaneño (see below); Yuma (Forde 1931, 165 note 186). Flannery's assumption that the Algonquin heart-cannibalism testifies to Iroquoian influence appears improbable in the light of the general occurrence of the custom among the Central Algonquin (cf. Flannery, op.cit., 127).

[17] See especially above, pp. 172 sqq.

[18] Courage, bravery and heroic strength were the qualities that several of the peoples mentioned above, in note 16, believed they could acquire through their cannibalism (the Western Eskimo, North Algonquin, Pottawatomi, Huron, Indians of the Southeast). The Sauk thought they would become fat from eating hearts.

[19] Keating, op.cit., 101 sq.

[20] Cf. above, pp. 174, 226 sq.

[21] See above, p. 349.

[22] Riggs 1893, 143; Parsons 1939 I, 425; Parsons, op.cit., II, 559.

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lowed such medicine.[23] Cannibalism also refers to the supernatural power in the fully developed agrarian ceremonies among the Pawnee: a young girl who personifies the evening star and the crops is killed under ritual forms, and her heart or liver is devoured by the medicine-men, who thus partake of the magical power of the goddess; the rest of her flesh, containing the power of fertility, is strewn over the fields.[24] The closest parallel to the sacrificial rite, which possibly also occurred in the Southwest, is to be found in the human sacrifices of the Aztecs.[25]

Among the Pawnee the heart of the goddess of fertility is a symbol for the life-power. Among the Pueblo Indians, on the other hand, an ordinary person's heart—the centre of the life-force—finds a parallel in the power of growth inherent in maize.[26] If we wish to understand the latter as a mystic, supernatural power—which seems reasonable—the life-force and *mana* are thus identified here. But we must not here press the concepts. The monistic speculation of the Pueblo Indians, which has been directed according to the needs of the agrarian ideology, has worked with a comparison between the mystical power of growth and the mystical potency of the individual, the heart, the seat for both the soul and power.[27] Certainly no analysis of the content of the heart in this connection has been undertaken.

Also other important parts of the body have been devoured by cannibalistic Indians, though without this anthropophagy having anything to do with the soul-potencies harboured in the parts of the body in question. The head-eating among the Huron, for example, does not necessarily indicate that it was desired to acquire the intellect-soul having its abode in the brain.[28] But it is hypothetically possible that some quality to which this soul imparted life and function, e. g. the

[23] de Castelnau, quoted by Frazer (Frazer 1925, 150). The Iroquois ate the pulverized bones of a slain child as war-medicine (BBAE 30: 2, 404). Earlier speculations to the effect that in this case the eating referred to the bone-soul we have rejected as unfounded (see above, pp. 175 sq.).

[24] See De Smet 1905, 977 sqq.; Wissler & Spinden 1916; Linton 1922; Linton 1926. Cf. also Dunbar 1882, 735 sqq.

[25] A detailed account of the human sacrifices of the Aztecs has been given by Frazer, who has collated the rich source-material (Frazer 1920, 275 sqq.). The distribution and mutual connection of human sacrifices and cannibalism in North America has been dealt with by Loeb (Loeb 1923, 8, 12, 23).

[26] Parsons 1939 I, 72, 73. See also Dumarest 1919, 166 (Cochiti); above, p. 141 (San Felipe); Stevenson 1894, 39 (Sia).

[27] See above, pp. 172, 349. Among these peoples the heart may also be taken in war as a trophy, in which connection it is regarded as a symbol for the slain warrior himself (Parsons, op.cit., 424 sq.).

[28] Cf. above, pp. 224 sq. Flannery reports head-cannibalism in the Northeast among the Mohikan and Huron (Flannery, op.cit., 126 sq.). Concerning the Huron, see especially JR X, 229, JR XIII, 79.

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intelligence, was aimed at. Also parts of the head were eaten, e. g. the scalp.[29] In such cases the motives have been several; but certainly, apart from the desire for vengeance, also the notion of the scalp as the centre for warlike qualities has been an impelling incitement.[30] According to the *pars pro toto* principle, the scalp represents its former owner.[31] But it is not for this reason his soul.

Cannibalism of heart and head has, however, been connected with psychophagy when it has occurred as endocannibalism.

By endocannibalism, as is known, we mean the custom of eating the flesh of deceased members of one's own group, and especielly close relatives who have died. Endocannibalism has occurred in both North and South America.[32] It may be as well here to devote some attention to its North American distribution.

We abstract, however, from two forms of endocannibalism which cannot be considered as typical. The one of these is the illegal cannibalism which is practised by sorcerers and (especially in the east) by "witch societies".[33] This cannibalism is not in the strict sense "ingroup cannibalism" unless the victim is a member of the secret society[34] or a person who has been handed over to a sorcerer with the silent sanction of the group.[35] We also except those cases in which members of a group eat of the flesh of their own people in a situation of real need. Endocannibalism certainly had a very wide distribution in Arctic and sub-Arctic Canada, not as an accepted custom, but as an emergency in cases of hunger.[36] Many reports of endocannibalism from Arctic and sub-Arctic tracts may be referred to such cases, though it is not directly stated; e. g. when it is reported that the Polar Eskimo killed and ate their old people (the killing off of old people and the seriously ill

[29] The Menomini (Skinner 1913, 116); Winnebago, Ute (Skinner, op.cit., 116 note 3).
[30] See especially Goddard 1911, 245 (the Ute, according to a tradition among the Jicarilla Apache). Cf. also Friederici 1906, 116.
[31] See above, p. 298.
[32] See Linné 1929, 227 sqq., 230 (map 14), 234 sq. Cf. Steinmetz 1896, 28.
[33] Such "endocannibalism" appears to have existed here and there in North America, both in the east (the Cherokee: Mooney & Olbrechts 1932, 140) and in the west (the Western Mono: Gayton 1948 II, 280), but above all in the Central Algonquin witch societies (see Voegelin in Leach 1950 II, 1179; see further, for the Miami, Trowbridge 1938, 88 sqq., and for the Shawnee, Trowbridge 1939, 53 sqq., 64 sq.).
[34] The Wabanaki (Prince 1908, 321).
[35] The Lenape (ibidem).
[36] See Speck 1935 a, 45 sq. See also Steinmetz, op.cit., 13 sq. (instances from the Athapascans and North Algonquin).

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has in North America not been an uncommon custom, especially among nomadizing tribes).[37]

We find real endocannibalism in widely separated areas of North America. It has occurred as a ritual element in the initiation ceremonies of cannibal societies among a number of Northwest Coast groups concentrated about the Bella Bella (among whom according to Boas the cannibal ceremony originated).[38] Among these groups the endocannibalism proper consisted in the eating of a relative's corpse, while the older custom of killing and eating a slave presumably symbolized the killing and eating of an enemy, and must therefore be classified as exocannibalism.[39] The eating of the dead relative also occurred farther inland in British Columbia as an expression for impotent grief and longing for union with the dead person.[40] Endocannibalism is found in north-eastern North America among several Algonquin groups, the Montagnais, Micmac and others (cf. above); among some of them the custom appears to have had a sacramental character.[41] In south-eastern North America, at the mouth of the Mississippi, endocannibalistic customs were observed even by the Spanish conquerors.[42] Cabeça de Vaca's reports refer presumably to the Atakapa, Karankawa or Tonkawa.[43] A couple of Shoshone peoples seem to have practised endocannibalism, viz. the Juaneño and Luiseño.[44] Another Californian group, the South-eastern Pomo, ate parts of their own dead.[45] And finally, endocannibalism occurred in Nuevo Leon on the right side of the Rio Grande, not far from the Karankawa.[46]

As the distribution of endocannibalism is of a certain importance for our discussion in the sequel, I have here instanced it from all quarters in North America where it has been a ritual custom. The old notion of its sparse occurrence north of Mexico must, as may be seen, be abandoned. Linné, who recorded endocannibalism only on the lower Mississip-

[37] Simmons 1945, 14; cf. op.cit., 230.
[38] Boas 1897 b, 664. Cf. the references to sources above, p. 399, note 12.
[39] Boas, op.cit., 424 sqq., 664. Cf. also Codere 1950, 111 sq. I cannot endorse Reuterskiöld's opinion where he differs from Boas (Reuterskiöld 1908, 47).
[40] Allison 1892, 316.
[41] The Montagnais (Conard 1900, 25); Micmac (Le Clercq 1910, 219 sq.); Ojibway (Steinmetz, op.cit., 13).
[42] Linné, op.cit., 229, 235.
[43] These tribes have been notorious for their cannibalism (cf. Gatschet 1891, 26 sq.).
[44] The Juaneño (Harrington 1934, 47 sq.); Luiseño (Davis 1921, 102 sq.). Concerning possible endocannibalism among a third Shoshone people, the Ute, see Steinmetz, op.cit., 14, 28.
[45] Loeb 1926, 287. Cf. Powers 1877, 181; Kroeber 1925, 253; Gifford 1926, 376 sq.
[46] Beals 1932, 207.

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pi, finds his single North American instance uncertain.[47] Nordenskiöld seems *implicite* to have ascribed one historical origin to the endocannibalism of both the Southeast and the Amazon region.[48] Beals, who in the main (like Nordenskiöld) bases his observations on Linné's data, finds it probable that endocannibalism represents an old culture-stratum connecting North and South America.[49] Loeb has drawn attention to a number of data from the west coast of America (the Juaneño, Pomo, Kwakiutl), which he compares with data concerning endocannibalism among the Chukchee; he believes that this cannibalism constitutes the remains of "a former widely disseminated cult".[50] None of the authors here mentioned, however, has based his conclusions upon more than a few of the instances of its occurrence adduced in the foregoing.

Our survey shows that the endocannibalism occurring in North America has had four centres: the Northwest Coast, the North-east Algonquin, the primitive peoples of the Gulf Coast, central and southern California. The widespread occurrence of the custom and its appearance in the border regions of the continent indicate its great age. It is scarcely likely that endocannibalism was stimulated from the south; it probably did not occur in Mexico, if we abstract from the case reported from Nuevo Leon.[51] In each one of the above-mentioned four areas it has occurred in a local pattern, above all in the two western areas.

One is certainly justified in presuming that wherever endocannibalism is not a profane measure provoked by hunger, it has a sacral import.[52] The notion seems nearly always to be that the eater incorporates with himself a valuable constituent part of the deceased.[53] Older investigators have advanced other interpretations, based upon rather unconvincing arguments, that have been communicated with tendentious intent by the natives themselves.[54]

[47] Linné, op.cit., 229.
[48] Nordenskiöld in Jenness 1933, 265.
[49] Beals, op.cit., 123 sq. Cf. also op.cit., 151.
[50] Loeb, op.cit., 288. Cf. Kroeber, op.cit., 643.
[51] Cf. Linné, op.cit., and Beals, op.cit., loc.cit. It is, however, possible that the Totonacs (and the Aztecs?) practised endocannibalism (see Hartland 1895 II, 283 sqq.).
[52] It can thus not be designated simply as a "natural" eating of corpses (cf. Steinmetz, op.cit., 34 sqq.).
[53] My formulation in an earlier discussion of endocannibalism must be modified: it is not, as I said there, the deceased who survives in the living, but the qualities of the deceased that are thenceforward invested in the living (see Hultkrantz 1947, 588).
[54] Le Clercq's statement to the effect that the Micmac ate the hearts of the deceased "in order, as they said, to take vengeance on the Devil, who was in the heart" probably does not indicate the right motive (Le Clercq, op.cit., 220).

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How, then, is the sacral import of endocannibalism really to be understood? The opinions of investigators have been divided. MacCulloch makes the general pronouncement that "where relatives are eaten, the passing over of the soul to the eater for the benefit of the latter is mainly aimed at".[55] He admits, however, that in North America the dominating motive has been the "acquiring of strength".[56] Linné inclines to the opinion that it has at least in certain cases been "a vital force" in which the eater has partaken.[57] Beals and Birket-Smith wonder if the custom might not also indicate notions of reincarnation and rebirth.[58] If this is the case, it must of course have been the soul—the spirit of the deceased—that was eaten.

Among a couple of North American peoples, the Lenni Lenape and Tonkawa, some writers have believed they have found the idea of psychophagy in connection with the practice of endocannibalism. The story of the Delaware sorcerer who desires to eat up a worn out old person is regarded by Prince as a relic of older times, when, firstly, it was customary for the tribe to rid itself of old people and, secondly, they were given a continuation of life by the transference of their souls to more vital bodies.[59] But this reconstruction is obviously based on uncertain grounds. The same applies to Gatschet's attempt to interpret the (endo-) cannibalism of the Tonkawa as psychophagy, which we have already discussed.[60] Gatschet was not able to adduce any tenable arguments in favour of his opinion.

There is, however, one people in North America that might be suspected of having cherished the notion that it was practising psychophagy in its endocannibalism: the Juaneño in south-western California. In his celebrated description of these Indians Father Boscana mentions that only the hearts (i.e. souls) of those persons went to heaven whose flesh had been eaten just after their death.[61] In the rite, as also in the myth connected with the rite, the cannibal (in the myth: the Coyote) ate only a portion of the shoulder.[62] But the myth has a further distribution beyond the area of the Juaneño, and here with the motif that the heart was eaten. Had then the myth also among the Juaneño earlier

[55] MacCulloch 1910, 200.
[56] MacCulloch, op.cit., loc.cit.
[57] Linné, op.cit., 228 sq.
[58] Beals, op.cit., 124; Birket-Smith 1943 II, 411, 476. Cf. Segerstedt 1910 II, 107.
[59] Prince, op.cit., loc.cit.
[60] Gatschet 1888, 238. See above, pp. 175 sq.
[61] Harrington 1934, 53; Kroeber, op.cit., 642.
[62] Harrington, op.cit., 47, 12 sq. Cf. Du Bois 1904, 187.

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had this motif, and was it thus believed that the soul existing in the heart was transmitted to a better world through the ritual eating thereof?[63] The problem-complex with which we are here confronted is exceedingly complicated.

The myth concerning the theft of the heart is the dominating motif in southern California.[64] Briefly, it has the following pattern. The culture hero dies, killed by magical means by his daughter Frog, whom he has insulted. The mourners, represented as beings in the shape of animals, determine to have him burned. The Coyote, who is suspected of desiring to get hold of the heart of the deceased, is sent east to fetch fire. However, he notices the smoke from the funeral pyre, rushes back, jumps over Badger, who is standing in his way, snatches up the heart of the dead god and runs off with it, without anyone managing to prevent him. The myth, which mainly throws light upon the natives' notion of the origin of death, derives from the Yuman and Shoshonean peoples in the Southwest area.[65] It is thus known from the Walapai,[66] Mohave,[67] Yavapai,[68] Maricopa,[69] Yuma,[70] Kamia,[71] Diegueño[72]—who are all Yuman peoples—and from the Cupeño,[73] Luiseño,[74] Juaneño,[75] Serrano[76]—all of whom belong to the Shoshonean stock. The myth is most typical among the Yuman peoples, while among the Shoshone it is found in special forms (e.g.: the god is identified with the moon; the Coyote is despatched to all four points of the compass; the Coyote steals a piece of the shoulder). It is therefore probable that the Shoshonean peoples adopted the myth from the Yuman tribes, and not the reverse, as Kroeber believes.[77]

Kroeber is of the opinion that the myth of the dying god and the theft of the heart developed in the South Californian area. And there

[63] Cf. Leach 1949 I, 487.
[64] Kroeber, op.cit., 790.
[65] Kroeber, op.cit., loc.cit. Cf., however, also Russell 1908, 215 sqq. (the Pima).
[66] Kroeber 1935, 249 sq.
[67] Kroeber 1906, 314 sq.; Kroeber 1925, 770; Kroeber 1948 b, 52 sq.; Curtis 1908 II, 56 sq.
[68] Spier 1928, 297; Gifford 1932 b, 245 sq.; Gifford 1933 a, 351.
[69] Spier 1933, 350 sq.
[70] Curtis, op.cit., 76; Harrington 1908, 324 sqq.; cf. Forde 1931, 176 sq.
[71] Gifford 1931, 77.
[72] Du Bois 1901, 184; Spier 1923, 330.
[73] Kroeber 1925, 692.
[74] Du Bois 1906, 56 sq., 59 sq.; Davis 1921, 106 sqq.; Kroeber 1906, 313; Kroeber 1925, 678.
[75] Harrington 1934, 12 sq.; Kroeber 1925, 637.
[76] Kroeber 1925, 619; Benedict 1926, 1.
[77] Kroeber 1925, 790.

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is no doubt that it here assumed its most characteristic form. But the motifs that constitute the myth may be glimpsed in a far wider context. If we here abstract from the motif of the dying god[78] and local embellishments of the myth in a lunar-mythological direction,[79] which are from our point of view of subordinate interest, and from other, less essential elements, the Coyote and his doings remain as the dominating mythic pattern. The Coyote is, as is generally known, in large parts of western North America a mischievous trickster of ancient mythic times. The motif of his being sent away from the funeral pyre is reminiscent of the general mistrust that has always been attached to his person. His task on the occasion in question was to fetch fire from the east or the sun in the east; the motif is well-known in western North America as the Theft of Fire, and it has for instance among the Kato and Shasta the same form as in the South Californian myth. The theft of the heart does not occur in the mythology in other quarters, but the motif is based upon two notions, both of which have a wider distribution.

The one of these two notions is the belief that the Coyote appears as a snatcher of souls. This belief is common far beyond the borders of California; it occurs, for example, among the Lemhi in Idaho.[80] In North California—among the Klamath or Modoc?—this rôle of the Coyote's has been fixed to the time for a person's cremation, when, according to Bancroft, he is ready to seize the departing soul. "To prevent such a calamity, the friends who attended the burning of the body shouted and gesticulated to distract the Evil One's attention and enable the heart, in which the soul resided, to leap out of the flames and escape to heaven. If the body was interred, they thought the devil would have more chance of capturing the heart, which would then be sent back to earth to annoy the living."[81] It appears to me that conceptions and customs of this type constitute an important part of the

[78] Kroeber considers this motif to be a mainly aboriginal trait in South California.

[79] In a certain measure among the Yuma, where the Coyote copulates with the Moon and is borne up to heaven by her (Harrington 1908, 348), but above all among the Luiseño and Juaneño, of whom the former greet the new moon as the resurrected god (Du Bois 1904, 185; Du Bois 1906, 58, 60; Kroeber 1906, 313; Davis, op.cit., 107), while the Juaneño see it as a sign of man's resurrection to new life after death (Harrington 1934, 47, 52; cf. Bendann 1930, 25 note 2). The last-mentioned notion occurs also among the Takelma in Oregon (Sapir 1907, 37; see also ARW XIV, 1911, 232, and Tallqvist 1948, 256), and among the Yavapai (Gifford 1932 b, 247). See further Bendann 1930, 27 sq.

[80] Lowie 1909 a, 229. Cf. also Elmendorf 1952, 111 and note 21.

[81] Bancroft 1875 III, 523; cf. also Gibbs in Schoolcraft 1853 III, 140. Bancroft bases his account upon articles in Hutching's California Magazine and upon Macfie's Vancouver Island.

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material out of which the myth concerning the theft of the heart has crystallized.

But in this myth the Coyote devours the heart he has seized. The heart here functions in a sacramental context whose ideological background is glimpsed in a small detail in the same myth. This is the notion that the heart is destroyed last of all in the cremation.[82] This fiction is also shared by the Klamath in North California-Oregon.[83] Curiously enough, it has led to the custom of burying the heart. "The Kamia", writes Gifford, "sometimes buried the heart of a person, in case it did not burn, in the pit with the ashes. The pit was then filled with earth. It was thought that the heart became alive and came forth from the pit as a young owl. The owl would then wander away in the bush and become adult".[84] It is tempting to interpret this burial practice and its background of religious belief as a once widespread complex of elements whose southernmost outpost is the Aztecs, among whom the ashes of deceased common persons were buried together with a precious stone representing the heart;[85] as the northernmost outpost we may mention the Tsimshian, who burned all of the corpse except the heart, which was buried.[86]

The heart, which does not burn, must have remarkable qualities, must have a hard and firm structure. We must remember that it is the seat for the soul, life, life-force, life-stuff as well as many important qualities.[87] It is a concrete condensation of the actual identity of the personality, especially in the Southwest area.[88] It is therefore not surprising if precisely here the heart is conceived to be the life-motor in the haunting ghost.[89] It is therewith also the most power-filled part of the deceased.[90]

[82] The conception is known from the Maricopa, Yuma (Spier 1933, 351; Spier 1936, 19); Diegueño? (Spier 1928, 297); Luiseño (Davis, op.cit., 108 sq.). Cf. the Juaneño (Harrington 1934, 53).

[83] Spier 1930, 72.

[84] Gifford 1931, 72.

[85] Krickeberg 1922, 189; Soustelle 1940, 54. The dead, like the gods, have hearts of precious stones. The heart is thus "saved" from annihilation by being imitated in art.

[86] Boas 1916, 534; cf. Goddard 1945, 98. Nowadays the motive is here that the relatives die if the heart is burned.

[87] See above, pp. 399 sqq.

[88] Cf. Dumarest 1919, 236 (Cochiti); see also Parsons 1939 I, 425. Parson's comparison of the Cochiti narrative of the man who could become a bear when he had been deprived of his heart and Aztec sacrificial ritual is misleading (Parsons 1939 II, 1017).

[89] Tewa (Parsons 1926, 28 sq.); Zuni (Parsons 1939 I, 231); Hano (Parsons, op.cit., 425). Cf. also the Wind River Shoshoni (Hultkrantz 1951, 22). See further § 32.

[90] Friederici interprets the cannibalism in some places as a preventive measure intended to obviate the possibility of the deceased returning as a revenant (Friederici 1906, 99).

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The notion that the valuable qualities of the deceased's heart may be acquired by survivors is—along with the conception of the Coyote as a soul-snatcher—the psychological ground for the Coyote's devouring of the heart in the South Californian myth. In the Yuma myth we are told that the Coyote was opposed to the dead god being burned. "He wished to see him buried, that he might later dig down and get his heart, which, when he ate it, would transform him into a god with divine power".[91] Here we see the deepest motive for the Coyote's actions. But we also see that the trickster's doings are regarded as black magic; the Coyote is sent away from the spot while the pyre is being lit—the cremation is represented as a protective measure to foil the Coyote's intention to snatch parts of the corpse.[92] The rôle of the Coyote agrees here with that of the evil sorcerer, who appropriates parts of corpses in order with their help to practise black magic.[93] The sorcerer sometimes eats these parts; Mooney writes that among the Cherokee "the graveyard is constantly haunted by witches, who as soon as a new burial has taken place swoop down on the grave, exhume the corpse, and eat its liver".[94] The myth of the theft of the heart by the Coyote is to a large extent a mythical disguise of such an occurrence.

Our studies of the South Californian myth have now taken us so far that we are in a position to reconstruct its origin, fix its relation to the Juaneño rite and determine the ideology lying behind the last-mentioned rite.

Throughout the whole of westernmost North America the heart appears to have been conceived as a centre for the most remarkable qualities of the individual, such as vitality, life-force, supernatural power. It has therefore been made the object of sacramental cannibalism over large parts of this area: as a rule the heart has been eaten after its owner's death, but it has also happened that a person has been killed in order to get at his heart (the Western Mono). As such sacramental eating has in some quarters imparted powers and accomplishments that

[91] Curtis, op.cit., 76. The version noted down by Róheim indicates another motive, obviously secondary (Róheim 1952, 190).

[92] Cf. the quotation from Bancroft, above, p. 407. The same view of the origin of cremation was held by Niblack: it was desired to prevent the sorcerer from gaining possession of any part of the corpse, so that he should not with its help be enabled to practise harmful magic to the detriment of the deceased and his family (Niblack 1890, 354).

[93] Some instances from western North America: the Tlingit (Holmberg 1855, 70); Tsimshian (Boas 1916, 563 sq.); Navajo (Reichard 1928, 148; Morgan 1936, 26; Kluckhohn 1944, passim).

[94] Mooney & Olbrechts 1932, 140. Cf. also above, p. 299.

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might be exploited anti-socially, the custom has been stigmatized. The Coyote's theft of the heart is a mythological projection of forbidden endocannibalism. It has been connected with the Coyote's person because he is a most dubious figure and is, moreover, known as a soul-snatcher—and soul-snatching and the stealing of the heart are closely related motifs. The Coyote's action fits naturally into the scheme of events after the death of "the dying god" (known best as Wiyot). But since Wiyot is the first victim of death and his burial therefore prototypical, the myth of his death must be regarded as an institutional or cult myth. The burial of every human being is a ritual imitation of the primeval occurrence. The Coyote motif has obviously, as an integral part of the myth, also had its ritual counterpart. The Kamia have preserved the memory of this: one of Gifford's informants declared that "in former times the heart was removed from the burning corpse by a man who ran east with it and buried it. He was pursued as he ran."[95] The rite has, as we have seen, existed in another form among the Juaneño. Perhaps, as Kroeber suggests, the ritual burial cannibalism connected with the plot of the myth once had a wider distribution.[96]

Like other South Shoshonean peoples, the Juaneño adopted the myth from the Yuman tribes, and they presumably adapted it to an already existing form of burial cannibalism (which we have seen instanced among the Juaneño, Luiseño and Pomo—possibly also among the Western Mono). In this connection it later acquired a character of half forbidden magic; the act was performed by special, well-paid functionaries, who were generally feared, "because they held them to be poisoners and wizards".[97] The aim of the rite was to imitate the myth, in order in this way to give to the deceased the form of burial instituted by the culture hero and thus to guarantee his happiness in the beyond.[98] If in the Juaneño myth the Coyote devours a portion of the shoulder instead of the heart we may here trace influences from the older, native endocannibalism, which evidently was not heart-cannibalism (cf. the Pomo). Even if an earlier cannibalistic bill of fare included the heart, this could scarcely mean that the soul (as the "heart") was transferred to the eaters. For the soul (as the "heart") is here a free-soul,[99] which has nothing to do with the physical heart.[100] The heart which according

[95] Gifford 1931, 57.
[96] Kroeber 1925, 790. Cf. Kroeber, op.cit., 253, 643. Cf. Alexander 1916, 180 sq.
[97] Harrington 1934, 47 sq.
[98] Harrington, op.cit., 53.
[99] See above, pp. 95 sq.
[100] Harrington, op.cit., 53.

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to Juaneño belief does not burn in the fire (cf. above), is the free-soul.[101] If one wishes to seek a "sacramental" explanation of the endocannibalism among the Juaneño, one must probably adduce the motives that formed a living part of the popular belief among the neighbouring Luiseño: cannibalism transmitted health, life-force and the qualities of the deceased to the living.[102]

There is thus no evidence in support of the assumption that the cannibalism occurring in North America implied soul-eating and therewith a kind of reincarnation.[103] Heart-cannibalism is never psychophagy, even if the heart is the seat of the life-soul. The life-soul and life-stuff may, certainly, sometimes be equivalent concepts (see § 13). But in the cannibalistic context they are kept carefully separated. The connection between them is, moreover, adventitious, and dependent upon the situation; it is not primary and constitutive.

The question posed at the beginning of this section is herewith answered.

[101] Harrington, op.cit., loc.cit.

[102] Davis, op.cit., 103.

[103] MacCulloch's information from Featherman to the effect that among the Shoshone "the eater of an enemy became animated with his spirit" (MacCulloch, op.cit., 200) I have not found confirmed in the source-literature. Probably Featherman's note is not to be taken too literally. Cf. Featherman 1888 III, 206.

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VIII. THE LIFE-CYCLE OF THE SOUL

28. Pre-existence and incarnation

The Indian thinkers did not only speculate upon the contents and mutual relations of the various souls. They also endeavoured to answer the questions of the ultimate origin of the soul and its human incarnation. More firmly anchored in the popular mind was the belief in pre-existence, especially in so far as it emerged as a natural consequence of the generally prevalent belief in reincarnation. We shall now devote some attention to the Indians' ideas concerning the origin of the soul, its pre-existence, its incarnation in the human body and its development into an actively functioning potency, all in this order.

We get information concerning the Indians' beliefs as to the origin of the soul in three ways: by considering direct reports regarding the subject; by studying the relevant data from the mythology of the creation; and, finally, by drawing conclusions from other data derived from this mythology. In the last-mentioned case we must of course proceed with caution.

The direct information given by Indian informants is relatively limited. It seems, however, that both body-soul and free-soul derive from a creative god. As P. W. Schmidt opines and as we have been able to show in the foregoing (§ 14), it is in several places common for the breath of life to be conceived as proceeding from the Creator and returning to Him after death.[1] Even without the connection with the breath being specified, the origin of the soul is ascribed to the Creator or the culture hero. The Bella Coola and Wind River Shoshoni thus consider that the Supreme Being is the giver of life and the life-soul.[2] The Sauk Indian refers to his Creator as "he that gave us life".[3] Also

[1] Cf. Schmidt 1935 VI, 79, 409.
[2] McIlwraith 1948 I, 95, 97; Hultkrantz 1951, 21.
[3] Keating 1825 I, 234.

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the kinsmen of the Sauk, the Fox, believe that the life-soul is a gift of the Great Spirit.[4]

In the majority of cases our sources speak of the creation of the life-soul—or rather of life—but we also have data concerning the origin of the free-soul. The Supreme Being of the Bella Coola "made a soul for each of those about to be born; one of the minor gods fashioned its face; and a goddess rocked it, and sent it below to be born".[5] The dream-soul of the Sinkaietk is conceived to have come from God—in contra-distinction to the supernatural power, which is acquired from the animals.[6] The Fox believe that just as the Supreme Being has given the life-soul, so the culture hero has given the free-soul—a distribution of labour the import of which we have discussed earlier.[7] The sky god Skan of the Oglala has given man the whole of his psychic equipment, including the life-soul and free-soul.[8] The Wind River Shoshoni describe the free-soul as the gift of the supreme god.[9]

It would seem that the problem of the origin of the soul has not always presented itself, or has at all events not been actualized to the point of giving rise to an established traditional belief. The Cherokee, for example, have never had any definite view in this matter.[10]

Where the direct statements fail us we may with advantage have recourse to the remarks in the mythological tradition concerning the creation of the first human beings: the events of the primeval cosmic era are in many points repeated in the occurrences of later epochs, and the souls of the first man and modern man are of course conceived as having the same origin. Thus we are told in the Navajo myth concerning the first human beings: "It was the wind that gave them life. It is the wind that comes out of our mouths now that gives us life".[11] Unfortunately, however, the mythic narratives of man's creation are rather rare in North America.[12] One of them, and one of the best, we have already adduced: the origin myth of the Thunder Bird clan among the Winnebago.[13]

If, however, a high divinity is conceived as the creator of the world,

[4] Michelson 1925, 358.
[5] Goddard 1945, 112 sq.; Boas 1898 a, 29 sqq.; McIlwraith, op.cit., 94.
[6] Spier 1938, 169.
[7] Michelson, op.cit., loc.cit. Cf. above, pp. 80 sq.
[8] Walker 1917, 86 sq.
[9] Hultkrantz, op.cit., 26 note 18, 30.
[10] Mooney & Olbrechts 1932, 141. Cf. op.cit., 117.
[11] Matthews 1897, 69. Cf. op.cit., 137.
[12] Alexander 1916, 311 sq.
[13] See above, p. 89.

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it is natural to expect that he will also be believed to have given man his soul(s), even if this is not directly stated. But we must remember the danger of reconstructing from logical premisses a belief concerning whose existence nothing has been said. The origin of the soul is, it is true, often referred to the god who is also the creator of the earth. But even subordinate divinities may collaborate in the creative act to which the soul is due (the Navajo).

In a couple of cases, however, it seems justified—in certain circumstances—to deduce from the characteristics of the Supreme Being his significance for the origin of the soul. He is often referred to as the Breathmaker or Master of Life.[14] The first of these terms, which has been used by some Muskhogean peoples (the Creek, Chickasaw, Seminole), of course speaks for itself. The second term, the Master of Life, which has for the most part been given to the Creator of the Algonquin Indians (and which in the literature is most frequently found as the designation for the supreme god of the Lenape Indians), presumably refers to the god's capacity as the giver and guardian of the soul. In some cases the supreme deity is called "the Master of Life and Death".[15] This indicates, inter alia, that he is also the lord of the realm of the dead—a function which he fills even when he is only referred to as "the Master of Life".[16] Here one is often justified in suspecting the result of Christian influence upon the conception of the deity; where, when and how this influence was imposed we are not called upon to decide in this connection. But a further suspicion presents itself: that also the designation "Master of Life" is of Christian origin and has been adopted only secondarily by the natives themselves.[17]

The actual truth of the matter would appear to be that the title in question has from time immemorial attached to the high divinities of a number of peoples, but that it has presumably been made by European travellers and other representatives of the Whites into a technical term for corresponding gods in other tribes, independently of whether the figure behind the concept had been formed via Christian speculation or not. There is no lack of evidence that the title in some quarters is of primitive origin. Thus Brinton mentions that "among the Indians

[14] See above, pp. 192 sq.

[15] The Cree-Montagnais (Cooper 1933 b, 105); Micmac (Le Clercq 1910, 210); Cáhita (Beals 1943 b, 59).

[16] As among the Seneca (Curtin & Hewitt 1918 I, 255, II, 796 note 109; Converse 1908, 32); Lenape (Mooney 1896, 663 sqq.); Shawnee (Mooney, op.cit., 672); Pottawatomi (Keating, op.cit., I, 109); Ottawa (Schoolcraft 1851 I, 322 sq.); Mandan (Wied 1841 II, 206; cf. op.cit., 150, 660); Kansa? (James 1823 II, 124 sq.).

[17] Cf. Leach 1950 II, 688.

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of Michoacan the epithet of the chief goddess of their cult was, 'The Sustainer of Life'; the highest divinity of the Aztecs was Tonacatecutli, 'God of Our Life'; and in the Muskoghean tribes His name was 'The Master of Life' ".[18] The Northern Algonquin call their Supreme Being (Kitci Manitou) "Master of Life", i. e., in their own words "Thou who hast mastery over life". Cooper considers that this designation for the supreme god is not of Christian origin, but dates back to pre-Christian times.[19]

Thus, as a rule, the Indians of North America believe that man's spirit has its ultimate origin in the deity himself, either through creation or partial emanation (§ 14). In a couple of cases, it is true, the father of the child has been stated to beget the soul as well as the physical embryo (see below). But these exceptions are few, and are probably the products of a speculation that has tried to fill a gap in the existing knowledge of the soul or souls.

A soul that is commonly considered to derive from the gods is *ipso facto* not an ordinary profane creation. Whether it is conceived to be a gift of the deity or an emanation of his being, it belongs through its origin to the supernatural world.[20] In its effect, on the other hand, it need not be supernatural in the same way as the mystical power.[21]

The supernatural origin of the human soul finds particularly clear expression in the idea of pre-existence. Here we are not referring to the pre-existence that a reincarnated individual has had in a previous earthly life as man or animal: we are referring to the pre-incarnative existence, man's life before he is incarnated on earth. "Man" stands here for the individual reality, which from the psychological viewpoint is the extra-physical soul, the free-soul, and which consequently represents man's ego in the pre-incarnative state.

The belief in pre-existence is in the opinion of some investigators quite natural for so-called primitive peoples, who are unable to conceive of a *creatio ex nihilo;* that which comes into being has already existed earlier.[22] But this view does not always hold water. In North America the Achomawi and the South-eastern Yavapai have certainly

[18] Brinton 1897, 69.
[19] Cooper, op.cit., loc.cit.
[20] Cf. e.g. the Bella Coola (McIlwraith, op.cit., 93 sqq.) and Oglala (Walker, op.cit., 156).
[21] See above, p. 344.
[22] Cf. Dieterich 1913, 33.

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lacked the idea of pre-existence.[23] De Angulo asserts that no Achomawi has ever enquired whence the souls of the newly born come, since for him "tout est vie".[24] Doubtless the problem has not been posed everywhere, but probably the reason for this is to seek rather in the lack of interest in such a theoretical question, so irrelevant to the actual considerations of the present. Boas opines that "except in the cases of a well-developed belief in transmigration, there is no clearly formulated concept of the places and conditions in which souls exist before birth".[25] Boas, it is true, is of the opinion that the belief that the soul is a substance renders possible the belief that the life of the soul is independent of the life-course of the individual; but, he adds, in the measure in which the belief in a previous existence emerges from this background, it is necessarily connected with the conception of rebirth.[26] We may here remark that the belief in man's pre-existence has certainly been a natural conception wherever man has enquired after his own origin; but, as we shall find, this pre-existence has not always been conceived as a previous incarnation. Even if the immediately preceding forms of existence have consisted of incarnations, there lies before them a still older, pre-incarnative existence. The dead, said the Saulteaux Indian Fair Wind, "have been on this earth once, and before that they were sent from above to come on this earth".[27]

Where the belief in pre-existence in the form referred to here occurs (and it is reported from practically all parts of North America), the most widely varying places are conceived for the pre-incarnative existence. Among the Pueblo peoples of the Southwest the realm of the dead in the underworld is the place where the unborn dwell.[28] One may naturally suspect that the new-born are consequently reincarnated deceased persons. But this is not always the case, for according to the agrarian Pueblo ideology the underworld is also the place for the renewal of life and is the original home of humanity.[29] Also outside the Pueblo area we find the underworld regarded as man's constant place of generation. This is the case among, for instance, the Hidatsa,

[23] de Angulo 1928, 162 (the Achomawi); Gifford 1932 b, 233 (the South-eastern Yavapai).
[24] de Angulo, op.cit., loc.cit.
[25] Boas 1940 b, 604, 605.
[26] Boas, op.cit., 600 sq.
[27] Hallowell 1940, 46.
[28] Fewkes 1896, 162; Fewkes 1901, 83, 86; Haeberlin 1916, 27 sq.; Parsons 1939 I, 182. Cf. also Titiev 1944, 134, 176.
[29] The conceptions of the underworld as the mythic place of origin of the human species and as the realm of the dead for humans coincide in large parts of agrarian Indian North America.

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nderworld, but the souls of children are gathered at the rising sun,
hence they must come.[31] Some Athapascan groups in Oregon believe
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ith the spirits of little children, all impatient to be 'called', i. e., born
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iutl belief a mysterious house. "Since one of the performances held
n this house was that of giving birth, it was probably believed that
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he unborn children [illegible] come to the earth.[36]
The Chinook children [illegible] before birth, in
he sun, the daylight [illegible] to the effect that
children come [illegible] only only a
edagogical fiction [illegible] born child-
ren live on the [illegible] find the
elief that the [illegible]

[30] Matthews [illegible]
[31] Curtis [illegible] Aztec: see [illegible]
[32] Dorsey [illegible]
[33] Hudson [illegible]
[34] Chittenden [illegible]
[35] Goddard [illegible]
[36] Emmert [illegible]
[37] Ray [illegible]
[38] Spier [illegible]
[39] Teit [illegible]

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[24] de Angulo, op.cit., loc.cit.
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who possibly distinguished between this place and the realm of the dead.[30]

Even if man's pre-incarnative existence occurs in another milieu than that of the underworld, the place is frequently enough also the abode of the dead. It is probable that the realm of the dead has here exercised an attraction. We may adduce here a couple of examples. The Salish at Shoalwater Bay locate the realm of the dead for adults to the underworld, but the souls of children are gathered at the rising sun, whence they once came.[31] Some Athapascan groups in Oregon believe that at death men return to the goddess in the South, whence they proceeded at birth.[32] According to the Miwok, man's soul is quite familiar with the way to the realm of the dead, "for it has been that way before. We don't know when, but we all say that we all of us come from there. Even our little children know that trail".[33] As has been pointed out above, the Pueblo Indians' realm of the dead is also the place of origin of their souls.

Where the prenatal original home does not coincide with the realm of the dead it is nevertheless localized to places that remind one of the abode of the dead. The Ingalik believe that "there is a place filled with the spirits of little children, all impatient to be 'called', i. e., born into this life".[34] In the depths of the forest there is according to Kwakiutl belief a mysterious house. "Since one of the performances held in this house was that of giving birth, it was probably believed that from this house all generation of men, animals, and plants, took place".[35] The Indians in north-westernmost U. S. A. have a "babyland" where the unborn children live and play before they come to the earth.[36] The Chinook children lived "a quite definite existence" before birth, in the sun, the daylight.[37] The Montagnais tradition to the effect that children come from the clouds, on the other hand, is evidently only a pedagogical fiction.[38] According to the Eastern Shawnee, unborn children live on the little stars of the Milky Way. But we also find the belief that they live together with the Creator, "Our Grandmother".[39]

[30] Matthews 1877, 51; cf., however, Dorsey 1894, 518.
[31] Curtis 1913 IX, 90. Curiously enough, similar ideas were entertained by the Aztecs; see Soustelle 1940, 51 sqq. (Cf. also Preuss 1904, 234).
[32] Dorsey 1889 a, 60.
[33] Hudson 1902, 106.
[34] Chapman 1921, 302.
[35] Goddard 1945, 113.
[36] Underhill 1945, 128.
[37] Ray 1938, 67.
[38] Speck 1935 a, 50.
[39] Voegelin 1936, 6.

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The Mandan appear to have believed that new-born babies are incarnated stars.[40]

In this connection we cannot avoid touching upon the totemistic conceptions. J. O. Dorsey reports that a dying Omaha belonging to a buffalo gens was addressed thus: "You came hither from the animals. And you are going back thither..."[41] Dorsey connects this pronouncement with the notion of descent from the totem animal.[42] Fletcher, however, emphatically denies that any such conception existed.[43] Nor is it possible to adduce anything in support of Dorsey's view; Haeckel's defence of this hypothesis is not convincing.[44] If the belief in descent from the totem is lacking among the Omaha, the import of the pronouncement adduced above must be that before his birth the dying man lived among the totem animals of the tribe.

The conception of man as an incarnation of a totem being is not developed in North America.[45] On the other hand, we learn that other supernatural beings often allow themselves to be born as humans. These individuals are then invested with a mystic nimbus: they appear as medicine-men, sorcerers, twins, etc. The tradition of these persons' mystical origin is of course intended to endow them with a higher authority, to sanction their religious leadership or to motivate their spiritual gifts. Supernaturally equipped persons (medicine-men) and individuals associated with peculiar circumstances (twins) constitute two categories whose mystical qualities are explained by their (1) having lived, in contradistinction to other categories of persons, a prenatal life or (2) being incarnated spirit-beings. In those communities in which the chiefs occupy a sacral position, e. g. among the Natchez, it is believed that they possessed a privileged pre-existence.[46]

Narratives of medicine-men who before their human incarnation had been spirit-beings are known from many parts of North America. Le Mercier tells of a Huron medicine-man who declared that he had lived as an *oki* (spirit) under the earth together with a female spirit. Both, possessed by the desire to become human beings, had finally concealed themselves near a path and taken up their abode in a passing woman. She gave birth to them too early; the medicine-man lived, but his female

[40] Wied 1841 II, 152.
[41] Dorsey 1884, 233; Dorsey 1894, 421. Cf. also above, pp. 117, 374.
[42] Dorsey 1894, 542.
[43] Fletcher & La Flesche 1911, 589 note.
[44] Haeckel 1937, 499 sqq. Cf. also Karsten 1928, 139.
[45] It scarcely occurs even in the form in which man is conceived as deriving from his totem—with a few exceptions (cf. Hewitt 1910 c, 792 sq.).
[46] Swanton 1911, 181.

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partner, with whom he had fought in the womb, came to the world still-born.[47]

The Central Algonquin and the adjacent Sioux believe that their medicine-men were thunder-beings in a previous life. Thus the Menomini think that "some babies are actually manitous in human shape, as in the case of thunder boys, who are nothing less than these powerful god beings come to earth for a while; or girls who personify one of the sacred sisters of the eastern sky". In such circumstances also the name of the person in question is pre-existent, and no other name must be substituted for it during his earthly existence.[48] The reserved character and meditative behaviour of a child is a decisive criterion of its supernatural birth.[49] The same notions presumably existed among the Ojibway and Pottawatomi.[50] We have mentioned earlier that also the Fox believe in the pre-existence as *manitous* of certain individuals.[51] The Winnebago and Eastern Dakota belonging to the Siouan peoples, too, consider that medicine-men are humanly incarnated thunder-birds, or at all events supernatural beings attending upon these thunderers.[52]

Nowhere is the speculation concerning human pre-existence so subtle and sublime as in the notions of the pre-existence of medicine-men entertained by the Dakota tribes. Pond's splendid account of their ideas on this subject deserves to be quoted. He writes: "The original essence of these men and women, for they appear under both sexes, first wakes into existence floating in ether. As the winged seed of the thistle or of the cottonwood floats on the air, so they are gently wafted by the 'four winds'—'Taku-skan-skan'—through the regions of space, until, in due time, they find themselves in the abode of some one of the families of the superior gods by whom they are received into intimate fellowship. There the embryonic medicine man remains till he becomes familiar with the characters, abilities, desires, caprices, and employments of the gods. He becomes essentially assimilated to them, imbibing their spirit and becoming acquainted with all the chants, feasts, fasts, dances, and sacrificial rites which it is deemed necessary to impose on men".

[47] JR XIII, 105 sqq.
[48] Skinner 1913, 36; Skinner 1925 a, 310 sq.
[49] Skinner 1913, 77 sq.
[50] Skinner, op.cit., 77 note 2. Among the Ojibway twins are considered to be related to the thunderers (Hilger 1951, 30).
[51] See above, p. 346.
[52] The Winnebago (Radin 1923, 300 and note 21, 439, 505 and notes 131, 132); Eastern Dakota (Wallis 1919, 323). The Winnebago shaman also speaks of "my higher spirit-home, from which I originally came" (Radin, op.cit., 271; cf. Radin 1915, 303).

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Pond adds that in this way the medicine-men become "wakanized" and prepared for their mission.[53]

We find an echo of similar trains of thought in the belief of the Mohave shamans that "they were present in spirit form at the beginning of the world, at the time when all power, shamanistic and other, was established and allotted".[54]

Some Dakota medicine-men declare that their supernatural powers derive from the time when they existed as twin-partners in a previous life.[55] Thus here the medicine-man's capacity is attributed to the property of being a twin. Not only are twins considered to be supernatural in many quarters, they are also believed to have a supernatural origin, inasmuch as before their human birth—as e. g. the Akwa'ala assert—they exist in a spirit form in the spirit world.[56] The Northwest Coast tribes believe that in their prenatal state twins live together as salmon in salmon-land,[57] while the Teton Dakota locate their prenatal place of abode to a special land of twins[58] and the Yuman tribes locate the same place to heaven (the Mohave, Cocopa), a mountain landscape (the Akwa'ala) and a mythical village in the north-west (the Maricopa, Yuma).[59] The Mohave probably considered that only the first and foremost of the four souls (the "real shadow") had pre-existence.[60] They assert that these twin-souls "have always existed in heaven and have no father and mother".[61] Nor are twins among the Cocopa begotten by the husband of the mother; they have "supernatural paternity". When they have attained the age of three or four years they name themselves with the names they bore in heaven.[62]

[53] Pond 1889, 238 sq.; see also Pond in Schoolcraft 1860 VI, 652. Cf. Skinner 1925 b, 479 (the Iowa). More summary is the popular belief among the Wahpeton Dakota: heaven is the shamans' country of origin, a closed world for ordinary folk (Wallis 1923, 40).

[54] Kroeber 1910, 142.

[55] Dorsey 1894, 482 sq. Cf. also Eastman 1911, 167 sqq.

[56] The Kwakiutl (Boas 1921 I, 713; Boas 1932 b, 203; Boas 1940 a, 614); Coast Salish (Barnett 1938, 134; Boas 1891 b, 574); Lillooet (Teit 1906, 263); Yuchi (Speck 1909 a, 110); Teton Dakota (Dorsey 1894, 482); Yuma (Gifford 1933 b, 288); Cocopa (Gifford, op.cit., 308); Akwa'ala (Gifford & Lowie 1928, 343). Cf. the Ojibway (above, note 50).

[57] Chamberlain 1913, 472. See especially: the Kwakiutl (Boas 1921 I, 635 note 1, 713, 727; Boas 1932 b, 203); Nootka (Sapir 1921, 594); Coast Salish (Barnett, op.cit., 134; Curtis 1913 IX, 82).

[58] Dorsey 1889 c, 157 sq.; Dorsey 1894, 482.

[59] The Mohave (Devereux 1937, 417); Maricopa (Spier 1933, 299, 313); Yuma-Maricopa (Spier 1936, 7, 21); Cocopa (Gifford 1933 b, 308); Akwa'ala (Gifford & Lowie, op.cit., loc.cit.).

[60] Devereux, op.cit., 419.

[61] Devereux, op.cit., 417.

[62] Gifford, op.cit., loc.cit.

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The future human being is often given the opportunity in his pre-existent life to choose the people he wishes to live among on earth and the woman of whom he wants to be born.[63] An Iowa shaman "inspected many tribes before he decided to be born an Iowa. He declined the Winnebago because they smelled fishy, and so he circled around until he discovered the Iowa. They suited him because they were clean, kept their camps swept up, and sent their women a long way off to menstruate. He came down and entered a dark lodge with a bearskin door and after quite a stay he came out" (i. e. was born).[64] The ethnocentric viewpoint also decides the future Dakota shaman's choice of parents: he does not want to be born of a white mother, partly because he wishes to have "Dakota customs and dress", and partly because his kinsmen the thunderers would kill him if he became white and thereby ignored their instructions.[65] Mohave twins do not in their prenatal state particularly long for incarnation; "one life is all they want", said Devereux's informant ironically.[66] The twins of the Akwa'ala, on the other hand, accept several incarnations.[67]

Not all are allowed to choose their fate. The pre-existent Ingalik children, for example, wait impatiently in their world to be called to the earth. "As one is called, the rest slap him, through jealousy and impatience, and the marks of their rough treatment persist" (= birthmarks).[68] In an Orpheus tradition from the Yokuts we are told how the babies who are to be born wander in silence in a long column along the road from the land of the dead to that of the living.[69]

Concerning the soul's entry into the embryo and its rôle during the development of the embryo opinion is divided among North American Indians. And we entirely abstract here from the numerous traditions regarding "supernatural birth", according to which the child is born in an anormal way, for instance through the mouth. Such traditions are associated with the super-mundane figures of myth and fairy tale, but they do not throw any light upon natural birth, and still less upon the functions of the soul or souls during the pregnancy.[70]

[63] Cf. Schoolcraft 1851 I, 33.
[64] Skinner 1925 b, 479.
[65] Wallis 1919, 323; Wallis 1947, 81. Cf. also Pond 1889, 239; Schoolcraft 1860 VI, 652.
[66] Devereux, op.cit., 417.
[67] Gifford & Lowie, op.cit., 344.
[68] Chapman 1921, 302.
[69] Hudson, op.cit., 105.
[70] See e.g. Boas's list of such myth-motifs among the Kwakiutl (Boas 1935, 104). Cf. Voegelin in Leach 1950 II, 661.

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The following collection of data shows how various are the conceptions of the soul's (or souls') incarnation.

Some Eskimo imagine that children, like eggs, live in the snow and creep into the womb.[71] The Mackenzie Eskimo have many mutually incompatible notions concerning incarnation. One believes that the soul *(nappan)* comes with the water when the mother drinks, or from the ground when she urinates. Another believes that the child gets a soul at the same time as it is born. And a third believes that the soul comes at some time during the pregnancy, "how or when she does not know".[72] The breath of a child to be enters a Tanaina woman like a cold puff of wind.[73] The (free-) soul of a Tlingit Indian is not reincarnated until the body with which it is to be united has been born.[74] The soul of the Haisla Indian is often the spirit of an uncle, which takes possession of his body even before the birth of the individual.[75] The unitary soul among the Sanpoil appears already in the embryo.[76] Among the Plains Cree the free-soul takes up its abode in the body at birth.[77] The Naskapi Indian receives his "Great Man" during the embryonic stage.[78] According to the Shawnee, "a soul goes to earth and jumps through the mother's vagina and into the body of the child through the fontanelle just before birth".[79] Jones writes that according to the belief of the Ojibway "the manitou on the other side of the world" delivers their souls to people before their birth.[80] The Fox imagine that the life-soul is with the human embryo during the embryonic development, while the free-soul remains outside the mother during this period, and does not enter the child's body until its birth.[81] An Iroquois myth tells how the West Wind made a woman pregnant.[82] All the souls of the Oglala Indian are allotted to him at birth.[83] A Wind River Shoshoni is born with both free-soul and life-soul.[84] The Lipan Apache imagine that man gets life

[71] Boas 1940 b, 601.
[72] Stefánsson 1914, 359.
[73] Osgood 1937, 161.
[74] Boas 1890, 845. Cf. above, p. 63.
[75] Lopatin 1945, 62.
[76] Ray 1932, 169.
[77] Mandelbaum 1940, 251.
[78] Speck 1935 a, 47.
[79] Voegelin 1936, 6.
[80] Jones 1916, 388. Cf. Hilger, op.cit., 4.
[81] Michelson 1925, 358; Joffe 1940, 273.
[82] Curtin & Hewitt 1918 I, 461; cf. above, pp. 183 sq. Note that in the myth both the body and the soul are begotten by the wind, an impossible occurrence if it is a matter of the birth of an ordinary mortal.
[83] Walker 1917, 86 sq.
[84] Hultkrantz 1951, 30.

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at birth through fire and wind.[85] A Navajo observed that "a fetus has no mind, the Holy People send the mind into it after birth".[86] Concerning the incarnation of twin-souls according to Akwa'ala belief, Gifford notes: "Although their parents are mortal, the souls of twins differ from those of ordinary individuals. There seems, however, to be no idea of supernatural conception, the mortal father of the twins being regarded as their real father, but there appears clearly the idea of the soul existing before the body is formed".[87] The old Aztecs bade a new-born baby welcome from the ninth heaven, the dwelling-place of the supreme gods.[88]

The above notes should be supplemented with the data we adduced earlier in connection with the souls of the still-born and above all of the new-born.[89] A survey of the whole material shows that contradictions and inconsistencies are frequent, the beliefs in question being made to conform entirely with the nature of the problem arising. The unitary soul among the Sanpoil, for instance, enters the person in the embryonic stage, as we have seen above; but in another connection it is said that a deceased person is incarnated in a new-born baby when it receives its name.[90] Is it too bold to see in this discrepancy—which *in et per se* may be referred to divergent views in the community—a reflection of an older soul-belief with dual souls? On the whole, the material we have been studying favours the assumption that, if a dualistic soul-conception exists, the body-soul appears as soon as the embryo shows signs of life, while the appearance of the free-soul may be fixed at some arbitrary point of time, even long after the birth of the child.

In this connection it is interesting to consider a rather uncommon version of the notion of the soul's attachment to the embryo. Its import is that the soul is neither given by the deity nor is it pre-existent, but produced by the parents on copulation. In an older account of a journey by the English captain Jonathan Carver († 1780) we find the remarkable statement that according to the Sioux Indians (probably the Eastern Dakota) the soul is delivered by the father of a new-born individual. "The Indian children", writes Carver, "always bear their mother's names; and if a woman who has had several husbands has

[85] Opler 1945, 123.
[86] Wyman, Hill & Osanai 1942, 17.
[87] Gifford & Lowie, op.cit., 344.
[88] Sahagun 1880, Lib. VI, Chap. 34.
[89] See above, pp. 48 sq., 324 sqq.
[90] See above, p. 326.

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had children with each of them, they are all named after her. The reason that is adduced for this custom is that as regards the soul the children are the work of the father, and as regards the body, the work of the mother."[91] If the information is correct, and Carver did not misunderstand his informants, these Sioux—perhaps under pressure from their white interlocutor—offered a secondary, presumably not fully thought out, motivation for the matronymy obtaining. We find the conception as a product of speculation also among the Cherokee and Mohave. Among the first-mentioned of these "there is no clear conception as to the origin of the soul of the child. The majority of the informants say that they do not know, 'they have never thought of it'. The keenest of the medicine men, W., thought that it came along, with what went to form the body of the child, and was therefore secreted by both the individuals concerned in the act".[92] According to the Mohave, "souls spring from the state of 'aliveness' after conception has taken place".[93]

Evidence that the child is believed to have soul-activity during the embryonic stage is afforded in the Indian notion of the foetal consciousness: the child feels and thinks during the time it spends in the mother's body. Sometimes this consciousness is intensified to the point of precognition, prophetic clairvoyance.

A Bella Coola child that cries in the womb is believed to have an excellent intellect.[94] A shaman from the Great Bear Lake district declared that before his birth he had seen a star, which revealed to him all the medicines that have power over man.[95] The Chipewyan embryo warns its mother if she is approached by an evil spirit.[96] The unborn Lummi Indian hears what his future relatives are saying and knows what they are thinking; if they have evil thoughts in their mind he leaves them before his birth.[97] A sagacious Lenape declared that he had acquired supernatural knowledge even before his birth. "Er erinnere sich recht gut, was die Weiber vorher verkündigt hätten, als er noch in Mutterleibe war; einige hätten vorhergesagt er würde ein Knabe, andre er würde ein Mädchen werden; er habe ihre Gespräche ganz deutlich vernommen, und könnte genau wiederholen alles was sie gesagt

[91] Carver 1784, 277.
[92] Mooney & Olbrechts 1932, 117. Cf., however, the Payne-manuscript (see above p. 49).
[93] Devereux, op.cit., 417.
[94] McIlwraith 1948 I, 364.
[95] Osgood 1933, 84.
[96] Birket-Smith 1930, 81.
[97] Stern 1934, 14.

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hätten".[98] The Saulteaux relate that in former times the Indians had consciousness during the embryonic stage, and in this connection also certainty concerning the content of earthly life, a prophetic capacity that was one of the signs of magic power. Such things are now rare. A Saulteaux did, however, tell Hallowell the following: "Four nights before I was born I knew that I would be born. My mind was as clear when I was born as it is now. I saw my father and my mother, and I knew who they were. I knew the things an Indian uses, their names and what they were good for..." Such certainty is said to be founded on the fact that the person in question had earlier lived a life among human beings.[99] The unborn Fox child understands what its mother is saying, and abandons her if she proves to be quarrelsome.[100] The Winnebago medicine-man, who is sent down to a woman's womb from his pre-existence, retains his consciousness both at the conception and during the entire embryonic period.[101] The Wahpeton shamans know everything about their future existence before their birth.[102] Concerning the four free-souls of the Mohave, Devereux writes: "In the foetal stage they follow the actions of the mother and dream of 'how to be born'. The souls of foetal shamans, however, dream of how *not* to be born—that is, how to kill their mother during parturition".[103] The Yuma Indian has dream-visions even during his period in the womb.[104] The notions of the two Yuman groups mentioned, regarding a prenatal dream-life, are in good accordance with the importance of dreams in their cultural pattern.[105]

Information concerning the life of the soul in other respects during the body's embryonic development is sparse. The Choctaw believe that the embryo has a delicate soul that is easily lost: if a pregnant woman crosses a rushing stream the soul of the embryo may remain on the bank she has left, and its life will accordingly be brief.[106] The Lenape hold the view that the soul of an unborn but expected child follows its future father on his hunting expeditions "romping and playing about the bushes, invisible to mortal eye". As the game is scared off by this it is customary to fasten a miniature bow or a miniat-

[98] Heckewelder 1821, 427.
[99] Hallowell 1940, 49 sq.
[100] Michelson in ARBAE 40, 1925, 343.
[101] Radin 1915, 304; Radin 1923, 272.
[102] Wallis 1919, 324; Wallis 1947, 81.
[103] Devereux, op.cit., 417 sq.; Bourke 1889, 175.
[104] Forde 1931, 202 sq.
[105] See above, p. 125.
[106] Swanton 1931, 118.

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ure mortar to the father's clothes, so that the spirit of the child to be may play with these things and not leave the father's side.[107] Exactly the same notions and customs are communicated from the Menomini.[108]

The events after the incarnation, and especially at the actual moment of birth, have been dramatically described by a reincarnated Winnebago shaman: "Then I was brought down to earth. I did not enter a woman's womb, but I was taken into a room. There I remained, conscious at all times. One day I heard the noise of little children outside and some other sounds, so I thought I would go outside. Then it seemed to me that I went through a door, but I was really being born again from a woman's womb. As I walked out I was struck with the sudden rush of cold air and I began to cry".[109] It is pointless here to pose the question as to which soul in this case represented the person's ego; the ego-experience is here unreflected.

After the birth the soul-life of the child is characterized by two peculiarities: an advanced type of consciousness and a fragile life-spirit. Both of these correspond to the souls' status; as a rule it is the ego-soul and the free-soul respectively that are referred to.

The newly born is sometimes considered—especially in north-western North America—to possess a specific child-consciousness, which allies him with non-human beings. He speaks the language of babyland,[110] and he understands the language of some animals.[111] The Yuchi believe that four days after the birth the child overcomes its spirit nature and becomes a real human being.[112]

It is commonly asserted that small children—not least the newly born—possess the mental equipment of an adult, especially the latter's intelligence and understanding. Little children clearly remember the course of their previous life. The older among them recognize objects they have used earlier, and are able to give information concerning their previous existence—a psychological phenomenon known under the designation *déjà vu*.[113] The youngest are thought to manifest their good

[107] Harrington 1913, 212.
[108] Skinner 1925 a, 307.
[109] Radin 1923, 315; Radin 1945, 8.
[110] Underhill 1945, 128.
[111] Spier & Sapir 1930, 255 (the Wishram).
[112] Speck 1909 a, 93.
[113] Cf. Honigmann 1949, 219. Both the phenomenon *déjà vu* and the precognition are forms of paramnesia (Delacroix).

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memory in a more passive way: they bawl until they have been given the names they bore in their earlier existence.[114] But we possess also other, equally direct testimony to the spiritual maturity of the child. Among the Tillamook "newborn children were believed to be wise and to know the thoughts of every person".[115] An Ojibway baby weeps because it wants to see its father; the medicine-man ascertains its wishes by questioning its ego-soul.[116] The Cocopa consider that especially twin babies have a great understanding.[117]

Sometimes prophetic gifts are ascribed to the new-born. The Chinook Indian has a certain guardian spirit that helps him to understand the crying of children. "The child may tell him where it came from. It may say: After four days I shall go home; then it will die after four days".[118] A Menomini child, which is a reincarnated thunder-bird, "is able to prophesy rain with accuracy, because coming from above, he has inherited the knowledge of overhead affairs".[119]

The fragile child-soul may easily risk being lost to the body.[120] It is as a rule the free-soul that finds itself in the danger zone. The free-soul of a Bella Coola child, it is true, is considered to be so weak that it cannot leave the body.[121] But in other cases— i. e. in the majority of cases—it is on the contrary precisely on account of its weakness that the free-soul may easily find itself outside the body. One of the motives for the well-known couvade, of which, for the rest, there are only faint traces in North America, seems precisely to be the fear that by exhausting his own soul the father may also exhaust that of the child.[122] The father of a new-born Ingalik child must for a period of twenty days refrain from chopping wood and must be careful to avoid violent movement. "If he leaves the house a pair of scissors or a scrap of tin or some other metal is placed upon the breast of the child as a kind of shield to protect its soul".[123] The Puyallup and Nisqually believe that the child—not the free-soul—is too weak; a child loses its free-

[114] See above, pp. 325 sq.
[115] Boas 1923, 6.
[116] Jenness 1935, 91.
[117] Gifford 1933 b, 308.
[118] Boas 1894 a, 243 note.
[119] Skinner 1913, 77.
[120] Cf. Clements 1932, 232, 233 sq., 236. See also below, pp. 452 sq.
[121] McIlwraith, op.cit., 96.
[122] In the less characteristic form, in which restrictive behaviour is observed by both the parents, the couvade is of rather frequent occurrence in California and the Southwest (see e.g. Kroeber 1925, 840; Spier 1933, 310; Spier 1936, 19).
[123] Chapman 1921, 306.

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soul when playing about by itself in the bushes and the grass, as it is not strong enough to prevent the soul from fastening in the thicket.[124] The Ojibway consider the child's shadow-soul to be "peculiarly sensitive", and they therefore watch with anxious solicitude over the little one, whose soul has experiences in the great world round about it—experiences which make the child smile without our perceiving the cause. So that during these expeditions the free-soul shall not be lost, one must not throw hats or other objects against the cradle, nor put questions to the child, nor leave wounded animals after hunting excursions (the child will then suffer out of sympathy for the animal).[125] A Menomini mother blackens her child's face with ash to prevent the soul from falling behind on walks, or even being blown away.[126] The newborn Lenape child is thought not to have a firm footing in this world, its little spirit is easily stolen by the dead.[127] In order to deceive the ghosts, the child is disguised in grown-up apparel, and is hung with fringes and rags, so that it looks as if it were bound to the earth.[128] Also in the Navajo view the child-soul is weak; it must be strengthened with the help of ritual.[129]

The free-soul may also decamp if the child does not feel at home. If the child is insulted or mishandled—whether it is an ordinary child, a "spirit-child" or a twin—its soul goes back to the land of spirits whence it came.[130] Ordinary children, but especially children of supernatural origin, long for their former home, the realm of the dead or the spirit world, for some time after their birth (sometimes many years); and they may perhaps return there.[131] Among a number of tribes in the Woodland country or its immediate vicinity the soles of the children's moccasins are pierced, so that in the event of their wishing to return to their spiritual abode they may not be able to undertake the *long*,

[124] Smith 1940, 86.
[125] Jenness 1935, 19 sq., 90 sq.
[126] Skinner 1925 a, 310.
[127] Cf. also the Nez Percé (Spinden 1908, 253).
[128] Harrington, op.cit., 212. Cf. Harrington 1910, 55.
[129] Reichard 1950 I, 37.
[130] Ordinary children: the Ingalik (Chapman, op.cit., loc.cit.); Lummi (Stern, op.cit., 79); Chinook (Ray 1938, 67 sq.); Ojibway (Jenness 1935, 91); Menomini (Skinner 1913, 40); Iroquois (Morgan 1904, 229); Oto (Whitman 1937, 70); Havasupai (Spier 1928, 325). Spirit-children: the Menomini (Skinner, op.cit., 78). Twins: the Maricopa (Spier 1933, 313); Cocopa (Gifford 1933 b, 308); Dakota (Dorsey 1894, 482 sq.). Cf. to the above Pettitt 1946, 10 sq.
[131] Ordinary children: north-western U. S. A. (Underhill, op.cit., loc.cit.); the Mohave (Devereux, op.cit., 422). Spirit-children: the Menomini (Skinner, op.cit., 77). Twins: the Akwa'ala (Gifford & Lowie, op.cit., 343 sq.).

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rough journey thither, which would require stouter footgear to resist the wear and tear.[132]

But as the child grows, so too the soul develops. The free-soul of the Bella Coola child is weak and feeble when the child is born, but it grows in strength simultaneously with the body.[133] The most interesting contribution to the belief in the changes occurring in the soul as it grows older during the childhood of the individual come from the Eskimo. They imagine that the souls of babies are very fragile. Thus the Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay believe that "if the souls of children are not strengthened by those of a deceased friend, they are apt to fly away or to lie down".[134] The Mackenzie Eskimo hold a similar view. The soul *(nappan)* is so weak and inexperienced after the birth that the mother of the child calls upon a deceased relative to take possession of the body.[135] Owing to the weakness of the body-soul during the years of childhood, the deceased—generally an ancestor—continues to manage and protect the child, and this bond between the child and its protector is so intimate that the latter is thought to utter everything that the child says. But gradually there is a change. "As the child grows up the soul with which he was born (the *nappan)* gradually develops in strength, experience, and wisdom, so that after the age of ten or twelve years it is fairly competent to look after the child and begins to do so". The ancestral spirit is neglected, and no further scruple is felt about punishing the child.[136]

Children, who are incarnated spirits, lose, little by little, their spirit nature and become more ordinary human beings. When among the Menomini the child, who is an incarnated thunder-spirit, "has grown to a man's estate less care need be used, for his earthly mind will then have more sense and will prevail over his thunder spirit".[137] Four days after his birth the Yuchi child has already overcome his spirit nature.[138] Twins, who according to the Cocopa are of supernatural descent, are believed by this people to "change minds" at the age of thirty years, to resolve to become like ordinary Cocopa, and to marry.[139]

[132] Skinner reports this custom from the Lenape, Ojibway, Menomini, Plains Cree, Iroquois, Cherokee?, Winnebago, Omaha, Oto (Skinner 1913, 40 and note 1).
[133] McIlwraith, op.cit., 94. Cf. also Underhill, op.cit., loc.cit. (north-western U.S.A.). Cf. above, pp. 165 sq. (the Bella Coola, White Mountain Apache, Tarascans).
[134] Boas 1901—07, 132.
[135] Stefánsson 1913, 398.
[136] Stefánsson, op.cit., 399 sq. Cf. above, p. 49.
[137] Skinner, op.cit., 78.
[138] See above, p. 426.
[139] Gifford, op.cit., loc.cit.

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The soul's development in stages during the different epochs of human life is well known also to the Zuni, who compare the life-course of the human soul and that of maize.[140] We have now—to quote the Zuni—followed the development of the soul from "the raw or soft state" to "the formative and variable state". We shall in the following devote some attention to it in "the fixed and done state" (§§ 29, 30), and finally touch upon its fate in "the finished or dead state" (§§ 31, 32).

29. The body and the various souls

With the conception of the incarnation of the celestial soul in the embryo or the new-born human child we are introduced to a problem which in our occidental philosophy, psychology and medicine has been of the greatest importance: the relation between body and soul. For the Indians this problem has been of subordinate interest; but it has, as we shall find, certainly existed. The body has had its place as a part of man's equipment, evidently in several respects as an entity on a par with the souls. Some peoples list the body, the body-souls and the free-soul as the elements constituting the living individual.[1] The life-process is the interplay between these elements.

In the following we shall discuss the significance of the body for man from the viewpoint of Indian philosophy. We shall consider the expressions for the dualism between body and soul, as well as the nature of the body's functions in relation to the various souls.

As has already been indicated, the Indians have in some quarters conceived the body as an element definitely distinct from the soul or souls. This is an important fact, for we may deduce from this the further fact that the relation of the soul (that of the free-soul as well as that of the body-soul) to the body has been made an object for analysis by the natives.

As against an older scientific theory, represented chiefly by Wundt, according to which the soul among primitive peoples has, at least from the genetic viewpoint, been identical with its substratum, we have in

[140] Cushing 1892, 50; Crawley 1909, 157.

[1] Cf. e.g. the Déné (Morice 1906, 209, Morice 1911, 640); Quileute (Frachtenberg 1920, 334); Ojibway (Jenness 1935, 18). See also above, p. 118 note 21.

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the foregoing repeatedly asserted that body and soul were for primitive religious belief distinct entities to begin with.[2] The dualism between body and soul has never, it is true, as in the classical civilizations of the Old World, become a philosophically deepened idea among primitive peoples. Their dualism is of a simpler kind, an expression for a self-evident insight, an observation. Neither cosmic nor ethical doctrines have been based upon this natural dichotomy.

The North American Indians have more or less consciously conceived such a dualism between the souls and the body. To begin with, we may observe that no evidence of the contrary exists. Among the Fox, who believe in the continuity between the free-soul of the living individual and the spook-ghost of the deceased, it is possible that the corpse is referred to with the name for the free-soul.[3] But no identity after death between the soul and the body is assumed.[4] The Yurok refer to the phenomenon of soul loss as "body loss";[5] presumably they mean simply that loss of life is also loss of the body. As we shall see presently, the activity of the free-soul may imply a weakening of the opposition between body and soul, without, however, this opposition being eliminated.[6]

The positive proofs that the Indians must have believed in the dichotomy between body and soul are of indirect and of direct nature. By the first-mentioned category I mean special conceptions and complexes of ideas from which dualism may be deduced as a tacitly understood (though perhaps not consciously apprehended) principle. Incontestably, all belief in soul-activity implies the division between body and soul. The belief in a surviving soul, like the belief in the free-soul, must inevitably lead to the separation between body and soul. The mere existence of a free-soul operating on its own as an etherial substance, liberated from the sleeping body, seems to presuppose the dichotomy, as does also the theory of soul-incarnation referred to above.

Direct evidence of this dichotomy in the form of pronouncements by the Indians themselves is frequent.[7] The body is not seldom represented as a covering for the soul. The body is the house of the free-soul,

[2] See especially §§13, 27.
[3] Michelson 1925, 410; cf. op.cit., 411.
[4] Michelson, op.cit., 359.
[5] Spott & Kroeber 1942, 156.
[6] See below, pp. 435 sqq.
[7] Apart from the evidence adduced above, see instances from e.g. the Labrador Eskimo (Hawkes 1916, 136 sq.); Montagnais-Naskapi (Speck 1924, 269); Shahaptin (Mooney 1896, 721); Yakima (Mooney, op.cit., 722 sq.); Klamath (Spier 1930, 101); Coast Yuki (Gifford 1939, 353); Yokuts (Kroeber 1907 a, 217).

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think the Kwakiutl.[8] The free-soul of the Bella Coola is like a bird enclosed in an egg; "if the shell of the egg breaks and the soul flies away its owner must die".[9] "Man has a spirit, and the body seems to be a coat for that spirit", says the Lenape Indian.[10] According to Wright, death implied to the Choctaw that the soul threw off its outer covering, "as the snake sheds his skin".[11] "You leave your skin" is the phrase used by the Navajo Indian for the soul's departure at death.[12] In the above-mentioned instances the psychophysical dichotomy is conscious and an object for reflection.

The dualism between soul and body is obviously as old as the soul-belief itself, and conditioned by the same causes as this.[13] The destruction of the body after man's death, and the conviction of continued existence independently thereof, have presumably been the chief factors in the origin of the separation between physical and psychic.[14] At death, say the Oglala, the body "rots and becomes nothing", for "anything that has a birth will have a death"; souls are unborn, and consequently do not die.[15] The Quileute and Ojibway pay little attention to the existence of the body, for it decays after death.[16] At the cremation of the corpse the soul of the Pomo Indian is freed from the perishable body.[17] The Winnebago consider that the lack of a body is the chief peculiarity distinguishing a dead from a living person.[18]

Presumably the dichotomy has also had other causes. The experiences of the free-soul's activity at a distance from the body have prob-

[8] Boas 1921 I, 724.
[9] Boas 1892, 420.
[10] Harrington 1921, 90. Cf. Loskiel 1789, 48; Schmidt 1933, 100 sq.
[11] Swanton 1931, 216.
[12] Wyman, Hill & Osanai 1942, 38.
[13] See also Andrae 1934, 85. Schmidt localizes the development of this dualism chiefly to agrarian matrilineal cultures (Schmidt 1930, 83). Perhaps the notion of mortality is found in its purest form in the agrarian cultures, and has therefore stimulated here a more striking dualism than elsewhere. But the dualistic idea as such is presumably universal.
[14] Along with the insight into the perishability of the body runs the miracle-belief in the indestructibility of the body. This is one of many instances of the inconsistencies in the religious conceptions to which different problems may give rise (cf. §3). Some instances of the notion of the surviving body: A Wyandot tradition tells how a corpse was dug up and (despite the death of the person) was found to be still alive (Barbeau 1915, 152 sq.). A person's appearance after death is according to the Winnebago determined by his appearance on the occasion of his death: the deceased appear without heads, scalps or scalp-locks, and so forth (Radin 1909, 313). A Tlingit Indian is recognized by his birth-marks as a reincarnated ancestor (Krause 1885, 282). Cf. also the Modoc (Powers 1877, 259; Spier 1927 b, 47 note 11).
[15] Walker 1917, 156.
[16] For references, see above, p. 430 note 1.
[17] Powers, op.cit., 207 sq. Cf. also the Tanaina (Osgood 1937, 166).
[18] Radin 1923, 169 note 15.

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ably meant a good deal, while the impression of pulsating life-souls has most likely played a subordinate rôle—the body-soul, for the rest, often dies, as we know, with the body (see § 32).

Not only does the Indian distinguish between the soul and the body, he has also a definite notion concerning the nature of the relation obtaining between the soul and the body. The Indian attitude is characterized by a consistent assertion of the supremacy of the soul and its dominance over the body which it animates or is connected with. The causes of the soul's predominance over the body are the immortality of the soul and the body's perishability, the independence of the soul and the body's dependence.

We have observed in the foregoing that the notion of the body's death and the soul's continued life inspired the idea of the dichotomy between soul and body. In practice, the perishing of the body sometimes signifies that it is dissolved into the elements of which the universe is composed (the Navajo), or that its constituent parts are strewn over the earth and fertilize it (the Klamath), etc.[19] The surviving soul is not atomized, it represents the total person of the living human being after death.

The perishable character of the body should be coordinated with the fact that it does not *in et per se* possess an effective and independent existence. The body is a dead, incoherent mass, to which the soul imparts life and coherence. To the soul, on the other hand, an existence independent of the body is frequently ascribed.

The body-soul constitutes no exception to this. Also a life-soul, however firmly attached to the body it may be, may manifest a certain freedom, as is shown by the following instance from the Bella Coola. "It is generally considered that a person dies if his life leaves his body. In contradiction to this, though the discrepancy seems of slight importance to the Bella Coola, is the belief that it ascends at the winter solstice to the gathering of the supernatural beings..."[20] A still greater emancipation from the dependence upon the body is shown by the body-soul when, among some peoples, it appears more regularly as a free-soul (§ 16).

The "specific" free-soul, the dream-soul, is, certainly, bound to the body as a condition of the latter's existence (see below). In its essence, however, it is an independent spiritual entity, which may de-

[19] Reichard 1950 I, 44 (the Navajo); Spier 1930, 101 (the Klamath).
[20] McIlwraith 1948 I, 98; cf. op.cit., 101 sq.

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part from the body without feeling any dependence upon this. As an instance we may adduce what Ragueneau has to say concerning the emancipation of the dream-soul among the Huron: ". . . Thus when, during sleep, we dream of something that is far away, they think that the soul issues forth from the body and proceeds to the place where those objects are that are pictured to it during all that time. . . . they say, however, that it is not the sensitive soul that issues forth but only the rational one, which is not dependent upon the body in its workings".[21] We have already seen how independent the free-soul may be in relation to its owner—and therewith in relation to the body (§§ 23, 25). The physical man and the free-soul may meet as two alien beings.[22]

In consequence of the independence of the soul (the free-soul, the body-soul) and the essential lifelessness and dependence of the body, the relation between soul and body is rather onesided: a one-way relation of dependence. It is said that the body cannot exist without the soul, whereas the soul can do without the body. "The body needs the (free) soul, but the (free) soul does not need the body", opine the Thompson River Indians.[23] The soul which maintains life has, naturally, a very great significance for the subsistence of the body. The soul is "what gives us life", says the Nomlaki Indian. "When it is gone, we are gone—it just leaves us like a broken automobile".[24] Without the life-soul the body is an inactive mass of flesh, declare the Bella Coola.[25] The general rule is that if the life-soul leaves the body, the latter is dead (§§ 16, 31). Also the free-soul may have dominion over the body: it makes the body cohere, consider the Kwakiutl;[26] it is the leader of the body in the same way as the engine-driver is of the locomotive, was the opinion of a Naskapi Indian.[27] The Canadian Athapascans believe that in times of health and well-being the free-soul is enclosed in the body. When the person becomes sick, however, it has left its dwelling.[28] The body's helplessness when it has been deprived of the free-soul is clearly seen in the Bella Coola belief that the misfortune which afflicts the body is due to the fact that the free-soul has left the latter.[29]

[21] JR XXXIII, 191.
[22] See e.g. Wallis 1923, 48 (the Wahpeton Dakota). Cf. below, p. 443 note 11.
[23] Teit 1900, 360.
[24] Goldschmidt 1951, 351.
[25] McIlwraith, op.cit., 97.
[26] Boas 1921 I, 714.
[27] Speck 1935 a, 47.
[28] Morice 1906, 209.
[29] McIlwraith, op.cit., II, 243. Concerning psychic shocks as causes or results of soul loss, see below (§31).

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Generally speaking it may be said, according to the Indian view, that the body is in a higher degree dependent upon the body-soul (especially the life-soul) than upon the free-soul, and that the free-soul is more independent of the body than is the body-soul.

No soul, on the other hand, is directly dependent upon the body, even if the death of the body not infrequently implies that the existence of the life-soul ceases (§ 32). What is here expressed is rather that the affairs of the life-soul are no longer of any interest, since man continues in a new form of existence. In two ways, however, the body binds the souls to itself: it functions as their base; it constitutes as it were the form for the active individual.

The body is, as we have seen, the abode of the body-souls (§§ 13, 15). And it has been possible to localize the free-soul, too, to the body, where it remains during its passive period (§ 16). Sometimes, however, it shows its freedom from the body by constantly remaining at a little distance from the body (§ 18). The important thing to note is, however, that though in its essence the free-soul is a free, independent entity, it is in consequence of the function prescribed for it bound to the body. Incarnation, which in many places is an expression for the will of the supernatural powers, restricts the free-soul's freedom of movement. It only relinquishes its grip of the free-soul when physical death approaches; it would almost appear that on this occasion the extra-physical soul is attracted magnetically to the realm of the dead (cf. the Orpheus traditions).[30]

There can be no doubt but that the Indians have regarded the body as the individual's "mark of identity", the outer symbol for his person and personality. The perishable body has, understandably enough, never intentionally been allowed to represent the individual himself. But in an unreflected way it has merged with the bearer of the individuality, man, and with man's representative during the twilight experience, the free-soul. Man's form, the body, has in this way become something of a strait-jacket for man's content, the spirit, the free-soul. The dichotomy body—soul which is theoretically maintained recedes into the background when the free-soul is experienced as the subject's own ego and his own person. This may be demonstrated with two typical cases: the one illustrates the weakening of the body-feeling when the free-soul is operating; the other throws a more definite light upon the inter-dependence of the free-soul and the body in such moments.

[30] See above, p. 379.

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When the individual experiences himself as a free-soul—i. e. when it is he himself who functions outside his own body—the assurance that he is far away from his body is not always combined with the experience itself; it is often felt by the individual after his awakening. In dreams or in the state of trance man is himself in his undivided totality; the body's existence is not realized by one who experiences himself as a free-soul unless the cool waking consciousness steals into the dream-fantasy in the form of a sober reflection.[31] The not infrequent tales of unconscious or dead persons who in extra-physical form are unable to realize that they are cut off from real life strikingly illustrate the weakening of the body-feeling in the free-soul experience.

Let us consider some examples. Jenness tells of a Carrier Indian who died and who, unconscious of his death, was journeying on the road to the realm of the dead, till he suddenly became aware of his situation and returned to his body.[32] A Babine Indian who also found himself on the same fatal road happened to bethink himself that he was naked, whereupon he turned back.[33] The Navajo Indian knows that he is dead when the flames from his camp-fire rise straight up into the air in spite of a strong wind.[34] In the last-mentioned case the body-feeling is obviously of no consequence at all. In a Winnebago tradition we are even told that a couple of slain Indians had no notion of their fate although they saw their own dead bodies, and received no replies from their wives when they addressed them; not until they saw their relatives lamenting over their bodies did they understand that they were dead.[35] In other cases the circumstances have not been quite so extreme; a Winnebago shaman told Radin that in a previous existence be became convinced of his death when he saw his dead body.[36] Thus we find that the affairs of the body are not always of importance to the person who experiences himself in the guise of his free-soul.

The unreflected association between the free-soul and the body is sometimes seen in the possibility of reading the experiences of the free-soul from the body and vice-versa. The commonest case is that the experiences of the soul leave traces on the body. The Lillooet shaman

[31] Cf. above, p. 275 (the Blackfoot, according to McClintock).
[32] Jenness 1943, 536.
[33] Jenness, op.cit., 537.
[34] Wyman, Hill & Osanai, op.cit., 39.
[35] Radin 1923, 154 sq.
[36] Radin, op.cit., 270, 314; Radin 1915, 303; Radin 1945, 7. It may be added that the dead person's ignorance of his deceased state may also be due to the fact that the memories of his earthly existence have been effaced during the journey to the realm of the dead (cf. Radin 1945, 263).

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exposes a thief by scorching his free-soul: when the soul in the shaman's hands is scorched at the fire its owner shrieks.[37] The Thompson River Indians believe that "the soul of a person who has the nightmare is nearing the beginning of the trail leading to the world of the souls".[38] The Ojibway assert that a baby's smile reflects the experiences with which its free-soul meets on its wanderings.[39] If the Pottawatomi Indian dies of an unknown wound, those in his surroundings believe it is the soul that has received this wound in an encounter with an enemy on its dream-journey.[40] Sometimes the body's experiences are reflected in the states of the soul.[41] The free-soul of the unconscious Ojibway Indian who has been shot shows the same wounds as the body.[42] The dream-soul of the Cahuilla Indian knows what is happening to the body although it is far away from the latter, and reacts immediately if anyone attempts to wake the sleeper.[43]

If we now summarize the conceptions of the relation between soul and body held by the North American Indians, we find that these substances are, certainly, clearly distinguished entities, but that through the incarnation they have become united in an association in which the body, it is true, binds the soul, but where the soul is nevertheless the dominant partner, which regulates the reactions of the body. From the premisses of primitive soul-belief this functional relationship must be regarded as the only one possible. It is only a pity that in the long run this ideology proves not to bear up under a critical scrutiny. For in point of fact it several times occurs that the body unintentionally appears as the centre of the personality.

We may now, finally, give some instances of the leading rôle (not acknowledged by the Indians, but in practice inescapable) assumed by the body in certain situations.

We have already seen instances of the way in which in dreams the feeling of the ego is now associated to the free-soul, and now detached from the free-soul.[44] In so far as the dream-soul does not represent the ego, and the ego-soul of the waking consciousness does not function, a third entity, the individual present through the body, must stand for

[37] Teit 1906, 288.
[38] Teit 1900, 372.
[39] Jenness 1935, 20, 90 sq. Cf. above, p. 428.
[40] Gregg 1844 II, 246 sq.
[41] Just as the appearance of the corpse is found in the physiognomy of the deceased in the realm of the dead (cf. above, p. 432 note 14).
[42] De Smet 1905, 1047 sqq.
[43] Hooper 1920, 339. Compare with the foregoing also p. 156 (the Oglala).
[44] See above, p. 275.

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the ego-experience. The same thing occurs if both the ego-soul and the free-soul, as is the case among the Naskapi, constitute guardian beings outside and above the individual, in dreams or in the state of waking consciousness (§ 25). It also happens that in the waking state the ordinary, normal ego-soul does not function. It has been shown in the foregoing how it is possible for the psychic resources to be reduced (mental disorder, loss of memory etc.) by loss of the ego-soul.[45] An Ojibway who intoxicates himself with strong drink chases his ego-soul out of his body; but who is here the actor, if not the individual realized through his body, the physically tangible person?[46]

In the foregoing it has been pointed out that by leaving the body the free-soul itself may expose the latter to accidents.[47] This notion, which is a consistent application of the free-soul idea, is, however, often replaced by another, which reverses the causality but is perhaps more realistic. An instance: an Achomawi shaman who had been run into by a car was told by his guardian spirit that "his shadow had been knocked out of him when he fell out of the buggy".[48] In other words, the bumping of the body was the direct cause of the soul's being driven away.

Perhaps the body shows its dominance over the souls of the individual in a still higher degree than in the above cases when its unchangeable association with the individual during his lifetime is contrasted with the notion, occurring especially in northernmost America, that the soul—as a rule one of several life-souls—is alienable and may in some cases be exchanged for another soul of the same type.

The best known instances of such an exchange of souls have been given by Egede and Cranz, and refer to the Eskimo. Poul Egede mentions that a damaged soul could be exchanged for the soul of a little bird;[49] Cranz tells how the shamans "eine beschädigte Seele ausbessern, eine verlorne zurückbringen und eine kranke, mit einer frischen gefunden Seele von einem Hasen, Rennthier, Vogel oder jungen Kinde verwechseln können".[50] We remember that the Eskimo on Greenland had a whole set of life-souls, and that the loss of one of them did not necessarily entail any serious consequences.[51] The shaman practice of replac-

[45] See above, pp. 213 sqq., 285 sqq.
[46] Jenness 1935, 18.
[47] See above, p. 434.
[48] de Angulo 1926, 356. Cf. below, pp. 453 sq.
[49] Birket-Smith 1924, 443.
[50] Cranz 1765 I, 257.
[51] See above, pp. 290 sq.

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ing an older, worn-out soul with a new one is therefore not so remarkable. We find the same notion of the shaman's ability to exchange souls among the Chukchee, who also held the belief in the existence of a number of body-souls.[52]

South of the Eskimo region it is the rule that the life-soul is more firmly associated with the individual—perhaps because the conception of plural life-souls is here never so pronounced as among the Eskimo. According to information adduced earlier (from the Ingalik, Tsimshian and Cheyenne), a man's life-soul may be strengthened through the infusion of the life-soul of another, dying individual.[53] Wilkes tells how the medicine-man among the Carrier, after the death of a fellow-tribesman, catches the spirit of the deceased (the life-soul?) and blows it into a living person, who thereafter "takes the name of the deceased, in addition to his own".[54] We are not told, on the other hand, that one life-soul may be exchanged for another. The Zuni Indians, who locate the soul in the heart, amongst other places, consider death to occur when "the heart wears out". A seriously ill person has a worn out heart. "Medicine men can fix it up when they come to cure, and it will go for a while, but sooner or later you will have to get a new one". The getting of a new heart is the first rite in the society-initiations of these Indians.[55] It is obviously the physical heart that is here referred to, and not the soul associated with the heart.

Curiously enough, there is in one case mention of the exchange of a free-soul: among the Cowichan, a sick shaman may replace his lost free-soul with the free-soul of another of which he has succeeded in possessing himself.[56] That this is possible can only be explained in the light of the circumstance that the Cowichan believe in several free-souls in man.[57] Where a normal dualistic or monistic soul-belief has existed the exchange of the free-soul has been an absurdity. It is, it is true, said of the souls of the Quileute Indian that they "may be taken off or put on in exactly the same manner as a snake sheds its skin".[58] What is here referred to, however, is presumably only the capacity of the regular free-soul, the ego-soul and one of the life-souls for extra-physical activity. For we are also told that "the souls of a person are

[52] Bogoras 1902, 589.
[53] See above, pp. 162 sq.
[54] Wilkes 1845 IV, 453.
[55] Bunzel 1932 a, 481.
[56] Boas 1894 b, 461 sq.
[57] See above, p. 123.
[58] Frachtenberg 1920, 334.

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his individual property and may not be sold".[59] Furthermore, Underhill gives it as typical for the soul-belief among the coastal Indians of Washington that they imagine that a sick person will die if his soul is replaced with that of someone else.[60]

Just as the free-soul or the life-soul can operate for a time outside the body without the health of the owner being definitively jeopardized, so a strange soul may take possession of a person without risk to the person's life as long as the possession is not permanent and lasting. The soul of the "possessed" person himself (i.e. his free-soul) need not have departed from the body beforehand: the Mackenzie Eskimo is, as we have already seen, "possessed" during the first years of his life by the spirit of an ancestor, without his own soul for this reason being ousted—on the contrary, it is able to grow in the body in maturity and wisdom.[61] Among the Bella Coola an individual whose soul has entered into another is said to "become mad, try to eat dirt, and die", whereas for the "possessed", if he is a dancer of the Kusiut Society, "the entry of a strange spirit into his body does not inconvenience the dancer, although he senses its presence".[62] Among the Nootka, on the other hand, the soul of the "possessed" himself is frequently absent. We may quote Sproat: "If the soul has migrated, and entered any other form or body, and the soul of this other form or body does not in turn migrate to the one which has been bereft, this latter first becomes weak, and then sickens, and finally dies if the soul is not brought back".[63] Among the Eskimo, the shaman is possessed by his guardian spirit when he has dismissed his free-soul.[64] And among the Nootka an evil strange spirit takes advantage of the opportunity provided by the absence of the soul—evidently the free-soul—to possess the person.[65]

The above-adduced instances presuppose the body as the element in the personal equipment which represents the continuity of the individual. From the Indian point of view, however, it is impossible to ascribe such a function to the body. It is, as we have found, little more than a container for the soul.

[59] Frachtenberg, op.cit., 335.
[60] Underhill 1945, 199. Cf. the Spokan (Wilkes, op.cit., 448 sq.; Hale 1846, 208 sq.).
[61] Stefánsson 1913, 399 sq. Cf. above, p. 429.
[62] McIlwraith, op.cit., II, 4 sq.
[63] Sproat 1868, 173 sq.
[64] Thalbitzer 1930 b, 95, and Stewart 1946, 325 sq., and the literature there adduced.
[65] Sproat, op.cit., 174.

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30. *Interplay between the souls*

In the full-grown, healthy human being the "dualistic soul-apparatus", with its interesting interaction between the different soul-agents, is in a state of intensive activity. In the foregoing we have already been given a detailed insight into the intricate machinery that drives this strange interplay.[1] In the following we shall give a brief but connected and expository sketch of the functional interrelations between the souls. In this connection we shall of course inevitably repeat several of the viewpoints we have previously adduced. Our survey will be a summary, but also, in some points, a deeper penetration of the functional relations obtaining between the different souls.

The activity of the souls in the living individual is conditioned, from the psychological viewpoint, by the body and its states.[2] An analysis of their interplay will therefore require that our presentation be based upon the individual's physical condition. We find this interplay in two main forms: as alternating action and as cooperation. The alternating or reciprocal action between the different souls takes place with direct reference to the state of the body. The cooperation between them is indirectly referable to the body's circumstances.

The reciprocal action between the free-soul and the body-souls has, as we have seen, given rise to the dualistic soul-belief. Expressing the matter as simply as possible, it implies that the individual's life and his ego (or, better, the factors actively behind his life and his ego respectively) alternate with the state of consciousness depending upon the situation of the body. In a regular reciprocal action the life-elements and the ego-elements—i. e. the elements which together form the individual himself, the concept of the person[3]—are represented by the life-soul and the ego-soul during waking consciousness, by the free-soul during dream-consciousness. When the person is awake and physically active his body-souls fulfil the functions characterizing the living individual: life, motor capacity, understanding, feeling, will. But all these functions lose their actuality when the person is dreaming and physically passive: in their place we find the dream-soul, which is a dematerialized form of the person himself, and is thus only actual for the duration of the dream and the physical insensibility.[4] In this primitive,

[1] See chap. IV, especially § 16.
[2] See above, pp. 242, 269 sq.
[3] In certain cases the body may be included as one of the elements, see § 29.
[4] Cf. Arbman 1927, 132 sqq.

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unreflected, regular dualism the relation between the souls does not constitute any problem.

But the nature of this reciprocal action soon becomes a subject for reflections and deliberations. On the one hand attention is concentrated upon the free-soul, as an independent entity, separate from other soul-entities. And on the other hand interest is attracted to the functions of the life-soul and the ego-soul in connection with the various states of the body. On closer reflection the connection between the potencies appears intricate and complicated. Let us consider more narrowly how the life-sensation and the ego-sensation are associated to different potencies according to the changes in the particular states of the body.

The life of the waking, active individual is represented by an undifferentiated body-soul, a general life-soul or a number of different organ-souls giving expression to various vital functions. The chief life-soul is commonly identical with the breath. When during sleep the body sinks into passivity, the intensity of the life-soul or life-souls is abated; the conception of the life-soul loses its actuality.[5] This does not necessarily mean that the life-soul has fled. It still remains in dreams, although it is weakly active; otherwise, as the Ojibway point out, the dreamer would be dead.[6] The Iroquois declare that in dreams the free-soul "leaves its *human* in the care of its mortal, or *material*, spirit".[7] In other words, although the free-soul is here the only soul-conception having any actuality, the life-soul continues to administer the body. The free-soul of an Algonquin may have been in the realm of the dead for several years—but the man still lives, as long as the body-soul remains.[8] In the long run, however, the continued absence of the free-soul causes the wasting, departure or death of the life-soul (see § 31). The "life" of the individual is thus not altogether independent as a specific potency; also the free-soul has a part in it. The Bella Coola, for instance, connect the free-soul with the breath and with the life of the individual.[9] The dream-soul combines within itself all the properties represented by the body-souls, although it is as an entity in itself that it occupies the forefront of interest.

The ego-consciousness of the waking, active individual is represented by an undifferentiated body-soul, a general ego-soul or a number

[5] See above, p. 53 note 10.
[6] Schoolcraft 1860 V, 79.
[7] Converse 1908, 93.
[8] JR XVI, 191.
[9] McIlwraith 1948 I, 95, 97.

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of different ego-souls expressing various functions of consciousness. Whereas the life-soul is able to continue its activity in the body, even if at a slower rate, when the person falls asleep, the ego-soul is completely shut off. That is to say, the functions of the ego-soul are transferred to the free-soul. In an advanced dualistic soul-relation, where the free-soul is a potency among potencies, there is not always an identity between the dream-soul and the dream-ego (see § 16). A free-soul which may be exchanged, forfeited or lost without any direct detriment to the subject, or which can be seen in dreams or in the waking state, is not very suitable as an expression for the ego-consciousness of the individual. Logically, it is the ego-soul which in such circumstances should operate as the dream-ego; but it is unfortunately not possible to ascertain whether the Indians have conceived the matter thus.[10]

Never is the soul-dualism more pronounced than in its relation to the ego-consciousness. On the one hand it happens that as the representative of the ego the ego-soul regards the free-soul as a strange being, as a double-ganger separate from the individual (§ 23); and on the other hand it is certainly not uncommon for the free-soul as the representative of the ego in dreams to regard the body as a strange being ("bilocation").[11] Despite this tension between the souls, the ego-consciousness glides imperceptibly from ego-soul to free-soul, and vice-versa. As soon as the activity of the ego-soul ceases, the free-soul steps into the breach, without the continuity of consciousness being broken, and without the transition being perceived by the ego.[12] In some cases we are even told how the person "feels" his soul departing from the body.[13] When the free-soul appears it is generally the bearer of the ego-consciousness; but where it is a more independent entity the ego-

[10] Cf. above, pp. 276 sq., 437 sq.

[11] The following references afford instances of the way in which in the shape of the free-soul a person in various lethargic situations, e.g. in sleep, experiences his own body as a foreign object: the Carrier (Jenness 1943, 536); Kwakiutl (Boas 1930 II, 48); Saulteaux (Hallowell 1940, 31); Ottawa (Radin 1936, 258); Cheyenne (Grinnell 1923 II, 93); Blackfoot (McClintock 1910, 144, 148 sq.); Winnebago (Radin 1915, 303; Radin 1923, 270, 314 sq., 393; Radin 1945, 7); Wind River Shoshoni (Hultkrantz 1951, 31); Lemhi (Lowie 1909 a, 226, 301 sq.; Lowie 1925 b, 101 sq.); Kato (Goddard 1909, 238); Patwin (Kroeber 1932 a, 288); Luiseño-Diegueño (Davis 1921, 99 sq.); Kamia (Gifford 1931, 71, 81); Nambé (Parsons 1929, 301 sq.); Cochiti (Benedict 1931, 129, 130 sq., 132). Cf. also the Tsetsaut (Boas 1895 a, 568); Caddo (Swanton 1942, 205, 206); Wintu (Du Bois 1935, 77); Aztecs and other Mexican tribes (Haebler 1899, 149). In some of the above-mentioned cases the extra-physical person contemplates his body without recognition (the Carrier, Kamia).

[12] Cf. e.g. Radin 1923, 315 (the Winnebago); Curtin & Hewitt 1918, 368 (the Seneca). Cf. above, p. 436.

[13] See the Blackfoot (McClintock, op.cit., 148 sq.); Wind River Shoshoni (Hultkrantz, op.cit., 39); Navajo (Wyman, Hill & Osanai 1942, 38).

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experience may glide between the body-subject (the ego-soul?) and the extra-physical subject (the free-soul).[14] In certain circumstances a corresponding "transitional situation" may arise while the person is in the state of waking consciousness, so that the ego-sensation is torn between the scarcely functioning ego-soul and the free-soul which is actually present: among the Ojibway it occasionally happens that the ego-soul is chased away, so that the individual consists only of body and free-soul.[15] But with this instance we have already crossed the boundary to irregular soul-dualism. It should, however, be pointed out in conclusion that the unity of the two at bottom ego-expressing souls is in many quarters a perceived truth, even if none of the roads leading to this unity has been entered upon.[16] The Quileute, who boast a complicated soul-dualism,[17] express their assurance of the ultimate unity behind the said souls in their belief that after death the free-soul is united with the ego-soul.[18]

Strict dualism may be broken up in two ways: either the specific soul-functions are transferred to other souls, or else the souls are co-ordinated to wider unities. In both cases the development takes the direction of soul-monism, especially in the first-mentioned way. When this latter transference of function has taken place we may speak of irregular reciprocal action between the souls. Also in this form, however, the interplay shows certain definite modes of action which we have adduced earlier, and which we will now present in more direct and concise terms.[19]

In principle, the so-called irregular reciprocal action is conditioned by the fact that the free-soul function has been transferred to the body-souls, and that the "psychological free-soul" and the "specific free-soul" thus no longer necessarily coincide. If we now consider more narrowly the data pertaining to an extra-physical soul, we find that the conception of this soul is not always connected with a single soul-entity. As has been mentioned earlier, the "free-soul" is sometimes more a technical term for a soul appearing outside the body than a designation for a specific soul-conception. Souls of different origin may temporarily act as free-souls, and on these occasions they assume

[14] See above, p. 275. See also Radin 1923, 315, Radin 1945, 7 (the Winnebago).
[15] Jenness 1935, 18.
[16] See above, pp. 230 sqq., 240.
[17] See above, p. 70.
[18] Frachtenberg 1920, 335.
[19] See above § 16, especially pp. 241 sq., 269 sq.

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the peculiarities and modes of functioning which characterize the specific free-soul when it appears outside the body.[20]

The irregular reciprocal action between the souls arising necessarily from the expansion of the body-soul is based upon special physical conditions in the individual involved in the drama. A summary survey of the relations between the specific soul-categories which may appear as free-souls and the occasions when these appearances take place may serve as a guide to the nature of the dominant physical conditions. In the scheme given below the functional situations of the free-soul have been combined with various nominal soul-aspects. The specific free-soul has been given firstly as a dream-soul—the dream-soul is, as we know, its normal manifestation—, and secondly as a double-ganger.

A. The free-soul in twilight states.
   1. In sleep: the dream-soul.
   2. In shallow trance: the ego-soul, the double-ganger.
   3. In deep trance: the dream-soul or the body-soul.
   4. In coma: the dream-soul or the body-soul.

B. The free-soul in the state of waking consciousness.
   1. In anormal soul-states (insanity, loss of memory and other mental debility): the dream-soul, the ego-soul.
   2. In states relatively normal but conditioned by strong emotions: the dream-soul, in some cases perhaps the ego-soul.
   3. In normal soul-states but with physical enfeeblement: a specialized life-soul.

A closer study of this scheme shows us that man's physical states have regulated the encroachments of the life-soul and the ego-soul in the functional sphere of the free-soul. The life-soul becomes an extra-physical soul if the physical lethargy is so deep that the body seems to be without life (deep trance, coma). If there are several life-souls, one of them may depart without the life of the person being jeopardized, but he is then physically ill. The ego-soul becomes an extra-physical soul if during the apparent lifelessness of the individual it represents the entire body-soul conception, but above all if the person's

[20] The rôle of the specific free-soul during the temporary appearance of the body-soul as an extra-physical soul is presumably complete passivity—i.e. it is not actualized for the mind. There are, however, exceptions (see above, p. 283: the Modoc, and below, p. 447: the Quileute).

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mental balance is in any way upset. In one case we may observe an extension of the functional sphere of the free-soul in which the specific free-soul has no part: the free-soul of physical enfeeblement is always a life-soul. The ego of shallow trance is seldom extra-physical, but in this case it is always identical with the ego-soul, not with the dream-soul; only when the trance is deepened does the dream-soul appear.

The relation of the operating free-soul to the ego-consciousness of the individual presents an interesting picture. We may observe that the identity between the person's free-soul and his ego is only experienced in twilight states; a free-soul that is absent in the state of waking consciousness is never identical with the ego. Both the specific free-soul and the body-soul acting as a free-soul are in an equally high degree bearers of the ego-consciousness. That the free-soul may be distinct from the ego is a feature common to all its functional situations. In this connection it is in a number of cases experienced as an object separated from the ego; in other cases the person concludes that it is absent without experiencing this. It proves that it is chiefly during twilight states that the perception of the free-soul as an object is had, while the rationalistic conclusion that the free-soul is missing applies chiefly to one in a state of waking consciousness. In this latter case it is generally a medicine-man who makes the diagnosis. From all this it seems to emerge that the free-soul was originally the ego of the individual in twilight states, above all during dreams, but that it later also became the symbol for any separated soul-entity, whereby its functional sphere was extended to the waking consciousness and its functions were also assigned to souls of another order, i. e. the body-souls.

There is of course an irregular reciprocal action between the souls of another kind, although the cases are rare. Thus we may expect that in a few cases the free-soul encroaches upon the sphere of the life-soul without ousting the latter (the Arikara?), or that the free-soul may encroach upon the sphere of the ego-soul without the ego-soul being expelled (the Wind River Shoshoni).[21] We have already observed the causes of these functional disturbances, which as a rule lead to the effacement of the regular body-soul.[22] Whether it is possible for the life-soul and the ego-soul to transfer their activities to each other's spheres without ousting each other is a more difficult question. But

[21] The Arikara (Curtis 1909 V, 63 sq.); Wind River Shoshoni (Hultkrantz, op.cit., 41).
[22] See above, pp. 179, 240.

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is seems probable that they are able to do this, as they are frequently only the stressing or particular aspect of one single undifferentiated body-soul conception.[23]

In a later stage of development the soul whose functions have been largely taken over by another soul is absorbed by the latter. We thus get irregular dualistic groupings.[24] The reciprocal action taking place between the constituents in such a soul-constellation is characterized by a diminished tension. In a dualistic relation in which the free-soul and the ego-soul have merged with each other the unitary consciousness-soul is thus a reality whose functions are not disturbed by the transitions between the dream-world and the world of waking life.

The reciprocal action between the souls may gradually to a greater or lesser extent be replaced by their mutual coordination. This coordination implies that two or more souls cooperate in the same situation. In a way it may be said that such a cooperation occurs already in a primitive, regular soul-relation: the ego-soul and the life-soul are sometimes poles in the same general body-soul conception; the activity of the latter then implicates, logically, both the components. But strictly speaking this is incorrect: the body-soul is actualized successively, not simultaneously, as ego-soul and life-soul. Real soul-cooperation presupposes the coordination in philosophical speculation of two or more souls to a common activity on one and the same occasion.

The coordination of souls is of a "horizontal" or "vertical" nature. Horizontal coordination implies that the souls act as collateral partners with equal rights. A typical instance may be taken from the Quileute: in case of serious illness both the inner and the outer souls (i. e. probably the ego-soul and the free-soul) operate outside the patient's body.[25] Vertical coordination implies that one of the active souls is dependent upon or subordinated to the other. We have a less pronounced form of vertical coordination in the case in which the one soul sustains the other. In a Niska legend we are told how the free-soul can take the life-soul with it (in the shape of a heart) on its journey to the realm of the dead; its activity helps the free-soul back to the world of the living.[26] In the extreme form of vertical coordination the one soul is

[23] See above, pp. 109, 179, 227.
[24] See the scheme, above, pp. 108 sq.
[25] Frachtenberg, op.cit., loc.cit.
[26] Boas 1895 a, 582; cf. above, p. 64. The Kwakiutl call the life-soul "the owner of the free-soul", evidently because it harbours the free-soul during the latter's passive periods (Boas 1930 II, 49).

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superior and dominant. Such a case is not uncommon when the ego-soul or the free-soul has been transformed into a guardian soul, super-ego. The Bella Coola, for example, believe that the ego-soul (the "mentality") receives its impulses from the simultaneously active free-soul—guardian spirit;[27] and the Fox think that the free-soul watches over the life-soul.[28]

What is perhaps the most interesting interplay between the souls takes place in cases of sickness and death. We have indicated the rules obtaining in this connection above. It remains for us to follow the dramatic development. This casts its light not least on the fate of the souls after death.

31. Soul loss and death

"Soul loss" is the technical term for a typically primitive conception of the nature of illness. As appears from the name, it is believed that illness is due to the loss of the soul. The diagnosis is made either by the sick person himself, who in the twilight state experiences the movements of the soul—i. e. the psychological free-soul—, or else by a medicine-man with healing powers. We have already given an account of a diagnosis emerging from the idea of soul loss, viz. "power loss" or "spirit loss".[1]

Some writers have not been sufficiently careful to distinguish between the soul-loss conception and the conception of the extra-physical wanderings of the free-soul.[2] The normal dream-journey does not of course include the idea of any soul loss, and especially is this not so if the free-soul is experienced as identical with the ego. Only when the dreamer finds that his soul has disappeared or strayed to a place whence it cannot by itself return—e. g. the realm of the dead—may we speak of soul loss.

[27] McIlwraith, op.cit., 95.
[28] Michelson 1925, 358.
[1] See above, pp. 370 sq. Cf. also above, p. 114 note 23.
[2] As an instance of soul loss Clements adduces dream-wanderings, which obviously have nothing to do with soul loss (Clements 1932, 236: the Greenland Eskimo, the Pomo).

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Attempts have been made to arrive at the relative age of the soul-loss idea in North America by contrasting it with the other dominant primitive notion of disease, the notion of objects, animals and spirits intruding in the human body: "the intrusion theory".[3] The distribution data of each conception-complex have been taken as a measure for the chronological determination of their relative age; the chief attention has been paid to the distribution in North America, the distribution in adjacent continents and the world at large has been regarded as supplementary.

The first to take up the problem of the relative age of these conceptions along these lines was Lowie. Lowie writes (1925): "Judging by the criterion of geographical range, we must regard soul-loss, however old, as younger than intrusion".[4] Since more recent research has changed the picture of the proportions between intrusion and soul loss in South America, however, Lowie has declared (1948) that "it would now be rash to claim unequivocal priority for the rival doctrine of intrusion".[5] Even earlier than this (1931) Forde had on the same grounds considered the soul-loss theory to be very old.[6] Clements (1932) considers it extremely difficult to make an age-gradation between the theories of sickness, but hypothetically he places object intrusion before soul loss in time.[7] Park (1938) confesses to a similar hesitation, and thinks that the distribution in America would rather favour the opposite interpretation, if it can at all be used for a culture-historical reconstruction, which he seems to doubt.[8] Nor does Roger (1944) consider it possible to determine the age of the North American theories of disease on the basis of the distribution; he finds no reason to adjudge the one as older than the other.[9] Elmendorf (1952), who shares with Clements the idea of the unitary historical origin of the soul-loss theory, endorses Rogers' view concerning its age in North America in relation to the intrusion theory.[10] He thinks, however, that the soul-loss idea has become dominant and richly developed in north-western North America through relatively late impulses from north-east Asia. He also thinks he has been able to observe that in more recent times the soul-loss

[3] Concerning this designation, see Lowie 1925 a, 546.
[4] Lowie, op.cit., 548; cf. Lowie 1925 b, 176 sqq.
[5] Lowie 1948, 357.
[6] Forde 1931, 200.
[7] Clements, op.cit., 237 sqq., 241. Cf. Radin 1937, 69.
[8] Park 1938, 136 sq.
[9] Rogers 1944, 563 sq.
[10] Elmendorf 1952, 113 note 28.

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theory has extended over wide parts of western North America (Oregon, California, the Southwest).[11]

In general, the American investigators seem to incline to the view that the intrusion-idea is older than the soul-loss idea in America. It may be of interest to note that Zelenin postulates the same chronology as regards Siberia.[12]

Every attempt at an age-gradation between the two theories of illness seems to me, however, to have failed. Clements' data indicate no priority for either of them; but they do, on the other hand, show a stronger development of the intrusion theory in Europe, South Asia, north-east Asia, the two Americas and Australia, and of the soul-loss theory in Siberia, Arctic and north-western America.[13] As regards North America, our data show that the intrusion idea occurs practically everywhere, whereas the soul-loss idea is less widely represented, especially on the Plains, an area which—it should not be forgotten—has a relatively young culture.[14] Soul loss occurs frequently among the Eskimo, the Northwest Indians (down to California), the Northern Plateau Indians and the Central Algonquin. It is, moreover, the commonest theory of illness in the far north and north-west.[15] Soul loss appears rather frequently among the West Athapascans, the Shoshone and the Yuman tribes. It also occurs in North California, but ebbs again in Central and South California—in general intrusion is more common among the Indians of California. The Southeast, the Southwest and Mexico have not many places where the soul-loss diagnosis has been made, and from the Plains culture area we can report only a few really definite instances of soul loss.[16] The greater infrequency of the notion on the outskirts of the high-culture is probably connected with the development of the unitary soul.

Attempts to determine the age of the theories of disease are obstructed by, inter alia, the fact that they often occur side by side in the same diagnosis,[17] indeed, in a large number of cases more or less

[11] Elmendorf, op.cit., 113 sq.
[12] Zelenin 1936, 81 sq. Cf. Ohlmarks 1939, 61 sq., 142 sqq.
[13] Clements, op.cit., the maps on pp. 210, 217, 227.
[14] I do not here distinguish between spirit intrusion and object intrusion.
[15] Possibly, as it has been thought, in consequence of diffusion from north-eastern Asia, the home-country of the Siberian "Americanoids".
[16] The above survey is based chiefly upon the writer's own investigations. As regards the intrusion theory I base my account also upon Clements and Bouteiller (Bouteiller 1950, 134, note 1). As regards the soul-loss theory I have also borrowed data from Elmendorf (Elmendorf, op.cit., 104 sqq., and the map on p. 105; cf. therewith the map given by Rogers, op.cit., 563).
[17] Cf. also Rogers, op.cit., 561, 562. See e. g. the Cochiti (Goldfrank 1927, 63).

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obviously influence each other. Soul loss may be caused by intrusion,[18] just as intrusion may be caused by soul loss.[19] Soul loss can be cured with the therapy belonging to intrusion,[20] as intrusion may be cured with the therapy belonging to the diagnosis of soul loss.[21] Sometimes a person's sufferings may be due to the fact that he has become the host of a strange spirit and has also been deprived of his (free-)soul.[22]

It may probably be assumed that both the theories are very old; presumably they are of equal antiquity, although this cannot be proved.[23] My own view is that in ancient times they complemented each other. We have already hinted that the conception of soul loss as a cause of illness probably came into the question, originally, only when some form of disturbance of consciousness had arisen, whereas the intrusion of a foreign object or being was probably assumed to be the case in connection with ordinary "physical" illness without accompanying change of consciousness.[24] Thus—if this reconstruction is correct—, the causes of illness occurred side by side, and the diagnosis was chiefly adapted to the patient's state of consciousness. This naturally does not mean to say that also intrusion, in certain cases, has not been considered to be capable of changing the character of consciousness; we need only think of the cases in which insanity has been ascribed to the intrusion of an alien spirit.[25] Probably such "possession" was known in the earliest prehistoric times. It is, on the other hand, as we have already discovered, a more recent phenomenon for one of the body-souls to depart after the fashion of the free-soul without the consciousness of the patient being changed.[26]

In the following we shall try to analyse the connection between body and soul and between the souls themselves during the period from the commencement of the illness to the moment of death, in the cases in which according to the primitive view the nature of the illness is soul loss.

[18] Cf. the Alsea (Drucker 1939, 99); Nomlaki (Goldschmidt 1951, 352); see also the Blackfoot (McClintock 1923, 115 sq.).
[19] Cf. the Nootka (see above, p. 440).
[20] Cf. the Wind River Shoshoni (Hultkrantz 1951, 40; cf. Hultkrantz 1949, 152); see also the Bella Coola (McIlwraith 1948 I, 96) and the Yuman tribes (Underhill 1948, 36 sq.). Cf. above, p. 278 note 254.
[21] Cf. the Kato (Goddard 1909, 237 sq.).
[22] Cf. the Paviotso (Park 1934, 99); Sia (Parsons 1939 II, 710; commentary: Bouteiller, op.cit., 105 sq., 128).
[23] Eliade has arrived at a similar conclusion (Eliade 1951, 301; cf. op.cit., 280 sq.).
[24] See above, p. 289.
[25] Cf. above, pp. 213, 285. Cf. also Clements, op.cit., 220 (the Cree).
[26] See above, pp. 290 sq.

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What is characteristic for the conception "soul loss" is that the soul is conceived to leave its owner without immediately jeopardizing his life. In our sources this is often expressed in the phrase that "the soul goes before death".[27] Sometimes it may actually be seen departing.[28] Psychologically, of course, the departing soul is a free-soul, but nominally it may in several cases be a matter of a body-soul. The Yuma, for instance, think that in case of illness both the shadow-soul and one of the body-souls may leave the body.[29] Some Ojibway seem to consider that the ego-soul is the soul-entity that is lost.[30] Among the Wind River Shoshoni it is as a rule the dream-soul—less frequently the life-soul—that disappears.[31] In all of these cases it holds true that the specific free-soul (the dream-soul) is absent when the patient's consciousness is not functioning normally or he himself or others for other reasons than direct physical ailments considers the said soul to be absent; that the general body-soul is absent when the patient is unconscious and as good as lifeless; that a local body-soul is absent when the patient is suffering from ordinary illness not entailing any change of consciousness.[32] Only in the four-soul speculation, where the identity and contours of the souls have become blurred, can different souls function as the missing entity (or entities) without reference to the peculiarities of each.[33]

The conditions from which the conception of soul loss arises are to seek in the nature of the soul itself—i. e. the free-soul—and its relation to the body. The soul is weak and frail, or may become so, so that the shaman must restore its vigour (the Bella Coola).[34] Children, women and old people have frail souls, and they therefore easily lose

[27] See, for example, the following instances taken almost at random: the Eskimo (Nelson 1899, 422); Tanaina (Osgood 1937, 169); Déné (Morice 1906, 209; Hill-Tout 1907 a, 177 sq.); Haida (Dawson 1880, 122 B); Kwakiutl (Boas 1932 b, 210); Twana, Klallam (Eells 1889, 677); Gulf of Georgia Salish (Barnett 1939, 272); Oregon Coast tribes (Barnett 1937, 184); Lillooet (Teit 1906, 286); Ojibway (Tanner 1830, 291); Omaha (La Flesche 1889, 3 sq.; Fletcher & La Flesche 1911, 489 sq.); Wind River Shoshoni (Hultkrantz 1951, 36); Ute (Stewart 1942, 319); Nevada Shoshoni (Steward 1941, 323); Bear River (Nomland 1938, 93); Achomawi (de Angulo 1928, 576); Indians in South California (Drucker 1937 a, 43). See further below, p. 459 note 92.

[28] See e. g. the Eskimo of Smith Sound (Kroeber 1899, 308); Quinault (Olson 1936, 162); Shasta (Holt 1946, 326); Kamia (Gifford 1931, 74); Cocopa (Gifford 1933 b, 304). See further the instances adduced above, p. 359 note 31.

[29] Forde 1931, 179, 180.

[30] Jenness 1935, 18, 110.

[31] Hultkrantz, op.cit., 36 note 43.

[32] Concerning all this, see § 16, especially pp. 278 sqq., 282 sqq., 284 sq., 287, 289 sq., 290 sq. See also § 30, pp. 445 sq.

[33] See above, p. 291.

[34] Boas 1892, 421. Cf. the Central Eskimo (Boas 1901—07, 132), Shivwits (Drucker 1941, 216).

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them.[35] The soul is so loosely attached to the body that it may easily fasten in the persons one meets or in bushes and thickets through which one is making one's way.[36] A person who has not yet recovered from his illness has not, according to the Ojibway, got his soul safely encapsuled in his body, and he should therefore be careful.[37] We have already seen that in many cases the soul is drawn automatically to the realm of the dead.[38]

The direct causes of the loss of the (free-)soul may be classified in the following groups.[39]

1. The soul is driven away by its owner. We have earlier mentioned soul-transfusion through the transference of the life-breath to another person.[40]

2. The soul leaves one on its own initiative. In many cases shocks, fainting fits and other strong psychic reactions are not the causes of soul loss (see below), but the consequences of soul loss.[41] There are sometimes clear motives for the free-soul's way of acting; the guardian soul of the Naskapi abandons its protégé if the latter does not comply with its requirements.[42] As a rule the free-soul wants in any case to fly —perhaps precisely on account of the attraction to the other world mentioned above. From New France there is an instance of a woman who ran after and caught her soul when it tried to run away from her.[43]

3. The soul is thrown out in connection with external injury or physical trials. If the body gets a bump, or if it is manhandled or beaten, the soul is ejected. If a Yuma Indian gets several blows with a club on his head and body "the soul is driven out of the body by the severity of the blow. The soul goes up with the dust caused by the fall and hovers above undecided whether to return".[44] A less dangerous

[35] The Puyallup-Nisqually (Smith 1940, 86); Navajo (Reichard 1950 I, 37). Concerning the souls of embryos and children, cf. § 28. Tiredness, feebleness and physical weakness are signs of soul loss.

[36] The Puyallup-Nisqually (Smith, op.cit., 86 sq.); Ojibway (Jenness, op.cit., 19). Cf. the Slave, Tsimshian and Bella Coola (above, p. 394).

[37] Tanner, op.cit., loc.cit.

[38] See above, p. 379 note 22.

[39] Cf. also e. g. Teit 1900, 363, Forde 1931, 191, Elmendorf 1952, 107.

[40] See above, pp. 162 sq.

[41] Cf. above, pp. 288 note 301, 434, 438.

[42] See above, p. 383. Cf.: the souls of embryos abandon their mothers if the latter are displeasing to them (see above, pp. 424 sq.).

[43] JR XI, 117.

[44] Forde, op.cit., 192. See further the Twana (Elmendorf, op.cit., 109 sq.); Quinault (Olson 1936, 173); White Knife Shoshoni (Harris 1940, 65 sq.); Achomawi (de Angulo 1926, 356, de Angulo 1928, 577); Atsugewi, Achomawi, Wintu, Maidu, Nisenan (Voegelin 1942, 157); Navajo (Coolidge 1930, 156).

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form of soul loss occurs when after a rapid train-journey the Missisauga Indian lies down on the ground to await his soul, which has not been able to journey at the same pressing speed.[45]

4. The soul is driven out by strong emotions. One who grieves deeply risks losing his soul.[46] But above all, soul loss may be caused by a psychic shock: the soul rushes from its owner out of fear.[47] The Bella Coola declare that the loss of the soul on such occasions is not an expression for the soul's own action; on the contrary, it is through the contraction of muscles that the soul is thrown out of the body.[48] This interpretation, however, is not representative for the way the Indians generally regard the occurrence, and may be an isolated conception.

5. The soul goes astray on dangerous roads during sleep, trance and coma, and is in this way lost to its owner, if he is a layman and not a medicine-man. In the states of trance and coma the individual is to be regarded as dead or almost dead, and his soul is therefore in or near the realm of death; but even in ordinary dreams he may journey thither.[49] Especially dangerous, of course, is dreaming in the state of fever, which occupies an intermediate position between the ordinary dream and the comatose dream.[50]

6. The soul is stolen. This motif is the one most often associated with soul loss, and it also constitutes the dominating cause of this pathological situation. Those who commit this crime are on the one hand living beings with supernatural capacities, and on the other hand supernatural beings. Among the former are to be noted chiefly wizards and malevolent shamans; they can hide a captured soul so that it is found neither among the living nor the dead.[51] Among the supernatural beings to be noted in this connection are first and foremost the dead,

[45] Chamberlain 1888, 158.

[46] The Quinault (Olson 1936, 111); Achomawi (de Angulo 1928, 576 sq.).

[47] The Ingalik (Chapman 1921, 306, 306 sq.); Tlingit, Haida, Tsimshian, Haisla, Bella Bella (Drucker 1950, 226); Tsimshian (Boas 1916, 560); Bella Coola (McIlwraith 1948 I, 96, 362, 625, 720, 750); Lummi (Stern 1934, 79); Gulf of Georgia Salish (Barnett 1939, 272); Quinault (Olson 1936, 161); Chinook, Klikitat (Ray 1942, 247); Algonquin and Iroquois (JR XVI, 193; JR XLII, 51); Cheyenne (Grinnell 1923 II, 93); Panamint and Eastern Mono? (Driver 1937, 100); Southern Paiute (Kelly 1939, 159); Lower Rogue River, Oregon (Drucker 1937 b, 275); Sinkyone (Driver 1939, 419); Yuma (Forde 1931, 191 sq.); Mohave and Maricopa (Drucker 1941, 159); Opata (Johnson 1950, 35). Cf. also Elmendorf, op.cit., 109.

[48] McIlwraith, op.cit., 96.

[49] See e. g. the Thompson River (Teit 1900, 372); Cocopa (Gifford 1933 b, 307); Seminole (Greenlee 1944, 319). See also above, p. 274, and Elmendorf, op.cit., 110.

[50] Cf. Frazer 1886, 82 sqq.

[51] Forde, op.cit., 193. See further Elmendorf, op.cit., 111.

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who are experts in matters pertaining to soul loss.[52] In most cases these ghosts are identical with deceased relatives who are longing for the company of the living; but they may also be avenging spirits (murdered persons, murderers and those who have been unjustly buried). The theft may occur at any time and place, but it is generally committed when the individual is asleep or in the dark. Among the Lummi, certain spirits have a magnetic capacity to attract souls to themselves.[53]

There is an intimate correspondence between the states of the body and the soul in connection with soul loss. The mere risk of a physical catastrophe immediately directs the Indian's thoughts to the free-soul. "I almost lost my *yega*" is thus the phrase used by the Coyukon Indian for "I was in great danger".[54] The course of the disease may therefore be followed on two fronts: that of the soul and that of the body. We should, however, not lose sight of the fact that the fate of the body is only a result of the fate of the soul.[55]

After the separation from the body the free-soul betakes itself or is conducted to a place whose location will depend upon whether the soul is wandering more or less of its own accord, or whether is has been stolen, and if so, by whom it has been stolen.[56] The soul's destination may thus be a locality in the surrounding landscape,[57] the terrestrial abode of the supernatural beings,[58] the air above us or the realm of the dead.[59] In the majority of cases the soul makes for the realm of the dead.

As soon as the soul has been detached from the body under circumstances indicating soul loss, the individual is in more or less direct danger of his life. In a number of Plateau and Southwest groups the soul is in connection with soul loss regarded as irrevocably lost; even if death does not occur immediately, it is inevitable.[60] As Elmendorf points out, in its geographical occurrence this conception is peripheral to the great areas of distribution of the soul-loss idea.[61] The normal

[52] Bouteiller, op.cit., 105, 128. Some other soul-snatching supernatural beings have been mentioned above, pp. 213 sq., 407. See further Elmendorf, op.cit., 110 sqq.
[53] Stern, op.cit., 79.
[54] Jetté 1911, 102.
[55] See above, pp. 433 sqq.
[56] Concerning this see also Elmendorf, op.cit., 111 sq.; cf. op.cit., 107.
[57] See e. g. the Paiute (Kelly 1939, 152 sq.).
[58] Boas 1930 II, 48 sq. (the Kwakiutl).
[59] See e. g. the Yuma (Forde, op.cit., 192 sq.).
[60] Cf. below, p. 459.
[61] Elmendorf, op.cit., 112. See the following sources: Drucker 1950, 227 (the Haida); Ray 1942, 247 (the southern and eastern Plateau Indians); Drucker 1937 a, 42 (the Indians of South California); Gifford 1936, 309 (the Yavapai); Drucker 1941, 216 (the Papago, Yaqui).

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case is that soul loss can be cured; but the sick person's chances of recovering diminish, the nearer to the realm of the dead his soul gets. The conceptions vary, chiefly, doubtless, according as the runaway soul is a specific free-soul or a body-soul, and as the sick person is conscious or not.[62] In brief, the following conceptions are represented: the soul is lost if it has been absent for too long;[63] if it has got too far on its way to the realm of the dead;[64] if it has crossed the river of death;[65] if it is already in the land of the dead.[66] In several cases it is said that without immediate risk for life the soul may remain for some time in the realm of the dead.[67] In this case it is either a matter of a soul that has already associated itself with the dead without having cut the tie connecting it with the living;[68] or else it is a matter of some shaman's soul that has come to fetch a stolen soul.[69] But in many places not even the shaman can always venture into the realm of the dead.[70]

The nearer to this realm the soul gets, the more its owner's health and strength are reduced. The physical and mental reactions are to a considerable extent determined by the nature of the departing soul. Let us consider these reactions.

The immediate consequences of the soul's departure may be: state unchanged—immediate physical or mental enfeeblement—death. The first-mentioned eventuality is not all too rare, and especially not so where the conceptions of the double-ganger and the guardian soul have been developed; for the rule is that it is the specific free-soul that on such occasions has departed. Without the diagnosis of the shaman the

[62] Elmendorf has tried to correlate the possibilities of cure in different soul-situations in connection with soul loss with special geographical areas (Elmendorf, op.cit., 112). As regards those data which he adduces concerning the possibilities of cure in connection with the soul's journey to and stay in the realm of the dead, however, the correlation seems uncertain. Cf. below, note 67.

[63] The Lemhi (Steward 1943, 284); Chinook (Boas 1894 a, 206).

[64] The Modoc (Curtin, op.cit., 388); Paviotso (Park 1934, 106; Park 1938, 41).

[65] The Quinault (Olson 1936, 159 note 66).

[66] The Nootka (Sproat 1868, 174, 213 sq.); Chinook (Boas 1893, 40; Boas 1894 a, 206); Thompson River (Teit 1900, 360); Spokan (Wilkes 1845 IV, 449); Atsina (Cooper 1944, 64).

[67] Elmendorf localizes the belief in recovery after the soul's having stayed in the realm of the dead to the central and southern parts of the Northwest Coast (Elmendorf, op.cit., 112). We have, however, data which show a far wider area of distribution, with instances among the Hupa in California, the Yuman tribes in the Southwest and the Shoshone in the Great Basin and on the Plains (see Elmendorf, op.cit., 112 note 25 and below, the two following notes).

[68] The Quileute (Frachtenberg 1920, 335); Wind River Shoshoni (Hultkrantz 1951, 25 note 16); White Knife Shoshoni (Harris 1940, 66).

[69] The Duwamish (Underhill 1945, 198); Mohave (Devereux 1937, 418); etc. Cf. above, p. 281 note 269.

[70] Cf. Devereux, op.cit., loc.cit. See also the Shuswap (Teit 1909, 613); Quinault (Olson, op.cit., 159, 163); Hupa (Goddard 1903, 74).

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patient would never know that he is ill or expected to become ill; nor, in many cases, would he without this diagnosis have any notion of the soul's disappearance. The Duwamish shaman can find the soul of a healthy and sound person in the realm of the dead; it has undertaken the journey thither without its owner's knowledge.[71] Wilkes mentions from the Spokan the belief that "the spirit within a person may be separated from the body for a short time, without the person being aware of it, or its causing death, provided it be quickly restored to him". The medicine-man is informed of the soul's absence in a dream, and he reports the matter afterwards to the "patient", who has been unaware of the fact, whereupon he is commissioned by the latter to recover the soul.[72]

The more common case, however, is that the soul's departure manifests itself from the outset in a pathological state, which in the long run may entail death. Either the free-soul or else one of the body-souls is absent—which, will depend, inter alia, upon whether the illness implies any mental disturbance (when the free-soul or the ego-soul has absented itself), loss of consciousness (when the free-soul or one of the body-souls has absented itself) or merely physical affections (when one of the life-souls has departed).[73] Several sources mention that the loss of the soul may cause the owner to lose his reason.[74] Other data testify that loss of consciousness, fainting fits and epileptic seizures have been caused by soul loss.[75] Also the feverish person who sleeps and dreams has lost his soul.[76] A common consequence of soul loss is that the individual's physical resources dwindle more and more; he becomes lazy and languid, wastes away, becomes emaciated.[77] The gradual wasting of the Hidatsa Indian is connected with the fact that his many souls leave the body one after the other.[78] Finally, soul loss occurs in some cases where the disease is localized to a certain part of the body.[79]

As we see, the loss of the soul may have immediate consequences

[71] Underhill, op.cit., 198.
[72] Wilkes, op.cit., 448. Cf. Hale 1846, 208, Tylor 1929 I, 437. See further the Lummi (Stern 1934, 79); Quinault (Curtis 1913 IX, 90).
[73] Cf. the scheme on p. 445. See also above, p. 452.
[74] See above, pp. 286 sq.
[75] See above, pp. 282 sqq.
[76] See e. g. the Atsugewi (Voegelin 1942, 246).
[77] See e. g. the Eskimo of Bering Strait (Nelson 1899, 422); the Kwakiutl (Boas 1930 II, 22; cf. Boas 1921 I, 714); Nootka (Drucker 1951, 156); Puyallup-Nisqually (Smith 1940, 86, 87); Klikitat (Ray 1942, 247); Sinkaietk (Spier 1938, 169); Cherokee (Mooney & Olbrechts 1932, 141); Walapai (Kroeber 1935, 244).
[78] Matthews 1877, 50.
[79] See above, pp. 290 sq.

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of a serious nature; but it is not always clear what the exact effect will be, even if the nature of the absent soul is known. Father Le Jeune writes that when the Montagnais "see that a poor invalid no longer speaks, or that he has fainted, or been seized by a frenzy, they say that the spirit is no longer in the body; and, if the invalid returns to his senses, it is the spirit which has returned".[80] The loss of the free-soul may have now the one, now the other effect.

A third direct consequence of soul loss may be that the person dies. This, however, is not a typical result.[81] But in this connection we must bear in mind that "death" is not a strictly fixed state among the Indians. Firstly, the loss of the free-soul may, independently of its immediate consequences, be understood as a preliminary death.[82] Secondly, soul loss may quite simply be taken to designate death.[83] And thirdly, profound torpor (trance, coma) is in many places regarded as tantamount to death.[84] In certain cases soul loss is incontestably the cause of an immediate actual death; but the stolen soul is in such cases, to judge from the evidence, an unitary soul. It is then, however, rather meaningless to speak of soul loss as the cause of disease; the cause of the disease is commonly the intrusion of some particle, some object, some being.[85] This does not, of course, mean to say that the conception of soul loss as a cause of disease may not be connected with the unitary soul.[86]

The immediate consequences of the soul's departure need not be of a serious nature. But what of the sequel?

Curiously enough, it is stated from several quarters that not even on a long view does the loss of the soul always have fatal consequences. It is chiefly in three categories of soul loss that the dangerous effects fail to appear—or at least they have been postponed for an indefinite period. If a person has several souls of a similar kind (body-souls, free-souls), one of them may be lost without serious detriment to the patient on condition that another is procured in its place.[87] If, again, the free-soul is of a guardian-spirit type, it may depart from its protégé without the latter's experiencing any other injury than that his

[80] JR VII, 125.
[81] Cf. above, p. 452. See also Elmendorf, op.cit., 106.
[82] A Chemehuevi, for example, who has lost his soul, is said to be "as good as dead" (Kelly 1936, 133). Cf. the Coyukon (Jetté 1911, 102); Achomawi (de Angulo 1928, 151). See also above, p. 289.
[83] The North-western Maidu (Loeb 1933, 172).
[84] See above, pp. 279 sqq., 282.
[85] See the Klamath (Spier 1930, 101; cf. op.cit., 124); Nomlaki (Goldschmidt 1951, 351; cf. op.cit., 355).
[86] Cf. above, pp. 113 sq., and below, p. 463.
[87] See above, pp. 438 sq. (the Eskimo and Cowichan).

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happiness and safety, perhaps, are forfeited.[88] The free-soul may sometimes leave old people and the infirm, and yet they continue their existence; the Algonquin Indian who claimed to have lived without his free-soul for more than two years is an eloquent example.[89] In the last-mentioned case the loss of the soul is certainly the prelude to the concluding act of life.

Normally, however, no human being can escape being afflicted with sickness sooner or later in consequence of soul loss, and—if the soul is not returned in time—with death. From widely separated parts of North America we are told that a lost soul must be returned as soon as possible, as otherwise its unfortunate owner will sicken and die.[90] Osgood's informant among the Tanaina "spoke of a person as dead as soon as the spirit-shadow had disassociated itself from the body, the physical effects of death being delayed until the human mechanism, like a clock, had run down".[91] Frequently the number of days a sick person may have left to live is mentioned, reckoned after the date for the flight of the soul. The data vary from a couple of years to a couple of hours.[92] In the majority of cases no time-limit is fixed; the soul of the Thompson Indian, for example, leaves the body definitively a longer or shorter period before death.[93] Naturally the length of the period between soul loss and the person's death (by which we here mean the time for the occurrence of physical death) is also connected with the nature of the departing soul. This brings us to the question of the internal relations between the souls at the moment of death.

From what has been said above it should have emerged that in the Indian view death is a state in which the symptoms of life are either entirely absent or else only faintly perceptible.[94] The many cases of

[88] See above, pp. 382 sq.

[89] JR XVI, 191. See also Speck 1935 a, 47 sq. Cf. the evil ego-soul of the Navajo (above, p. 106).

[90] See e. g. the Tanaina (Osgood 1937, 170); Déné (Morice 1906, 209); Kitimat (Lopatin 1945, 72); Shuswap (Teit 1909, 611); Ojibway (Jenness 1935, 18; Radin 1936, 252); Fox (Jones 1911, 218); Wind River Shoshoni (Hultkrantz, op.cit., 30, 36); Paviotso (Park 1938, 41).

[91] Osgood, op.cit., loc.cit.

[92] A couple of years: the Sinkaietk (Spier 1938, 169). Six to twelve months: the Cherokee (Mooney & Olbrechts 1932, 16). Some months: the Twana, Klallam (Eells 1889, 677); Cahuilla (Hooper 1920, 340). One or two weeks: the Quinault (Olson 1936, 162); Wintu (Du Bois 1935, 78). Four days: the Tsimshian (Boas 1916, 330, 476); Ojibway (Jenness 1935, 40 note 1). One or two days: the Kwakiutl (Boas 1891 b, 610 sq.; cf. Boas 1921 I, 717); Shasta (Holt 1946, 326). A short time: the Paviotso, Washo (Stewart 1941, 415); Achomawi, Wintu (Voegelin 1942, 148); Bear River (Nomland 1938, 93). Immediately before death: the Kamia (Gifford 1931, 71).

[93] Teit 1900, 360.

[94] Cf. above, p. 458.

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apparent death and the numerous narratives of the dead person's return to life are to be explained by the confusion of deep coma with physical death. In the following the term "death" will be used as the designation for both these states, whereas "definitive death" will be taken as the designation for physical death where it is necessary to stress this particularly. "Definitively dead" or "again dead" is the Indian way of referring to a person who after deep unconsciousness has returned to his senses and then once more loses consciousness, but this time without regaining it.

From the viewpoint of soul-belief, death implies that the activity of the souls in the living individual comes to an end. The free-soul is definitively liberated from its physical bondage, the functioning of the body-soul ceases. From the point of view of the living individual, the departure of all his souls implies that he dies.[95] In a normal dualistic soul-relation it is above all the departure of the life-soul that marks the advent of death (see § 16). In this connection it should be noted that the loss of the life-soul need not necessarily lead to definitive death as long as the free-soul remains in the body.[96] If, however, the free-soul is not a present conception when the life-soul makes its extra-physical appearance, death takes place either immediately or after a short time.[97] In a few cases the life-soul remains in the body after it has ceased to function.[98] In rare cases, after its activity in the living person has come to an end, the life-soul drives the "living corpse".[99]

Let us now consider the order of departure of the souls more narrowly.

If it is a case of normal soul-dualism the order in which the souls depart will depend whether the cause of the illness is soul loss or intrusion (we thus restrict ourselves here to these causes, the most elementary, "proximate disease causes", as Rogers calls them).[100]

In cases of soul loss it is as a rule the free-soul that goes first (which marks the onset of the disease), afterwards followed by the life-soul or the body-soul (which marks the occurrence of death). It is, the Coyukon

[95] Cf. e. g. the Nootka (Drucker 1951, 156); Chinook (Boas 1894 a, 207); *Hidatsa* (Matthews, op.cit., 50); Wind River Shoshoni (Hultkrantz 1951, 24, 32); Ute (Stewart 1942, 319).

[96] See the Oglala (Walker 1917, 87); Wind River Shoshoni (Hultkrantz, op.cit., 24, 30). Cf. the relation free-soul—ego-soul among the Parry Island Ojibway (Jenness 1935, 18).

[97] See the Modoc (Curtin 1912, 372); Maricopa (Spier 1933, 296); Cocopa (Gifford 1933 b, 306).

[98] See § 32.

[99] See concerning this § 32.

[100] Rogers, op.cit., 562.

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believe, self-evident that if the free-soul is lost, the thenceforward unprotected life-soul will succumb all the more easily.[101] The soul-belief of the Kwakiutl, which is in many ways representative for a normally functioning soul-dualism, affords a good standard example: first the free-soul, i.e. the person himself, departs; but the body is still breathing. Then the breath leaves the body, and now the person is dead.[102] Among the Wind River Shoshoni it is a current belief that if the free-soul departs without returning, the life-soul will also eventually follow suit; and when both souls have gone the person is dead.[103] As a rule the time for the departure of the body-soul is conceived as coinciding with the moment at which the free-soul crosses the frontier to the realm of the dead.[104] If the person returns to life, the succession of the souls is reversed: first the body recovers life and the power to move, and only after this does it become an instrument for the personality.[105]

In cases of spirit intrusion and object intrusion the order in which the souls depart may present several different combinations. As we have seen, it may happen that the intrusion gives rise to soul loss.[106] It is in any case theoretically conceivable that where such an intrusion has a fatal issue, the free-soul will depart before the life-soul. Generally, however, a mortal disease of the intrusion-type ends in both the dual souls leaving the body at about the same time. In practice it is the life-soul—against which the destructive activity of the intruding object is directed—which is the first to go, immediately followed by the free-soul. In a Seneca legend we are told how a bear-cub was shot: the hunter could see how, after having been hit by the fatal shot, it appeared to throw off a burden, while "itself" continuing straight on its way without stopping.[107] The burden referred to is the body, the "bear itself" the personality, the free-soul, which after the stopping of the life-soul hurries on.[108] Sometimes the free-soul leaves the body some time after life has departed. Among the Modoc it is

[101] Jetté 1911, 102.
[102] Boas 1930 II, 48 sq.; cf. above, p. 53.
[103] Hultkrantz, op.cit., 31 sq. The Paviotso Indian is half dead when the one soul has half gone and only one soul is left (Kelly 1932, 198; cf. Natches 1923, 259).
[104] Cf. e. g. the Quinault (Olson, op.cit., 159 note 66); Wind River Shoshoni (Brackett 1880, 330); Seminole (Greenlee 1944, 319). See also above, pp. 455 sq.
[105] See e. g. the Haida (Swanton 1905 b, 54); Hopi (Voth 1905, 118). Concerning the soul's return to the life-situation, cf. also the Micmac (Le Clercq 1910, 211), Menomini (see above, p. 79) and Navajo (Wyman, Hill & Osanai 1942, 38), and the references given in note 11 p. 443.
[106] See above, p. 451.
[107] Curtin & Hewitt 1918, 368; cf. op.cit., 807 note 324.
[108] Cf. the Menomini (Skinner & Satterlee 1915, 469 sq.).

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only when the heart of the dead person has broken that he is abandoned by the free-soul.[109] The abandonment of the body by the life-soul, on the other hand, marks the appearance of death itself.[110] The Shasta believe that the spirit of the disease leaves the body a little while before the life-soul.[111]

As a variant of intrusion-disease may be designated those cases in which one of the souls—as a rule the free-soul—succumbs to death and destruction. In such cases the person dies almost immediately. The Haida shaman accompanies his fellow-tribesmen on expeditions of war in order to combat and kill the souls of the enemy, so that their bodies may be slain without further ado.[112] The Algonquin shaman beats the soul of the person whose death he desires so soundly that its owner sickens and dies.[113] The Seminole wizard destroys his enemy by summoning to himself the latter's soul and burning it in a fire; the victim then becomes feverish and dies.[114] If a sorcerer causes the soul of a Cherokee Indian to waste away, the individual in question will succumb at the same time as his soul.[115] The last-mentioned example refers to an unitary soul, but it has been included here to complete the picture of this peculiar death-situation.[116]

If the soul-dualism is of a more complicated nature, the order in which the souls depart will be more irregular. Among the Quileute, where dualism of an elementary kind still constitutes the firm pattern of the otherwise diversified soul-belief, it is still possible to trace the same fixed scheme of departure as for a normal soul-dualism. "The outside shadow (the free-soul) leaves a person, as soon as he becomes sick, the inner soul (the ego-soul?) departs a day or two before his death; and the ghost (the growth soul) leaves the body at the very moment when death sets in. Death can occur only after the departure of either the inner soul or of the ghost; the loss of the outer soul does not necessarily involve death".[117] Since the loss of the free-soul only means sickness whereas that of the ego-soul forebodes death, the shaman can fetch the free-soul from the realm of the dead, while he must fetch the

[109] Curtin 1912, 80. Cf. the information from North California concerning the departure of the soul after death (Voegelin 1942, 148).
[110] Curtin, op.cit., 372.
[111] Holt 1946, 326.
[112] Swanton 1905 b, 40.
[113] JR XII, 11. Cf. above, p. 245.
[114] Greenlee, op.cit., 324.
[115] Mooney 1891, 344, 391 sq.; cf. op.cit., 382. See also above, p. 299.
[116] See, further, our earlier instances of psychophagy (above p. 394) and of the connection between body and soul (above, pp. 436 sq.).
[117] Frachtenberg, op.cit., 335.

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ego-soul before it has got there. When the ego-soul has reached the realm of the dead the growth-soul flies, and the person is then dead.[118] The ego-soul has here to a certain extent assumed the rôle that is generally played by the free-soul in such situations.

Among the Hidatsa the order in which the souls take their departure is more arbitrary. These Indians "account for the phenomena of gradual death, where the extremities are apparently dead while consciousness remains, by supposing the four souls to depart, one after another, at different times. When dissolution is complete, they say that all the souls are gone..."[119] Among the Wintu the dark free-soul departs thirty days before, and the light free-soul three days after, death.[120] The light free-soul has here taken over the rôle of the spook-ghost during the tabooed period after the person's decease.

Logically, the unitary soul ought to take its departure at the same time as the person dies, but this is far from being always the case. The unitary soul is a late conception, and its attachment to the circumstances of the body is sometimes very feeble. In connection with sickness due to soul loss the unitary soul may depart long before death.[121] It is more natural for the soul, as is the case among the Zuni, to depart only in connection with unconsciousness, i. e. at "death" (the Zuni have the same word for unconsciousness and physical death).[122] In cases of intrusion the soul goes away at the moment of death.[123] The Lemhi know that it is only some moments after the departure of the unitary soul that the body becomes completely lifeless.[124]

The history of the different souls is not always concluded with the occurrence of physical death. That "the dead person", "the spook-ghost" and so forth, are not infrequently conceived to be a continuation of the existence of an individual soul we shall see in the next section.

[118] Frachtenberg, op.cit., 335 sq.; cf. Pettitt 1950, 18 sq. Just where the life-soul proper fits in here is not clear.
[119] Matthews 1877, 50.
[120] Du Bois 1935, 78.
[121] See e. g. the Cherokee (Mooney & Olbrechts 1932, 16); White Knife Shoshoni (Harris 1940, 66).
[122] Bunzel 1932 a, 481. See also the Sanpoil and Nespelem (Ray 1932, 169).
[123] Cf. above, p. 458.
[124] Lowie 1909 a, 226, 301.

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32. *The souls after death*

Concerning man's fate after death the North American Indians have developed a rich flora of legend, exciting, fascinating and with a wealth of subtle variation. We shall not here, however, take up the discussion of the post-mortal forms of existence.[1] It is instead our intention to concentrate upon a problem that is more in line with the questions that have concerned us in this enquiry, viz.: what happens to *the soul* after death? That the soul, or a certain soul, is by no means necessarily to be regarded as the same as the person surviving after death will soon become apparent.

When considered more narrowly, our problem may be seen to comprise three different part-problems, which we shall discuss in order. These part-problems are: 1. Are the soul and the deceased conceived as identical? 2. If such an identity does exist, which soul carries on the life and consciousness of the individual? 3. Is it possible to deduce a connection and correspondence between the different souls and the different forms in which the deceased may be manifested?

As we have already indicated in different contexts, the deceased should, like the free-soul of the living individual, be understood as the total person.[2] We might, with Feuerbach, define the deceased as the memory-image of an earlier existing person.[3] At death, the person emerges in a new form of existence; no soul-idea is needed to mediate this transition, for it is the person himself who goes on living in the new existence.[4] The conceptions of the soul and the deceased may exist side by side without to any extent worth mentioning entering into any relation with each other.[5] That is to say, the transition of soul to ghost may be asserted theoretically, whereas the conceptions of soul and ghost as such are distinct from each other, arising through the same psychic processes yet independent of each other.

Our North American material gives clear indications of this. In

[1] Short accounts and analyses of these forms of existence may be found e. g. in Alexander 1916, 10 sqq., 49 sqq., 115 sqq., 145 sqq., 233 sqq., 262 sqq. Concerning the Orpheus tradition, see Thompson 1929, note 215, p. 337 sq., and Gayton 1935.

[2] See above, pp. 25, 395.

[3] See also Boas 1940 b, 601.

[4] Cf. Arbman 1927, 121; van der Leeuw 1930, 63; Preuss 1929, 211.

[5] It is of course self-evident that the conceptions of the free-soul and the deceased originally existed simultaneously, side by side, since they have the same psychological origin (cf. §§ 2, 16). Cf. our discussion of the soul-belief among the Cora, above, p. 47.

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some cases the post-mortal human being is called simply "the deceased".[6] In a very large number of cases different terms are used to refer to the deceased and the soul (or the souls).[7] In this connection it should be noted that most of these data nevertheless indicate that the soul (one of the souls) continues in the deceased; sometimes, however, there is no hint as to whether any soul occurs as the mediating link between the living and the dead person. The last-mentioned case is especially common if the existing soul-belief is of monistic character. Obviously, the ethnographical field-investigator has not considered the transition soul—ghost to constitute any problem here, and has therefore neglected to make any more detailed enquiries.

In general it may be said that the conception of the deceased and the conception of the free-soul were originally separate entities, even though they show great resemblance to each other owing to the fact that they have the same psychological origin. Their association with each other is secondary (see below). Sometimes the connection has not come about, because the soul has lost its life,[8] or because the person has been transformed into his totem or his nagual[9]—in the last-mentioned case the soul has obviously no place as surviving entity.

Various pronouncements by Indians from different parts of America testify to the fact that the soul's identification with the deceased has not been self-evident and immediately given: we are told that the *person* survives, and if there are the beginnings of an indication of the rôles played by the souls in the transition to the new existence opinion is not infrequently divided, confused and contradictory.

Thus Rainey, writing of the Point Hope Eskimo, says they have

[6] See the Kiliwa (Meigs 1939, 60), Cora and Huichol (Preuss 1923, 18).

[7] The Western Déné (Morice 1889, 159; Morice 1906, 209; Hill-Tout 1907 a, 177 sq.; Jenness 1943, 535); Sarcee (Honigmann 1945, 467); Kwakiutl (Boas 1891 b, 610 sq.; Drucker 1950, 290); Kitimat (Lopatin 1945, 61); Nootka (Boas, op.cit., 597; Sapir 1921, 594); Bella Coola (McIlwraith 1948 I, 497, compared with op.cit., 97); Coast Salish (Curtis 1913 IX, 88); Quileute (Frachtenberg 1920, 334); Sanpoil and Nespelem (Ray 1932, 169); Eastern Algonquin (see above, p. 82 note 57, and Gatschet 1899, 212); Cheyenne (Grinnell 1923 II, 100, compared with op.cit., 93); Cherokee (Mooney & Olbrechts 1932, 26, 142); Mandan (Curtis 1909 V, 19 sq.); Hidatsa (Curtis 1909 IV, 143); Crow (Lowie 1922, 380; Lowie 1930, 175); Wind River Shoshoni (Hultkrantz 1951, 26 sq.); Lemhi (Lowie 1909 a, 226); Northern Shoshoni, Gosiute (Steward 1943, 287); Chemehuevi (Kelly 1936, 141 note 16); Juaneño, Luiseño (Kroeber 1925, 679; Du Bois 1908, 142); Klamath (Spier 1930, 100 sq.); Karuk (Kroeber, op.cit., 107); Patwin (Kroeber 1932 a, 288); Maidu (Loeb 1933, 172, 188); Tachi Yokuts (Kroeber 1925, 513); Mohave (Devereux 1937, 419); Yavapai (Gifford 1936, 318; also Gifford 1932 b, 233 ?); Walapai (see above, p. 103); Cochiti (see above, p. 141 note 94). See also Alexander, op.cit., 276, 281.

[8] See above, p. 394.

[9] See above, pp. 32 note 79, 373 sq.

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no clear conception of the forms taken by the body-soul and the free-soul after death, and that they have discussions among themselves as to which soul is the life-form of the deceased.[10] The Wind River Shoshoni hold various views as to which soul is the surviving soul; but they have in point of fact given very little thought to the problem. The natural answer to the question: who survives? is for them: the human being, the individual.[11] In the same way a Paviotso Indian declared that "when a person sees a ghost, he sees the individual himself, not his spirit or soul".[12] The conceptions of the Navajo on this point are very vague: now it is the one and now the other soul-entity that is declared to represent the human being after death, and in widely separated places. One Navajo Indian, however, asserted that at death "man—the symbol but not the body"—goes to the underworld.[13] The following communication by Voth concerning the corresponding notions among the Hopi Indians is of interest. As will be remembered, the Hopi believe in an unitary soul-principle, *hikvsi*.[14] "When asked whether it is this hikvsi or the deceased person that continues to live in the skeleton house (= the realm of the dead), the average Hopi may get confused. He knows that the body of the dead decays, and believes that it is by virtue or through the part that escapes from the body through the mouth at death, that the dead continue their existence in the future world. The details, with regard to this fact, are more or less vague in the mind of the Hopi, and vary considerably in the different traditions, clans and villages".[15] The remarkable thing here is that not even a clearly defined unitary soul-conception is unhesitatingly interpreted as the surviving entity.

In the majority of quarters, however, the identity between the soul (of the free-soul type) and the deceased has been established, as is finally to be expected when two conceptions so similar and so closely succeeding each other have been confronted with each other for any length of time. Linguistic data here and there show that the conceptions of the soul and the deceased have not only been connected with each other, but have also been referred to with the same term.[16] It does

[10] Rainey 1947, 271.
[11] Hultkrantz, op.cit., 26 sq.
[12] Kelly 1932, 199.
[13] Wyman, Hill & Osanai 1942, 14.
[14] See above, p. 142.
[15] Voth 1912, 99.
[16] See e.g. the Huron (Hewitt 1895, 114); Choctaw (Swanton 1931, 215 sq.); Winnebago (Radin 1923, 316); Dakota (Riggs 1893, 213; Riggs 1890, 320, 519);

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not appear probable to me that this intimate association existed from the outset.

The soul that offers the best points of contact with the deceased is of course the free-soul. From the psychological viewpoint the deceased is nothing other than a free-soul that has definitively freed itself from all physical bonds.[17] Let us briefly indicate some characteristics common to the two conceptions. Both the free-soul and the idea of the deceased have—if not visually then actually—their origin in the memories of living persons concerning relatives or acquaintances who have died.[18] Both conceptions give expression to the human being as a whole, though transferred to a spiritual plane, a reality "otherwise" constituted.[19] Both conceptions may in their active form represent man's consciousness, his ego—we abstract here from the strongly objectivized free-soul tending in the direction of the guardian spirit, in which form the free-soul does not easily become the individual's post-mortal ego, as we shall see in the following.[20] Of course these resemblances do not imply that there are not also differences: the deceased may be a demoniacal, power-charged being, which is something the free-soul does not often—and then to a far lesser extent—become; the deceased is sometimes endowed with a massive substantiality which the free-soul lacks, as it has not succeeded in banishing its physical prototype, the psycho-physical, living individual;[21] and finally, the deceased is more diffuse than the free-soul of the living person, as the remembered conception of him fades more and more. Among the Western Déné, for example, the free-soul is described as "a reflexion of the individual personality", whereas the spirit of the deceased comprises "the impalpable, dematerialized remnants of one's individuality".[22]

The resemblances between the conceptions of the ghost and the free-soul more or less facilitate the transition of the soul, i. e. that of the

Shasta (Dixon 1907, 468); Pomo (Gifford & Kroeber 1937, 203); Wintu and Nomlaki (Du Bois 1935, 77, 78; Goldschmidt 1951, 352, cf. Washington 1906, 144); Michahai Yokuts (Gayton 1948 II, 237). Among the Bear River the terms are now identical, though they were previously distinct (Nomland 1938, 93).

[17] Cf. Arbman, op.cit., 97.

[18] Cf. above, p. 20 note 11, and Arbman, op.cit., 100.

[19] Cf. above, p. 242.

[20] Concerning the consciousness of the deceased, cf. the examples adduced above, p. 436. Cf., however, also below, pp. 473 sq.

[21] Cf. above, p. 396.

[22] Morice 1911, 640.

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person himself, from the world of the living to the world of the dead. This transition is either direct, that is to say, automatic, unhindered, or else indirect, which is to say with a series of intermediate stages.

It is often possible to record a direct transition without perceptible change in the status of the active entity, an unhindered, natural "gliding" from free-soul to "death-being". A free-soul that during a fainting fit or state of unconsciousness (apparent death) has reached the realm of the dead is therewith a potential inhabitant of those regions, as much free-soul as ghost.[23] It automatically becomes a ghost when physical death is a fact, i. e. as a rule when the body-soul has also left its owner (§ 31). But also in those cases in which death occurs without the (free-)soul having had time to depart, a "gliding" of the kind mentioned above may be observed. When in such an event the recently deceased person manifests a fragile substance, one understands that the conception of the person has been formed according to the demands of the free-soul conception.[24]

The "indirect" transition of the free-soul to the sphere of death implies a successive adaptation between the conceptions of the free-soul and the ghost respectively, eliminating the particular features—especially in the free-soul conception—which may militate against the identification. The process goes forward in stages during the soul's journey to the realm of the dead. Without going into the details of this journey, each of whose separate phases would require a volume to itself, we may give an account of some phases in the process of mutation which illustrate the tendency of the conceptions of the free-soul or ghost to come to meet each other. To begin with, the soul marks its aloofness from the sphere of death by remaining for a period[25] in the body,[26] at the grave[27] or in the vicinity of its former home.[28] But gradually the soul looses its moorings to the corpse, takes its exit through, for example, the mouth or the fontanelle and surmounts—especially among the Central Algonquin—obstacles on the way, the latter frequently intended to reduce the remanent vital qualities of the deceased.[29] The "deader" a person is, the more easy and rapid is the

[23] See instances of the type given above, pp. 233, 436.
[24] See above, p. 396.
[25] As a rule four days and nights, but among e.g. the Tanaina, 40 days, among the Huron up to 12 years. Cf. also Bahnson 1882, 173, 213.
[26] See e.g. the Ingalik (Chapman 1907, 14).
[27] See e.g. the Ojibway (Densmore 1929, 74).
[28] See e.g. the Zuni (Stevenson 1904, 307).
[29] See e.g. above, pp. 215 sq.

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journey.[30] Among several Shoshone the soul *transforms itself* into a ghost, instead of becoming one automatically.[31] Among the Wintu we find a similar transformation if the free-soul prefers to become a wandering spook-ghost instead of an inhabitant of the realm of death.[32] This implies that the more substantial the conception of the deceased, the more the free-soul must be changed.

Also in these cases it is the free-soul which appears as the natural, adaptable entity that is able to continue the life of the individual *post mortem*. Every psychological probability supports the assumption that in the majority of cases of continuity between free-soul and ghost the conception of the free-soul has constituted the springboard, and not the conception of the deceased. As we have already tried to show, this naturally does not mean that in certain cases the way has not been paved for the opposite possibility by religious and philosophical speculation.[33]

We have spoken here of the *psychological* free-soul (cf. § 16). The surviving soul is of course most frequently the *specific* free-soul.[34] If by the surviving soul one means the soul which after the death of the body merges into the conception which chiefly represents the deceased person's post-mortal ego, viz. the deceased in the realm of the dead, a scrutiny of my data shows that in about 50 % of all cases it is the specific free-soul which is the surviving soul.[35] This does not mean that in 50 % of all cases the body-soul fulfils the same function. For in the first place several soul-entities may be represented in this rôle, as we shall see in the following; and in the second place, as has already been mentioned, in a large number of cases an undefined personality-entity has taken the place of the soul as the surviving factor.

But frequently enough the body-soul or one of the body-souls is the surviving soul in the sense defined above. It should then be borne in mind, however, that this is not the original function of the body-soul. In a thoroughgoing primitive dualistic soul-belief the body-soul may, it is true, survive death; but it does not then represent the person's real personality.[36] Not even the breath sent out by the deity and in-

[30] See e.g. the Alsea (Drucker 1939, 99).
[31] The White Knife Shoshoni (Harris 1940, 66 note 21); Paviotso (Park 1938, 40); Las Vegas Paiute (Kelly 1939, 163 note 31; cf. above, p. 95).
[32] Du Bois 1935, 78.
[33] See above, pp. 30 sq.
[34] See also Arbman, op.cit., 121; Sapir 1949, 352.
[35] Here it is only the free-soul in a dualistic soul-conception that is referred to.
[36] See below. Cf. also Arbman, op.cit., 185 note 1, 198 sq.

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carnated in man (§ 14) represents man's ego after death.[37] The chief reason why the body-soul occurs as the bearer of man's existence in the next life is of course that over and above its normal functions in the body it has become an extra-physical soul, and as such has taken over the fundamental qualities of the free-soul.[38] One of the chief contributory causes of the body-soul's advance to surviving soul has undoubtedly been the, in some quarters, increasing distancing of the free-soul from its owner.[39] Psychologically, the deceased is in such cases still a continuation of the free-soul conception; but from the ideological viewpoint the surviving entity is a body-soul.

In some few cases the surviving principle of consciousness is an ego-soul, or a body-soul with predominantly ego-soul aspect. This is the case among the Ojibway on Parry Island,[40] and probably also among the Choctaw.[41] One might possibly adduce some further examples, but seen against the background of what is now known concerning them they strike one as rather dubious in this connection.[42] Finally, of course, we not infrequently find the ego-soul occurring as the surviving soul when combined with the free-soul to form one soul-conception: viz. among the Dakota (East Dakota and Oglala) and—in some measure—among the Creek.[43]

The chief reason why the ego-soul appears as the personality after death is, as far as I have been able to find, that in certain cases of disease connected with nervosity and mental illness it has during the person's lifetime constituted the lost soul-entity. In such cases of illness it is thus probably the pure ego-soul that is the lost potency among the Ojibway (and Wind River Shoshoni),[44] and the ego-soul combined with the free-soul that is the lost potency among (in addition to the

[37] Some Navajo Indians have, certainly, believed that after death the breath carries on the personality; but the connection is unclear (Wyman, Hill & Osanai, op.cit., 14 sq.). See further my viewpoints adduced above, p. 205. Cf. the African material (see e.g. Widengren 1945, 313 sq., 319).

[38] See above, pp. 78 sq., and §§ 16, 30.

[39] See above, pp. 247 sq.

[40] Jenness 1935, 18, 107, 110; cf. Jenness 1932, 279 note 3.

[41] Swanton 1931, 216; cf. my interpretation, above, pp. 88 sq.

[42] Cf. the Wind River Shoshoni (Hultkrantz 1951, 26, 29); Eastern Pomo (Loeb 1926, 290); Navajo (Wyman, Hill & Osanai, op.cit., 11, 15). Perhaps also the Seminole (Greenlee 1944, 319).

[43] The Eastern Dakota (Lynd 1889, 155); Oglala (Walker 1917, 86 sq.); Creek (Hewitt & Swanton 1939, 157). The Menomini and Sauk have the same extended ego-soul conception, but without connecting it with the existence of the personality after death. For the Menomini, see Skinner 1913, 85, Skinner 1921, 43 sq.; for the Sauk, see my hypothesis, above, p. 79.

[44] See above, p. 287 note 298.

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foregoing?) the Oglala.[45] It is not improbable that the possible occurrence of the ego-soul as surviving soul among some other peoples is connected with the fact that the free-soul as guardian soul has arrived at a remove from the individual and can thus not carry on his existence (cf. below).

More frequently than is the case with the ego-soul, the life-soul or an undifferentiated body-soul is the surviving soul. Thus it occurs in this capacity among the North-west Athapascans,[46] the Central Algonquin[47] and the Yuman peoples,[48] possibly also among some of the Coast Salish.[49] Possible but uncertain instances may be adduced from a Shoshone tribe[50] and from the South Athapascans.[51] A rapid survey shows that the uniformity within certain geographically adjacent groups must have an historical background, whether it is a matter of a common heritage or of diffusion.

The causes we have just found decisive for the functioning of the ego-soul as surviving soul have also been active in this case. Among several of the Yuman peoples the life-soul appears to be the surviving soul, since it also disappears in connection with serious illness.[52] This means that the soul which is temporarily lost in case of illness combined with loss of consciousness has evidently been regarded as the soul which after definitive death continues the individual's existence.[53] Among some other groups the distancing of the free-soul from its owner has undoubtedly resulted in the representation of the surviving individual by the life-soul: this is the case among the Coyukon, Bella Coola, Fox and (possibly) the Eastern Mono.[54] When among the Wind River Shoshoni religious speculation has endeavoured to bridge over the gulf between the souls of the living person and the spirit of the deceased, the life-soul has been taken as the connecting entity, and not the free-soul,

[45] See above, p. 286 note 295.

[46] The Coyukon (Jetté 1911, 100, 102); Ingalik (Chapman 1921, 307); Tanaina ? (Osgood 1937, 170).

[47] The Menomini (Skinner, op.cit., loc.cit.); Sauk (Keating 1825 I, 232); Fox (Michelson 1925, 358); possibly also the Plains Cree (Skinner 1914, 76; see above, pp. 81 sq.).

[48] The Kamia (Gifford 1931, 70 sq., 81); Yuma (Forde 1931, 179); Cocopa (Gifford 1933 b, 303, 306); Maricopa (Spier 1933, 296); Havasupai (Spier 1928, 275); Walapai (see above, p. 103).

[49] The Bella Coola (McIlwraith 1948 I, 98, 495, 497; Jenness 1932, 341 note 1); Cowichan (Boas 1894 b, 461).

[50] The Eastern Mono (Steward 1933, 307).

[51] The Jicarilla Apache (Opler 1936, 222); Navajo (Wyman, Hill & Osanai, op.cit., 14 sq.).

[52] The Cocopa, Yuma, Maricopa: see above, p. 283 note 276.

[53] See e.g. Gifford 1931, 71, 81.

[54] See § 25.

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which on account of its development to a guardian spirit has been removed from its original function.[55] A third cause of the representation of the personality after death by the life-soul may be that the material structure of the deceased coincides with that of the breath.[56]

Finally, in some few cases we find that the deceased is constituted by all the souls he has had during his life-time. We find a typical case of a post-mortal fusion of the souls in a dualistic soul-composition among the Tübatulabal.[57] And an equally typical instance of a fusion of all the souls in a more elastic pluralistic soul-belief is seen among the Quileute.[58] Matthews' notes on the Hidatsa soul-belief provide us with just as classical an instance of the way the deceased becomes from the ideological viewpoint the bearer of all the components in a shamanistically constructed soul-pluralism.[59]

The third and last of the above-formulated problems refers to the extent to which there is any correspondence between the different souls of the living person and the different forms of existence taken by the deceased.

"The deceased" is a conception including many different forms of existence and manifestation.[60] Among these may be noted especially the deceased as a spirit in the realm of the dead, as a grave-ghost or wandering spook-ghost (revenant), as theriomorphic being and as reincarnated in a new individual.[61] It is no more than natural if religious speculation has found links between the numerous souls during the lifetime of the individual and the many manifestations of the deceased. A number of investigators have even considered that these links existed from the outset, that in other words the forms of the death-belief have been projected upon the soul-belief, or the forms of the soul-belief have been projected upon the death-belief.[62]

We have been able to observe that it is only in certain cases in which religious speculation has presumably been intensively active that artifici-

[55] Hultkrantz, op.cit., 27, 32 sqq., 41 sq. It should, however, be borne in mind that among the Wind River Shoshoni the life-soul is also the escaped soul in states of unconsciousness, and that the foregoing explanation is thus also applicable here (cf. above, p. 283, note 276).

[56] See especially the Tanaina. Cf. above, p. 205.

[57] Voegelin 1938, 62. Cf. also the White Mountain Apache (Goodwin 1938, 36); Bella Coola (McIlwraith, op.cit., 495).

[58] Frachtenberg 1920, 334 sqq.

[59] Matthews 1877, 50; see also Curtis 1909 IV, 143 sq. Cf. also the Omaha (Dorsey 1894, 420 sq.); Kamia (Gifford 1931, loc.cit.).

[60] Cf. Arbman, op.cit., 115 sq.

[61] Cf. Straubinger 1937, 406 sq.

[62] See above, pp. 30 sqq., 31 note 77 (James, Boas).

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al soul-conceptions have been created to correspond to the forms in which the deceased may manifest himself,[63] or else that one of these forms has been adapted as a soul.[64] But this, as I say, in exceptional cases. Still less common is it for the forms in which the deceased may be manifested to emanate from the forms of the soul-belief. The varying conceptions of the deceased have their origin in quite other factors than the conceptions of the plural souls in the living individual. It is, however, probable that when these separate chains of conception have been brought close to each other by speculative agency it has in the majority of cases been the forms of the soul-belief and not those of the death-belief that have been normative: by being associated to the soul-conceptions the conceptions of the deceased have become fixed, have "stiffened", become permanent. The forms in which the dead person manifests himself, which have all originally been associated with each other as manifestations of the same being, become through their association with the soul-belief several different persons. This must be self-evident, inasmuch as the different manifestations of the deceased continue the existence of individual souls (see below).

At this point we are confronted with the problem as to which of these manifestations carries on the ego-consciousness of the earlier living individual. A detailed analysis of the North American ethnographical conceptions of or connected with the dead[65] has shown that the deceased in the realm of the dead is always considered to continue the existence and the consciousness of the dead person (even if the latter attribute is manifested in a changed form).[66] The same person can thus, in genuine belief, not at the same time figure in two realms of the dead (I am here of course thinking of the belief held by one and the same individual).[67] In naive belief the ghost remaining at the grave or other places in the vicinity of the living may be taken as the adequate form of expression for the deceased himself, especially as the dead person is sometimes conceived as returning to the living.[68] If, however, the connection between soul and spook-ghost be emphasized, the latter appears only as a distorted by-product, a remote echo of the departed individ-

[63] See above, pp. 30 sq.
[64] See above, pp. 116, 116 note 2.
[65] The material referred to cannot be presented in this connection, but I hope to give an account of it in a subsequent work on North American eschatology.
[66] Cf. above, p. 469.
[67] Cf. above, pp. 31 sq.; but see also p. 32 note 78.
[68] He is, moreover, sometimes bound to the earth for a certain period after death as a spook-ghost, and this although a "regular" spook form has already begun to appear; cf. e.g. the Huron. Cf. above, p. 468.

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ual, not as his real ego, his personality.[69] About the same applies to the other forms of the deceased as to the spook-ghost: according to the degree of reflection and to the occurrence of definite associations to one of the souls of the living individual they are understood as being more or less identical with him.[70]

This brief orientation will prove useful in the following survey.

Earlier investigators have tried to fix the connection between the souls of the living person and the different forms of existence assumed by the dead. To James it is evident that the deceased in the realm of the dead is an isolated, specific conception, separate from the soul-substance of the living; the latter transmigrates, remains in the body, or goes to the supreme God.[71] Schmidt is of the opinion that in animistic matrilineal religion in North America the breath goes to the sky-god, the shadow-soul to the underworld.[72] And Walk considers that the image-soul goes to the realm of the dead, while the body-soul succumbs with the body.[73]

The matter is, however, more complicated than these writers are willing to make out. But if we proceed on the assumption that there are one or several souls and that the forms in which the deceased is manifested are always more than one, we can include the different possible combinations in two great main groups.

A. Only one of the souls survives, and it continues its existence in all the different forms in which the deceased is manifested.

1. In soul-dualism. As typical examples we may choose the soul-conceptions of the Carrier and Yuma. Among the Carrier the free-soul of the deceased goes to heaven (etc.), while the life-soul is extinguished.[74] Among the Yuma the free-soul is extinguished, while the body-soul, divided up into several potencies, transmigrates to animals or goes to the realm of the dead.[75] The normal—and, we may rest assured, primitive—belief was evidently that of the dual souls the free-soul went on living, while the life-soul disappeared.[76] In many cases we are told in detail of the fate of the free-soul after death, while the fate of the opposed body-soul is not mentioned at all (type-example: the Sinkaietk).

[69] See e.g. Converse 1908, 86 (the Iroquois); Wyman, Hill & Osanai, op.cit., 11, 15 (the Navajo).

[70] In connection with the whole of the above discussion, see also above, pp. 32 sq.

[71] James 1927, 338, 347, 354. Cf. above, p. 25.

[72] Schmidt 1935 VI, 79. Cf. above, p. 17.

[73] Walk 1938, 191.

[74] Morice 1889, 158 sq.; Morice 1906, 209; Jenness 1943, 535 sq.

[75] Forde 1931, 179; Spier 1936, 21.

[76] That is to say, it loses its actuality when its limited functions have ceased (see above, p. 435).

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In other cases there are indications that this soul (as a rule the life-soul) dies with the body, or travels out into space, or simply disappears.[77] The disappearance may imply, as we have seen in § 14, that the breath of life returns to its origin, to the deity from which it proceeded. Thus Walker writes that among the Oglala the life-soul, "the ghost", after death "returns whence it came and is no more".[78] But in another connection Walker informs us that "the ghost returns to the stars", "the ghost goes to where Skan got it", "the ghost is like smoke and it goes upward until it arrives at the stars".[79] Herewith, however, the life-soul is obviously effaced as an individual entity.

2. In four-soul pluralism. The type-example here may be taken from the Mohave. The latter imagine that after death the foremost, "real" free-soul appears as a spook-ghost or being in the realm of the dead, while the two "power-souls" and the "soul which forebodes death" succumb when the corpse is burned.[80]

3. In monism. The unitary soul of the Nomlaki may after death occur as a grave-ghost, wandering spook or celestial being.[81] One might here of course suspect that a previous dualistic soul-belief had distributed the post-mortal forms of existence among different souls. In the case here under discussion, however, this is probably out of the question, since the "dualistic" Wintu, who are closely akin to the Nomlaki, allow the free-soul to appear after death both as a being in the land of the dead and as a crassly conceived, earth-bound revenant.[82]

B. Several souls survive and continue their existence in different manifestations of the deceased. It is here generally a matter of souls in a dualistic soul-constellation.

Two features characterize these cases: only two of the dual souls survive, viz. the free-soul and one of the body-souls (unless one of the body-souls is identical with the free-soul or the other body-soul); and the one of these souls—generally the free-soul—is destined for the realm of the dead.[83] The contrary soul becomes a grave or spook

[77] The life-soul disappears or succumbs on the death of the body: the Mackenzie Eskimo ? (Jenness 1922, 177); the Eskimo at Bering Strait (Nelson 1899, 422); Western Déné (Morice 1889, 158; Jenness 1943, 535); Choctaw ? (Bushnell 1909, 28 sq.); Winnebago ? (Radin 1948, 53); Dakota (Lynd 1889, 155; concerning the Oglala, see further in the text); Wintu (Du Bois 1935, 79); North-eastern Yavapai (Gifford 1936, 318).

[78] Walker 1917, 87.

[79] Walker, op.cit., 155 sq. Concerning Skan, see above, p. 199.

[80] Devereux 1937, 418 sq. Cf. above, pp. 124 sq.

[81] Goldschmidt 1951, 352.

[82] Du Bois, op.cit., 77 sqq. The Wintu have, on the other hand, two free-souls.

[83] Exceptions: a number of the Ojibway, see further below, p. 478; as well as

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ghost (which is the general rule), is reincarnated in a new person, transmigrates to animals or, as among the Bella Coola, goes also to the realm of the dead.[84] We shall discuss each of these possibilities in turn.

The fundamental opposition after death exists between the soul which goes to the realm of the dead and the soul which becomes a grave-ghost or a wandering spook-ghost. As a rule, the spirit which goes to the realm of the dead is a specific free-soul and a representative for the ego-consciousness of the individual, whereas "the ghost" is constituted by a body-soul and only loosely represents the deceased individual. The puzzle between the soul-forms and the forms in which the deceased is manifested offers the following combinations:

1. The free-soul becomes a spirit, the life-soul a ghost. Type-examples: the Algonquin, Ojibway.[85] All the relevant certain instances belong to the eastern areas: the Delaware, Huron, Iroquois, Yuchi. The uncertain instances are to be found more to the west: the Mandan, Coeur d'Alène and Navajo.[86]

2. The ego-soul becomes a spirit, the free-soul a ghost. Type-example: the Ojibway on Parry Island.[87] The Choctaw, and possibly also the Plains Cree, furnish us with instances of the same kind. The distribution is thus possibly much the same as in the case of the foregoing group.

3. The life-soul becomes a spirit, the free-soul a ghost. Type-example: the Fox.[88] Other instances may be adduced from the Menomini and Sauk (among whom the free-soul also appears to be an ego-soul), the Maricopa and Walapai, perhaps also the Tanaina and Cowichan. The tendency to a westerly distribution is striking.

Of the theoretically possible fourth combination, according to which the free-soul becomes a spirit and the ego-soul a ghost, I have found no actual instance.

The above groupings have here been tentatively localized to definite geographical areas, although it must be admitted that the instances are not sufficiently numerous and unequivocal to motivate definite

possibly the Point Hope Eskimo, whose uncertainty in regard to the fate of the souls we have touched upon above, pp. 465 sq.

[84] As we have earlier pointed out, we have here probably to do with a fusion between two traditions (see above, p. 32 note 78).

[85] JR XVI, 191; Schoolcraft 1860 V, 79; De Smet 1905, 1075. Cf. Brinton 1868, 236, Tylor 1871 II, 27.

[86] The sources for the Navajo that have here been used are Matthews 1897, 38, Alexander 1916, 156.

[87] Jenness 1935, 18, 20.

[88] Michelson 1925, 358, 359.

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conclusions concerning either the geographical distribution or (assumptions founded thereupon concerning) historical sequence.[89] The following sketch should therefore be taken as an hypothetical résumé of the course of development: When a primitive dualistic soul-form is coupled with the post-mortal forms of existence, the free-soul becomes the surviving soul while the body-soul disappears, dies or loses its actuality. Secondarily, the life-soul is connected with the "ghost", the revenant, as is the case especially in eastern North America. In other parts of the continent the free-soul is the ghost, while the ego-soul or the life-soul becomes the spirit of the deceased. The two body-souls have here changed places with the free-soul; we have already tried to explain the causes of this in the foregoing.[90]

If after death one of the dual souls is reincarnated in a new person or transmigrates to an animal, we should bear in mind that to the same soul is generally ascribed in addition to this—and as an expression for another line of conception—the fate of being a spirit in the realm of the dead, a grave-ghost or a spook-ghost. Among the Huron, for example, the free-soul goes to the realm of the dead or transmigrates to the turtle-dove, while the life-soul becomes a grave-ghost or is reincarnated in a new being. Thus according to the direction taken by the attention, the free-soul of the deceased will appear as a dove on earth or as a being in the realm of the dead.[91] Only among the Eskimo of Baffin Land, the Haida and Kikimai Papago, do we find the rebirth in a person or animal as the life-soul's only alternative, but this is perhaps because the sources give such scanty information.[92] As a rule, it is the life-soul (the body-soul) that is reincarnated or that transmigrates; in some cases, however, the free-soul is mentioned.[93]

We find a remarkable division of the souls after death among the Bella Coola.[94] While the free-soul and the life-soul (i. e. the main part of the life-soul?) combined as a single entity betake themselves to heaven, the shadow, the body and a part of the life-soul journey to the underworld.[95] The life-soul also disintegrates in such a way that "its constituent parts likewise undergo transformation. The one situated in the feet remains with the corpse and disintegrates; that located in

[89] Cf. the similar difficulties met with in § 10.
[90] See above, pp. 470 sq., 471 sq.
[91] JR X, 287.
[92] See Boas 1901—07, 130, and above, p. 329; Swanton 1905 b, 34; Gifford 1940, 166.
[93] Macfie's assertion that according to the Ojibway the body transmigrates can scarcely be correct (Macfie 1944, 14).
[94] Concerning the eschatology of the Bella Coola, see above, p. 32 note 78.
[95] McIlwraith, op.cit., 495, 497.

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the legs enters a wolf and nothing more is known of its fate; no one knows what happens to the one situated in the body. The part in the throat, including the voice, enters an owl".[96] It is probable that this confusing picture of man's post-mortal fate has been brought about by overlappings of tradition. Drucker's statement that none of the souls, but the shadow, becomes a spook-ghost among the Bella Coola,[97] may be suitably compared with Teit's communications from several Plateau Salish, according to which the ghost constitutes the soul's (i. e. the free-soul's) shadow.[98]

We cannot here go into the question of the subsequent fate of the different souls after the stabilization of their manifestations after death. The course of events unfolds according to, inter alia, social and ethical principles of differentiation. The forms of existence taken by the deceased change shape or succumb. The changes may take place rather soon after death. This is especially the case among the Ojibway on Parry Island, who are able to decide the fates of the various souls after death according to the age and occupation of the deceased and the manner in which he met his death. The ego-soul of the wicked sorcerer succumbs on its way to the realm of the dead, but his shadow-soul—the ghost, wraith—goes on. The unburied and the too early deceased do not reach the realm of the dead, but their ego-soul, like the shadow-soul, becomes a spook-ghost on earth.[99]

Our enquiry has shown that the free-soul and the life-soul are often mentioned as surviving soul-entities, while the ego-soul occurs more rarely in this connection. A survey of the fates incurred by the individual souls gives the following results.

Over the whole continent the free-soul is commonly destined for the realm of the dead, except among the Central Algonquin, the Yuman tribes and a few marginal groups (the Coyukon, Cowichan, Choctaw). Among these peoples it often appears instead as an earth-bound ghost;[100] among the Yuma, possibly also among the Walapai, it is destroyed. In a couple of cases the free-soul is reincarnated or it transmigrates. In a couple of cases its fate, unlike that of other souls, has been forgott-

[96] McIlwraith, op.cit., 99 sq.
[97] Drucker 1950, 290.
[98] See the Shuswap (Teit 1909, 611); Lillooet (Teit 1906, 286); Thompson River (Teit 1900, 358).
[99] Jenness 1935, 108.
[100] Also the free-soul that becomes a being in the realm of the dead sometimes appears as such a ghost.

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en. Among the Wind River Shoshoni the free-soul returns to the Creator.[101]

The ego-soul is in most cases forgotten. In some cases it is said to go to the realm of the dead (the Ojibway, Muskhogean tribes, Sioux). Jenness mentions that among the Carrier "the mind probably persisted after death, though whether it then became identified with the shadow (-soul), or what happened to it, the natives held to be quite uncertain".[102] It is rare for the ego-soul to become a spook-ghost, and there is never any talk of its being destroyed.

The life-soul is seldom forgotten. We are rather frequently told of its being destroyed, disappearing, turning into air, merging with the wind or even with the Supreme Deity—it is, as we have found, generally identical with the breath. In many cases the life-soul is reincarnated or it transmigrates. Among the Central Algonquin, the Yuman tribes and a number of marginal groups in the north-west (the Athapascans, Coast Salish) it is the life-soul that goes to the realm of the dead. Finally, the life-soul occurs in many cases as a grave-ghost, spook-ghost.

The typical post-mortal rôle of the free-soul as a being in the realm of the dead has been discussed in detail earlier in the present section. It remains for us to discuss the typical form in which after death the life-soul and the undifferentiated body-soul, when they survive, are manifested, the earth-bound "ghost".

The identification of the life-soul with the spook-ghost is doubtless in many quarters a natural consequence of the fact that the free-soul had already been combined with the other post-mortal main figure, the deceased in the realm of the dead. The life-soul therewith automatically becomes a ghost, is referred to, indeed, even during the lifetime of the individual as "the ghost".[103] That wandering ghost, especially, which is not bound to the corpse and yet nevertheless incarnates the life-soul, probably belongs here.[104] Now the free-soul, as we have seen above, is sometimes a spook-ghost. Even if, as among the Fox, it may sometimes be connected with the dead body, this relation is nonetheless more characteristic for the life-soul. The life-soul's post-mortal dependence upon the body is, like its extinction on the death or decay of the body, a consequence of its intimate attachment to the body

[101] Hultkrantz, op.cit., 30. According to some Wind River Shoshoni, however, it is the life-soul that goes to God (Hultkrantz, op.cit., 21). Cf. also § 28.

[102] Jenness 1943, 535 sq. Cf. similar pronouncements from the Wind River Shoshoni (Hultkrantz, op.cit., 26, 29).

[103] This is the case among the Quileute (Frachtenberg, op.cit., 334) and, curiously enough, also among the Oglala (Walker 1917, 87, 89).

[104] See e.g. the Bella Coola (McIlwraith, op.cit., 688).

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already during the lifetime of the individual.[105] If among the Coeur d'Alène or the Mandan the life-soul continues to stay near the grave, or if among the Eastern Dakota it "remains with or near the body" (Lynd), this reflects its attachment during the lifetime of the body. The life-soul can, after death, even continue its existence in the corpse. Sometimes it is said that it does not leave the dead body until long after death.[106] Sometimes it remains for a longer period in its disintegrating abode, as is reported from, amongst others, the Algonquin, Ojibway, Huron and Yuchi. Among several tribes, especially in the Southwest, the life-soul even retains its old function as the force behind movement and vital action: it occurs here as the propelling force in the revenant.[107] Thus even after the death of the individual the life-soul tries to assert its accustomed functions.

[105] See above, p. 156.

[106] See e.g. the Seminole (Greenlee 1944, 319); Maricopa (Spier 1933, 296); Papago (Gifford 1940, 166).

[107] See above, p. 408 note 89. Instances from the Iroquois (Hewitt 1895, 108, 114, Converse 1908, 86, Curtin & Hewitt 1918, 95 sq.—cf. above, p. 167); Wind River Shoshoni (Hultkrantz, op.cit., 22); Navajo (Matthews 1897, 38); San Juan (Parsons 1926, 28 sq.); Zuni (Parsons 1939 I, 231); Hano (Parsons, op.cit., 425).

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IX. SOUL-BELIEF AND RELIGIOUS EVOLUTION

Our account of the human soul in North American Indian popular belief in the foregoing arms us for an attack upon another comparative religious problem of wide scope, viz. the possibilities residing in soul-belief to develop into a belief in souls in other beings than man—and into a belief in higher divine beings.

The theory of such a development was, as we know, launched by Tylor. According to Tylor, from his belief in the human soul primitive man has gradually attained to a belief in spirits, demons and gods. This evolution has taken place in stages. To begin with, man has transferred the image he has made of his own soul to living and dead objects in his surroundings: animals, plants and things have been furnished with souls.[1] In a later stage the whole of the animistic belief in spirits has emerged from all these souls (or been "modelled" out of them).[2] The question which now arises is whether such a course of development is psychologically conceivable, and whether it has to any extent provably taken place anywhere.

We have earlier observed that in the form in which he advanced it Tylor's animistic evolutionary hypothesis is not tenable.[3] The chief objections are that the necessary pre-requisite for the whole of the process of evolution sketched above is a pluralistic-dualistic, and not a monistic, soul-concept, and that the emergence of divine and spiritual beings must always be dependent upon the conception of a supernatural power.[4] Seen from this viewpoint, animism—i. e. the belief in souls—is more a philosophical view than a religion.[5] Furthermore, Tylor has nowhere been able to adduce definitive and decisive proof of his theory;

[1] Tylor 1871 I, 422 sqq., 428 sqq., 430 sqq.
[2] Tylor, op.cit., II, 99 sqq.
[3] See above, p. 22.
[4] Tylor associates the origin of the belief in gods with, inter alia, ancestor cult, without realizing that the mainspring of the evolution must be the belief in the supernatural power. Cf. above, pp. 342 sq.
[5] Cf. Radin 1937, 198.

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he has not given any reliable instance of a factual or even conceivable progression from soul to spirit.

There are thus several reservations to be made against Tylor's evolutionistic view. This does not, however, mean that we must reject the general idea of the course of development from soul to spirit-being that he has brought forward. We cannot, it is true, like Tylor reconstruct an evolution leading from elementary belief in souls to monotheistic conceptions. But we may perhaps show that the possibility of an evolution from soul-belief to a belief in a certain type of supernatural beings does actually exist.

In a way we have already had positive information regarding such a development, viz. in our investigation of the origin of the guardian soul (§§ 22—25). We shall now examine the conditions for the emergence of a conception which is further removed from the actual conception of the soul and nearer to the belief in spirits proper, viz. the conception of the protector of animal species, the animal guardian. Our task will be at the same time to ascertain to what extent Tylor's arguments are applicable to the origin of this conception.

Like Tylor, we shall divide our investigation into two main parts. It will be our first task to find out to what extent Tylor's idea of an animation of Nature through analogy with the animation of the human being has a sufficiently sound foundation in reality. In other words, have the conceptions of the soul with which in the foregoing we have become acquainted as being characteristic for the primitive view of man's psychology also been applied to other living beings and to inorganic objects? In order to arrive at a solution of this problem we shall examine the North American material that may throw light upon it. Our second task presupposes that the answer to the above question has been satisfactory. With particular reference to the conception of the animal soul we shall discuss the conception of the "owner" and the form that this conception has assumed in the animal guardian. The problem concerns chiefly the extent to which the conception of the animal soul may afford clues for the interpretation of the conception of the animal guardian.

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33. *The animation of Nature*

In the following an account will be given of a representative part of the ethnographical material throwing light upon the North American Indians' conceptions of the animation of Nature. By the "animation of Nature" we mean here only the belief in the occurrence of individual souls in other beings than man and in natural objects (animism), and not the belief in the possession of conscious life by Nature or the phenomena of Nature (animatism).[1] The distinction between these two concepts must be maintained here, even if in certain actual cases it may seem unmotivated.[2]

No analysis of the animistic conceptions here in question has ever been undertaken. It is thus of importance that they should be presented in detail and be given an adequate classification. We may begin with an account of the material.

The Eskimo on Greenland have undoubtedly believed that animals, like men, possess souls. But the animals have not the whole set of souls with which man is equipped. There seem to be definite instances of the free-soul. Egede, as Thalbitzer reminds us, asserts that all living animals have a *tarrak*, and the little birds have the best *tarrak;* this *tarrak* is without doubt identical with the free-soul.[3] Cranz's note that the life-soul of a sick person may be replaced with the soul of a hare, a reindeer or a bird probably indicates that also life-souls have been ascribed to animals.[4] The souls which are missing appear to be those body-souls which in man bring out the aspects of the life of consciousness. Thalbitzer, who has made a detailed investigation of the soul-beliefs of the East Greenlanders, writes that "ce n'est que les hommes qui ont des âmes *tarniques* spéciales.[5] L'idée prédominante semblait être que les animaux n'ont ni d'âme ni d'intelligence; mais même ceux qui le croyaient, supposaient pourtant que les animaux ont quelque

[1] For instances of animatism in North America, see e.g. Alexander 1916, 91 (the Pawnee, Shawnee, Nez Percé), Densmore 1948, 95 sq. (Santo Domingo).

[2] It is sometimes difficult to draw the dividing-line between animism and animatism. The Nomlaki Indian says: "Everything in this world talks, just as we are now—the trees, rocks, everything. But we can't understand them" (Goldschmidt 1951, 348). Goldschmidt appears to interpret the pronouncement as an expression for an animistic view of Nature, but it may just as well illustrate the animatistic belief. Cf. further below, p. 510 note 79.

[3] Thalbitzer 1930 b, 88 sq.; cf. op.cit., 96. Cf. also above, p. 57!

[4] Cranz 1765 I, 257. Cf. above, p. 438.

[5] The last-mentioned expression seems to refer to the body-souls, the physical and psychic function-souls.

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chose répondant au *tarnik* humain".[6] My interpretation of the import of this pronouncement is that a free-soul has been ascribed to the animals; but they have presumably lacked the specialized ego-souls possessed by human beings.[7] In Angmagsalik it was therefore believed that the animals lacked souls of human character.[8]

Birket-Smith, who has investigated the religious conceptions among the Eskimo in the Egedesminde district, introduces into the discussion a new concept, *inua*. He distinguishes this concept from that of the soul and renders it as "vitality": the animal's *inua* is its vitality.[9] It must, however, be borne in mind that Birket-Smith is here not referring to any life-soul, but precisely the guardian spirit and species-soul best characterized with the designation animal guardian. Birket-Smith summarizes his knowledge of the soul-beliefs on Greenland as follows: "Also the old Greenlanders knew the soul. Man has a soul, and so have the animals, but the natural phenomena have no soul".[10]

The Iglulik have also believed in the existence of souls in animals and "in all living beings", but it is impossible to say whether the animal soul had the character of the free-soul or the body-soul—or both.[11] The same applies to the conception of the animal soul held by the Netsilik. "We believe", declared one of these Eskimo, "that there has been a time when there was not much difference between an animal's soul and a human's soul. All living things were very much alike".[12]

The soul-dualism we have noted earlier among the Eskimo at Point Hope occurred both in men and in animals. Thus also the animals had a free-soul and a life-soul.[13] Nelson reports that the Eskimo at Bering Strait "believe that everything, animate or inanimate, is possessed of a shade, having semihuman form and features, enjoying more or less freedom of motion . . ."[14] We have already pointed out that this conception, *inua*, is among these Eskimo both a free-soul and an animal guardian.[15] There is probably no doubt but that it is just as much the spiritual form of manifestation of the individual himself as it is a species-soul.[16] "The *inua* or shade of *every* animal is believed to possess

[6] Thalbitzer, op.cit., 88.
[7] Cf. the interpretation of *tarnik* given above, p. 57.
[8] Thalbitzer, op.cit., 89.
[9] Birket-Smith 1924, 439; cf. Thalbitzer, op.cit., 87.
[10] Birket-Smith, op.cit., 432.
[11] Rasmussen 1929, 58.
[12] Rasmussen 1931, 217; cf. op.cit., 214.
[13] Rainey 1947, 271. Cf. above, p. 60.
[14] Nelson 1899, 394.
[15] See above, p. 60.
[16] Cf. Lantis 1950, 320.

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semihuman form".[17] "*Inua* is supposed to represent the thinking part of the creature, and at death becomes its shade".[18] The animal soul mentioned among these Eskimo is thus best characterized as a free-soul.[19]

The Athapascans in Alaska and Canada, too, some of them the nearest neighbours of the West Eskimo, believe in the possession of souls by animals and objects.

Chapman mentions that the Ingalik believe in "the existence of souls in the lower animals and in inanimate objects", and that they have conceptions "with regard to the souls of bears and other animals, and also of inanimate objects".[20] Osgood's vocabulary from the Ingalik confirms the fact that not only animals, but also inanimate objects, for example the stones, are believed to have souls.[21] The soul of a stone is its "shadow".[22]

Concerning the soul-belief of the Coyukon, Father Jetté relates that the life-soul "is the exclusive privilege of human beings; animals, though they live, are not supposed to have any soul, much less plants. But the human soul may go to live, for a time, into an animal's body".[23] Since the animals have no life-soul, they are not found in the realm of the dead; the animals in that realm that are hunted by the dead belong to species unknown to the living; their fossil remains are to be found here and there in Alaska.[24] The life-soul, as we have found, is among the Coyukon the surviving soul.[25] The free-soul, again, "is not confined to the human species: many animals, some plants, some inanimate objects, and even some particular actions, are endowed with a spirit of this kind". This free-soul, however, does not belong to the individual, but is the soul of the species.[26] We shall find later that as such it has become a guardian spirit, and has secondarily been split up into several guardian spirits for different parts of the body.[27]

[17] Nelson, op.cit., 423. My italics.
[18] Nelson, op.cit., 394.
[19] Thalbitzer holds a different view (Thalbitzer, op.cit., 95).
[20] Chapman 1921, 301, 303, 304.
[21] Osgood 1940, 472.
[22] Among the Eskimo the *inua* of a stone is especially powerful; cf. Alexander, op.cit., 5.
[23] Jetté 1911, 100.
[24] Jetté, op.cit., 101.
[25] See above, p. 61 note 7, and pp. 471, 478.
[26] Jetté, op.cit., loc.cit.
[27] See below, p. 502.

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The Carrier "thought that animals possessed warmth, mind, and shadows equally with man; that they differed from man only in their corporeal forms, in possessing certain powers that man lacked, and in lacking other powers that man enjoyed".[28] The Chipewyan ascribe souls to animals in the same way as to men.[29]

Many of the tribes of the Northwest Coast firmly believed in the animation of Nature. "The dominating religious concept was", writes Goddard, "that bodies of men, animals, and plants, were the houses, canoes, or shells in which souls dwelt".[30] Goddard adduces an illustrative example from the Tsimshian: the salmon is the body of the anthropomorphous salmon-soul.[31]

Among the Kwakiutl, souls are ascribed to trees, bushes, birds, little and big animals.[32] In a Kwakiutl myth referred to mythical times we are told, inter alia: "The many spectators who were sitting on the floor of the great dancing-house—these people sitting on the floor of the great winter dancing-house were the souls of the trees and bushes, and the souls of all the birds and of the small creeping animals, for they are all human beings".[33] There is no doubt but that it is the free-soul that is here referred to.[34] How near the free-soul of the animal comes to the conception of the animal guardian among other peoples may be clearly seen from the fisherman's prayer to the silver salmon that he has killed: "We know that only your bodies are dead here, but your souls come to watch over us when we are going to eat what you have given us to eat now".[35] This rôle of guardian is, as we know, otherwise typical for the genius of the animal species.[36]

[28] Jenness 1943, 539 sq.; cf. op.cit., 560.
[29] Birket-Smith 1930, 79.
[30] Goddard 1945, 113 sq.
[31] Goddard, op.cit., 114.
[32] Boas 1940 a, 616.
[33] Boas 1921 II, 1220.
[34] Boas 1940 a, 615 sq. The conception, found in all parts of North America, that animals may also appear in the shape of human beings, is given a special interpretation in the above description: the human manifestation of the animal is represented as its soul. It is presumably the animal soul in human shape that figures in a frequently reproduced Haida drawing (Niblack 1890, 322 sq., Pl. LI, fig. 280). The double mask of the Northwest Coast—an animal mask over a human mask—symbolizes, as Wissler says, the "alternating personality" of the animal-being (Wissler 1946, 22). The inner mask, if our interpretation is correct, probably represents the animal's soul. This interpretation is supported by Kwakiutl belief and by Eskimo belief (Boas 1921 I, 715; Lantis 1950, 321; cf. also Krickeberg 1922, 134). A number of the Wakash, for the rest, refer to the soul of the human being as a "human mask" (Boas 1940 a, 615 sq.; cf. above, p. 257).
[35] Boas 1921 I, 612.
[36] Cf., however, the bear-cult; see below, p. 499.

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It should be mentioned that the Nootka, like the Iroquois, believed that animals might be "possessed" by human souls.[37]

"The Quileutes", says Frachtenberg, "believe that each human being, animal, and inanimate object possesses a plurality of souls which, upon the termination of the visible existence of their owners, go to the Country of the Souls".[38] Unfortunately, we are not told which souls were ascribed to the animals and to natural objects.

Like other Northwest peoples, the Salishan tribes on the coast and inland conceived of animals and plants as furnished with souls.

The Bella Coola believe that "when an animal is slain, it merely discards its visible self while its spirit ascends to the land above whence, in course of time, it comes down to earth again to reanimate a new body".[39] By "spirit" is meant here the free-soul. Thus the salmon has a free-soul which, in contradistinction to that of man, is fully visible.[40] Also trees have souls. "Some of the thoughtful older men hazard the opinion that every tree has mentality, whereas others say that it has a spirit. In former times especially, as one was falling, the cutters could occasionally see a dark object somewhat resembling an otter flash away and disappear. Not until then was the tree actually dead".[41] Inanimate objects, on the other hand, are soulless, so that "neither sticks nor stones can move".[42]

Several of the Inland Salish groups appear to have held similar beliefs. Teit writes that among the Lillooet "all objects, animate and inanimate, have souls. Some Indians say that all living things certainly have souls, but they doubt if inanimate objects have any".[43] We are here left in uncertainty as to the nature of the soul-conception—not only the animal soul, but also the human soul, is vaguely described (§ 6). It is, however, probably the free-soul that is here referred to. It is, too, obviously the latter that is described in Teit's report from the Thompson River Indians, where he writes that all living beings and also many dead objects are considered to have souls. Teit adds: "The souls of men, animals, plants, and inanimate objects, appear in the lower world as they did in ours at the time of their death".[44] As we have seen earlier,

[37] Sproat 1868, 173 sq.; cf. Converse 1908, 93 (the Iroquois).
[38] Frachtenberg 1920, 334.
[39] McIlwraith 1948 I, 75 sq.
[40] McIlwraith, op.cit., 94.
[41] McIlwraith, op.cit., 95. A striking parallel is afforded by, amongst others, the Cheremiss belief (Holmberg-Harva 1927, 188). See also the Ojibway (Jones 1861, 104) and Hidatsa (Matthews 1877, 48 sq.).
[42] McIlwraith, op.cit., 93.
[43] Teit 1906, 286.
[44] Teit 1900, 357; cf. Boas 1906, 223.

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the Thompson Indians probably believed in a dualism between free-soul and life-soul.[45] There is no doubt but that it is the free-soul which constitutes the surviving soul among this people.

In contradistinction to other Salish, the Sinkaietk did not believe in animal souls. Cline points out that both land-animals and birds probably lacked the breath-soul; "though a chicken's breath was called by the same term as a man's, 'it was not the same' ".[46] Evidently the animals also lacked the surviving soul.[47] Or is it incautious to base conclusions upon the pronouncements of the informant, whose attitude, according to the text, was sceptical and negative?

The Kootenay believe in the existence of souls—Chamberlain calls them "spirits"—in "everything animate and inanimate". Even "little stones, bits of rag, shavings of wood" have souls, of two kinds; but the character of these souls is not clearly indicated in our source. The observation that they "can go anywhere, through glass, wood, or any substance, as through air" seems to be a more or less definite indication of the conception of the free-soul.[48]

The conviction of the Algonquin tribes that not only man, but the whole of Nature, is animated by souls is testified to in the seventeenth century by the Jesuit fathers. In his relation of the events in New France in the year 1634, Le Jeune remarks that the Montagnais "persuade themselves that not only men and other (!) animals, but also all other things, are endowed with souls, and that all the souls are immortal; they imagine the souls as shadows of the animate objects..."[49] Concerning the life of the dead in the world beyond the grave a Montagnais Indian observed, inter alia, the following: "They hunt for the souls of Beavers, Porcupines, Moose, and other animals, using the soul of the snowshoes to walk upon the soul of the snow, which is in yonder country; in short, they make use of the souls of all things, as we here use the things themselves".[50] It is of course the surviving soul —and in this case the free-soul—that is described in this way.

According to Le Clercq, the Micmac, linguistic neighbours of the Montagnais, had similar conceptions. This assertion, unfortunately, may be largely due to the fact that Le Clercq plagiarized Le Jeune's

[45] Cf. above, p. 66.
[46] Spier 1938, 168.
[47] Spier, op.cit., 169.
[48] Chamberlain 1893, 559.
[49] JR VI, 175. Cf. Speck 1935 a, 76, 97.
[50] JR VI, 179.

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work.[51] For the sake of completeness, however, we shall give here Le Clercq's account of the conceptions in question. The Micmac believe, he says, that "there is in every thing, even in such as are inanimate, a particular spirit which follows deceased persons into the other world, in order to render them as much service after death as these had received therefrom during life". Among the spirits are mentioned "spirits of moose, beavers, dogs, canoes, and snowshoes".[52] Le Clercq finds that the circumstance that every object is conceived as being furnished with a soul has been responsible for the custom of burying objects with the dead person, so that they may serve him in the country beyond the grave.[53]

Harrington declares that among the Delaware Indians "an animal was supposed, like a man, to have a spirit or soul of its own".[54] In connection with the gathering of medicinal herbs, many of the Indians used to pray "to the presiding genius of the species of plants they sought, or to the spirit of the individual plant itself".[55] The conception of the free-soul is what here jumps first to one's mind.

The Central Algonquin assumed the existence of more than one soul for man and at least one soul for other living beings. "It was thought", writes William Jones, "that every living creature possessed a soul, and that to get control of the soul made it possible to get control of the possessor of the soul. It was on such a theory that the Ojibwas hunted for game".[56] We recognize here the conception of the free-soul. Probably the animals among the Ojibway at Lake Huron had both ego-soul and shadow-soul, since even rocks and stones have these soul-entities.[57] The Sauk, too, appear to have believed that animals possess several souls. Thus Keating reports that "all animals are gifted with souls, as they are endowed with vitality".[58] "Vitality" here stands for the life-soul. The Fox ascribed souls to plants; at least, every individual tree had a soul.[59]

Among the Cheyenne the same soul which in the case of man is his shadow-soul is "also the shadow of any animate thing, as a man, horse, bird, or dog". But, on the other hand, "it is not the shadow of a tree,

[51] See above, p. 74 note 11.
[52] Le Clercq 1910, 209, 213 sq.
[53] Le Clercq, op.cit., 212. This animistic hypothesis is thus prior to Tylor's!
[54] Harrington 1921, 50.
[55] Harrington, op.cit., 51. Cf. Heckewelder 1821, 437.
[56] Jones 1906, 146.
[57] Jenness 1932, 168 note 1.
[58] Keating 1825 I, 232.
[59] Michelson 1927, 128 sq.

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a rock, or a building".[60] In the case of these latter objects the shadow has presumably no soul-character.

The Iroquoian tribes' belief in animal souls agrees, on the whole, with that of the Algonquin.

Concerning the Huron Brébeuf relates that "dogs, deer, fish, and other animals have, in their opinion, immortal and reasonable souls".[61] But for Brébeuf, it is true, several souls could be "reasonable".[62] In this case, however, when the soul is also described as "immortal", it is probably the free-soul that is referred to. Sagard's remark that the soul of the grave-gift accompanies the deceased in the other world would seem—if it is correct—to indicate that also dead objects were conceived to have free-souls.[63]

Like the Huron, the Iroquois believed in the possession of souls by other living beings than man. One of the Jesuit fathers, de Quens, mentions that the animals, like humans, have sensitive souls, i.e. life-souls, emotive souls—it would almost appear as if he meant that the animals lack other souls.[64] However, other sources ascribe to every individual animal a free-soul or surviving soul.[65] Or perhaps one ought not here to insist upon a distinction between individual and collective?[66] The notion of an animal soul of species-soul type may be faintly glimpsed behind Wolf's pronouncements. The animal soul, he says, "lived after the death of the body, could see how the body was treated and would act accordingly, either urging their living kin to permit themselves to be taken for food or urging them to escape the hunter".[67]

Some examples from the Southeast also fall within the scope of the complex of beliefs here under discussion. Concerning the Creek and Cherokee, Bartram relates that they "assert that a pattern or spiritual likeness of everything living, as well as inanimate, exists in another world".[68] It is not impossible, in my opinion, that Bartram has here drawn a picture of a collective of free-souls after the emancipation

[60] Grinnell 1923 II, 93.
[61] JR VIII, 121; cf. Kinietz 1940, 126.
[62] Cf. JR X, 287.
[63] Sagard-Théodat 1632, 234.
[64] JR XLII, 51.
[65] Wolf 1919, 44; Curtin & Hewitt 1918 I, 368. Cf. also above, p. 461.
[66] Cf. the discussion below, p. 500.
[67] Wolf, op.cit., loc.cit. In a Seneca legend adduced by Curtin we are told how the fruit-trees on either side of the road to the realm of the dead spoke to the travellers, admonishing them to come and taste (Curtin & Hewitt, op.cit., 253; cf. the Micmac, Le Clercq, op.cit., 209).
[68] Bartram 1853, 27.

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from their material foundation. When the Rev. Folsom writes of the Choctaw that "they believed that all animals had spirits", he obviously means that the individuals survive after death, as his examples taken from the death-cult show.[69] This does not, of course, exclude the possibility that these "spirits" also existed during the lives of the individuals in this world.

The Yuchi conceived the whole of Nature to be animated by spirits. "Inanimate objects, and even abstract ideas such as cardinal points and various feelings and deeds, are the abodes of agencies which we may call spirits... Plant spirits are highly powerful and important, according to the ideas of an agricultural people like this".[70]

Several of the Siouan tribes on the Plains believed in the animation of Nature.

Thus the Hidatsa believed that also the lower animals, the trees, the plants and stones possessed "a spirit, or, more properly, a *shade*".[71] The Crow Indian "Gray-Bull said that all animals have souls, that is why the Crow do not kill dogs. The sacred stones taken along on war expeditions also had souls. Another informant, however, denied that animals were believed to have souls".[72] The soul here referred to is in its character identical with the unitary soul in man.

Like the Hidatsa and Crow, the Dakota employ the word for shadow to designate "the human soul or spirit, as well as the spirit of all living beings".[73] "Their religious system gives to everything a spirit or soul", writes Lynd. "Even the commonest stones, sticks, and clays have a spiritual essence attached to them...".[74] The Dakota in Minnesota seem to have had a well-developed and differentiated soul-belief for certain animals, at all events for the bear. Thus Ph. Prescott reports: "As many as four souls inhabit one person, like a bear, which the Indians say has four spirits; and believe some other animals have souls".[75]

Concerning the Assiniboin, Denig remarks that unlike the majority of other tribes they drew a sharp dividing-line between men and animals; "reasoning powers and immortality are not ascribed to the brute creation". Did the animals also lack souls? Denig is vague on this point.

[69] Swanton 1931, 180.
[70] Speck 1909 a, 109. Cf. also the Natchez (above, p. 151 note 13).
[71] Matthews 1877, 48.
[72] Lowie 1922, 380. Cf. Lowie 1935, 250 sq., Lowie 1951, 38 sq.
[73] Riggs 1893, 213.
[74] Lynd 1889, 154.
[75] Schoolcraft 1853 III, 229. Cf. Eastman 1849, 182 note.

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Animals of all kinds are to be found in the realm of the dead, he declares, "though it does not appear that they are the souls of those which lived in this world".[76] The problem remains unsolved.

The most detailed account we have of the souls of animals comes from the Oglala. Among them *nagiya* is mentioned as a special type of soul, "immaterial selves of material things other than mankind".[77] This is presumably the soul-type that the Oglala Indian Sword had in mind when he said: "Every object in the world has a spirit and that spirit is *wakan*. Thus the spirit of the tree or things of that kind, while not like the spirit of man, are also *wakan*".[78] In what way, then, does *nagiya* differ from its counterpart in man, *nagi?* In several respects it shares the free-soul functions of the latter—e.g. in its ability to free itself from the body and in its metamorphous capacity. But, if we judge the matter aright, it is shamanistic speculation that has equipped *nagiya* with altogether special gifts. Amongst other things, *nagiya* can simultaneously be with its owner and possess another subject, e.g. a human being, whose nature is reminiscent of that of *nagiya's* owner. Presumably, the shamans have here made an identification between a thing's free-soul and its essence, which can be projected onto objects existing outside it, which hereby participate mystically in the thing in question.[79] Finally, Walker, to whom this information is due, mentions that "a thing may be caused by its *nagiya* to speak or act in a supernatural manner and to communicate with mankind".[80] It is evidently a matter of a free-soul which thanks to its independence has also developed into a guardian spirit (§ 25).

A Caddoan group living in the vicinity of the Siouan tribes, the Arikara on the upper Missouri, probably believed, as has been mentioned in the foregoing, in an unitary soul of a predominantly body-soul type, *síshu*.[81] "All animals have *síshu*, but not trees or other inanimate objects", writes Curtis.[82] Among the Pawnee, who are kinsmen of the Arikara, the free-soul—ego-soul is an entity which is possibly innate in all things, both living and dead.[83]

[76] Denig 1930, 499.
[77] This soul-conception comes rather close to *nagila*, "spirit-like", which is, however, an individual mystical extension, not a soul (see above, p. 294, note 7).
[78] Walker 1917, 152. Concerning *wakan*, see above § 22.
[79] See above, note 77.
[80] Walker, op.cit., 87.
[81] See above, pp. 134, 145.
[82] Curtis 1909 V, 64.
[83] Cf. above, p. 92.

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From the Shoshone (Basin) area, curiously enough, I have no definite instances showing that animals were conceived as having souls. From California, on the other hand, we have several instances. One of Spier's informants among the Klamath "said that all animals as well as men have souls".[84] The soul referred to here is an unitary soul. An unitary soul appears also among the Sinkyone, although, as we have already observed, it has a predominantly free-soul character.[85] It occurs not only in man. For "souls inhabited all rocks, trees, and animals. They went to the afterworld at death... All things animate and inanimate had souls; all animals and birds had at one time been people who were transformed because they disobeyed the taboos and regulations laid down by the creator. Souls appeared like shadows of their owners..."[86] The Wintu ascribe to the deer a body-soul of the same type as man's; "it is what gives them that wild look all the time".[87] And the Maidu appear to have believed that the animals possess free-souls.[88]

Some of the Yuman tribes of the Southwest have also some contributions to make in this connection. The Cocopa assumed that *loxachak*, the surviving soul—probably a body-soul, but temporarily acting as a free-soul during the lifetime of the individual—, also existed in animals. In the case of dead objects is was replaced by a special soul, *kwesabuh*, this, too, presumably a surviving soul. Trees, on the contrary, lacked souls. "They might, however, assume human form and address one, as for instance a shaman".[89] This, however, is animatism, not animism. The closely related Maricopa, on the other hand, believed that trees were animated by spirits. Presumably, according to the Maricopa, all beings had souls, though it is extremely difficult to define the precise conceptions in these matters.[90]

To judge from all the evidence, several of the Pueblo peoples conceived of animals and objects as having souls.[91] The Hopi Indians provide the best instances in this connection. "The universe is endowed with the same breath", one of them declared, "rocks, trees, grass, earth, all animals, and men".[92] When a Hopi prays to a supernatural being "he breathes his wish on meal and throws this meal to the god. The prayer bearer is thought to have a spiritual double or breath body which carries his wishes".[93]

[84] Spier 1930, 101. [85] Cf. above, p. 138. [86] Nomland 1935, 169.
[87] Du Bois 1935, 79. Concerning the Nomlaki, see above, p. 483 note 2.
[88] Dixon 1905, 259.
[89] Gifford 1933 b, 306. Cf. further above, pp. 100 sq.
[90] Spier 1933, 249.
[91] Cf. Parsons 1939 I, 197 sq.
[92] Stephen 1936, 706. [93] Fewkes 1895, 689.

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In the foregoing we have considered a selection of instances of the belief in the animation of Nature among the Indians of North America. There is reason to assume that the complex of beliefs here in question has been far commoner than our direct data would indicate.[94] The lack of instances from the Shoshone Indians must thus be due to the incompleteness of our source-material. One is frequently tempted to make use of a material that appears indirectly to give certain indications of value for our problem; but their value as proof is on the whole slight.[95] In an earlier connection we have seen that an emanatistic speculation concentrated about the breath-soul has existed in large parts of North America (§ 14). In certain cases, as we have seen, this speculation has taken a pantheistic trend. For this reason one ought to be able to expect that the bearers of this speculation also believed in the possession of souls by other beings than man. One cannot always claim, however, that this has been the case, for it is impossible to reconstruct the actual belief from the logical necessity.

The belief in the animation of Nature has, as far as our data may be trusted as a guide, been of general occurrence in North America. It should, however, be borne in mind in this connection that plants, and especially inanimate natural objects, have as compared with animals less frequently been considered to possess souls. The results of investigation may be summarized in the following way.

1. Natural objects of lifeless matter are reported to possess souls among the Eskimo at Bering Strait, the Ingalik, Coyukon, several peoples on the Northwest Coast, the Quileute, Lillooet, Thompson River, Kootenay, Montagnais, Micmac, Ojibway, Huron, Creek and Cherokee ?, Yuchi, Hidatsa, Crow (for sacred stones), Dakota (amongst others the Oglala), Pawnee, Sinkyone, Cocopa, Pueblos (amongst others the Hopi). In all of these cases we note souls of the free-soul type; among the Quileute, Kootenay and Ojibway other souls as well. It is thus probable that also lifeless objects have been considered to possess dual souls. We know definitely that among the Coyukon natural objects lack a life-soul. On Greenland, among the Bella Coola, Cheyenne and Arikara, they are without any kind of soul.

2. Plants are reported to possess souls among the Eskimo at Bering Strait, the Ingalik, Coyukon, several Northwest Coast tribes, e.g. the

[94] Birket-Smith has made a collection of data, but with a wider aim than that of the summary we have given above. See Birket-Smith & de Laguna 1938, 505 note 2.

[95] It is, for example, possible, though by no means proven, that the rich material concerning the bear-cult in North America gives information regarding the occurrence of the belief in animal souls. Cf. below, p. 499.

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Kwakiutl, Quileute and Bella Coola, among the Lillooet, Thompson River, Kootenay, Montagnais, Micmac, Delaware, Ojibway?, Fox, Huron, Creek and Cherokee?, Yuchi, Hidatsa, Dakota?, Pawnee, Sinkyone, Maricopa, Pueblos (amongst others the Hopi). In all of these cases we find souls of the free-soul type; among the Quileute, Kootenay and possibly also the Ojibway other souls as well, which indicates the existence of dual souls. Among the Coyukon, plants lack a life-soul, while they are without any kind of soul at all among the Eskimo on Greenland, the Cheyenne, Arikara and Cocopa.

3. Belief in the animal soul has occurred with the same even geographical distribution as the belief in the plant soul and the soul ascribed to lifeless objects.[96] It has, however, been far commoner, even if not so general as Tylor wished to make out.[97] A dualism between body-soul and free-soul is observable among the Eskimo on Greenland, the Eskimo at Point Hope, the Carrier, Quileute, Kootenay, Ojibway?, Sauk, Iroquois. In this connection it should be remembered that according to the Eskimo on Greenland the body-soul obviously lacked the ego-soul aspect, while the Carrier ascribed to the animals both life-soul and ego-soul. A dualism between life-soul and free-soul is possibly to be assumed among the Ojibway at Lake Huron. Among several peoples only an animal soul of the free-soul type has been recorded: among the Eskimo at Bering Strait, the Ingalik, Coyukon, Tsimshian?, Kwakiutl, Bella Coola, Lillooet, Thompson River, Montagnais, Micmac, Delaware, Cheyenne, Huron, Creek and Cherokee?, Choctaw?, Yuchi?, Crow and Hidatsa?, Dakota, Pawnee?, Sinkyone, Maidu, Hopi. Among the Chipewyan the soul probably had a free-soul character, although nothing is said on the point. Among the following tribes only an animal soul of body-soul type has been recorded: the Natchez, Arikara, Klamath, Wintu, Cocopa. The Coyukon believe that the animals have no life-soul. Finally, the animals are believed to be without souls among the Sinkaietk, Assiniboin?, and among some of the Crow.

That stones and plants should not be thought to have souls does not, perhaps, appear so strange. But how does it come about that the animals, which in several respects are reminiscent of human beings, are in some quarters regarded as beings without souls? We may tentativ-

[96] It is not restricted to eastern North America, as Dr. Voegelin assumes (Voegelin in Leach 1950 II, 1051). Concerning the following cf. also above, pp. 168 sqq.

[97] "North American Indians held every animal to have its spirit, and these spirits their future life" (Tylor 1871 I, 424).

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ely advance three possible causes. In the first place the animals as such often represent supernatural spirit-beings.[98] The ordinary nature-spirits are sometimes observable in animal shapes; the free-soul—double-ganger may appear as an animal; the nagual often has the form of an animal; the dead may assume animal shapes; and the question is whether a dead person who has been reincarnated in the form of an animal is not also sometimes conceived as being without a soul. In the next section we shall find that the animal guardian, which is, as we know, a spirit, may have the appearance of an animal. In all of the examples adduced here the animal has no soul, it *is* a soul. In the second place: surprisingly enough the North American Indians have in some quarters considered the animals to be beings of a lower order than man (the Eskimo on Greenland, the Assiniboin). The old anthropological dogma to the effect that there is generally no difference in rank between men and animals in the conceptual world of primitive peoples here gets a decisive blow.[99] In the third place: only the more important animals, above all the animals that guarantee the maintenance of life and are made the object of circumstantial rites, have souls ascribed to them. Among the Minnesota Dakota, for instance, it is of all animals obviously only the powerful bear that has man's four souls.

What, then, finally, is to be said concerning the correctness of Tylor's thesis to the effect that the souls of animals, plants and objects have been formed after the pattern of the human soul?

It might be objected to Tylor's hypothesis that theoretically, of course, it is possible that the human psychic experiences which have given rise to the formation of the soul in man also, in the last analysis, suggested the idea of, for example, the animal and plant souls. Both dream-experiences and observations of dead plants and sleeping animals might conceivably bring about a belief in the animation of Nature. But if this actually was the case it is not, at all events, susceptible of proof. There are, on the other hand, three circumstances which may be adduced in support of the assumption that man's soul has, as Tylor believes, served as a prototype for the animation of Nature.

1. We have seen in the foregoing that in many quarters it is only

[98] The common animal and the spirit-animal are probably not confused. See e.g. Collins 1952 b, 357 (the Skagit). Cf. also below, p. 498 note 2.

[99] This dogma was first formulated with reference to the North American Indians by Charlevoix (Charlevoix 1744, 353). Frobenius considers the equality of man and animal to be the chief characteristic of the animal-cult, "animalism" (Frobenius 1898, 394). Cf. also Frazer 1925 II, 204 sqq.

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the more important natural beings that are furnished with souls.[100] Because man, among all the rest, generally occupies the foreground of interest, he has become the soul-bearer *par préférence;* if the soul-belief is extended to apply also to other beings, it is only to the more noted of the latter that souls are allotted. Non-human living or lifeless objects are thus conceived to possess souls in direct proportion to the rôle they play for the human individual. They are apprehended as man-like beings, and thus become bearers of human soul-life.

2. The circumstance that among the Ojibway a stone or rock has dual souls is only to be explained by the assumption that these souls reflect the soul-dualism in man.

3. The forms of the soul-belief are the same whether they are applied to men or to animals, plants and natural objects. We thus find dual animal souls among several peoples for whom soul-dualism plays a predominant rôle; where the four-soul belief exists, we may find four animal souls, whereas the peoples with a monistic soul-belief only assume the occurrence of unitary souls among the animals. All this presupposes that it is the soul-ideas connected with man which have been transferred secondarily to the animals.[101]

The hypothesis we have advanced above also gives us an insight into a piece of human psychology. In the development of the belief in souls among animals, plants and objects we find a pure expression of the fellow-feeling of the primitive hunter and collector with Nature.

34. The soul and the animal guardian

Conceptions of Nature's "guardians" or "masters" are well-known, especially from the religions of the European and northern Asiatic peoples. One of the more prominent "guardians" is the animal guardian. By animal guardian we mean here the *genius speciei,* which, as the supernatural representative for an animal species guards and directs the same.[1] The animal guardian should be kept distinct from that spirit-animal which does, certainly, borrow the appearance of the

[100] Cf. also James 1927, 338. The same principle of selection has characterized the distribution of the supernatural power (Jenness 1932, 169).

[101] Even the behaviour of the animal is interpreted in a human light (Collins, op.cit., 359).

[1] Cf. Alexander 1916, 30, 292. See also Tylor 1871 II, 220 sqq.

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animal, but is a supernatural power-being having no contact with the living animals.[2] One should also distinguish between the animal guardians and the mythical animals which figure in the myths concerning the origin of life as the prototypes for the different races of animals. These mythical beings are sometimes, though by no means always, identical with the animal guardians.

Our task now is to ascertain to what extent belief in the animal guardian may be referred to the primitive belief in souls among animals.[3] Do the necessary conditions obtain for a development from animal soul to animal guardian? Finally, as the conception of the animal guardian has as far as North America is concerned been almost entirely neglected in the literature of comparative religion, and as this circumstance may be misinterpreted—viz. to the effect that the conception has not occurred here—we may give here a presentation of the conception of the animal guardian among different Indian peoples and a discussion of its distribution and age.

The animal soul which before all others might form the embryo for the conception of the animal guardian is the free-soul, and this for several reasons.

In the first place, the conception of the free-soul is that of which the most frequent and the clearest accounts have been given in our investigation of the animal soul in the foregoing.[4] While animal souls of the free-soul type are often described in our material, the body-soul is seldom mentioned. The Coyukon, for instance, do not believe that animals have a life-soul, but they do, on the other hand, credit them with a free-soul.[5]

In the second place, the free-soul is the only soul that is unattached to the individual, just as the guardian is unattached to the ordinary animal; it is thus probably the only soul-conception with which the guardian conception can be connected.

[2] These beings are often man's guardian spirits, and are able to endow him with the animal qualities they possess to a supernatural degree. The Wind River Shoshoni declare that the spirit-animal in the vision has nothing to do with animals as such: the spirit-buffalo, for example, is a spirit that has assumed the shape of the buffalo (Hultkrantz, Ms). See further Benedict 1923.

[3] It is of course quite possible that also the plant guardian has evolved from the soul-belief, as one may divine from an already adduced Delaware instance (see above, p. 489). Concerning the plant guardian in North America, see Frazer 1925 I, 177, Frazer 1919, 12.

[4] See above, p. 495. Among the Oglala the free-soul in animals goes, it is true, by another name and has a somewhat different character than the free-soul in man; but the animal soul is in the main of a definitely free-soul type.

[5] See above, p. 485.

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The suitability of the free-soul as a basis for the conception of the guardian is underlined by a further two circumstances. Firstly, as we have seen in the foregoing, the free-soul possesses in many cases an eminent capacity for developing into a guardian spirit—a capacity that recurs not least in the free-soul found in animals. Secondly, in some cases the animals' individual free-soul has provably merged into a "collective" free-soul of the species. As a matter of fact, by drawing attention to these potential qualities or evolutionary possibilities in the free-soul we have stated what is the additional requirement if the elementary free-soul is to be transformed into a guardian. Naturally no soul has better qualifications than precisely the free-soul for passing through the development here in question.

Thus the first condition is that the soul should be connected with the conception of supernatural power. We have in some cases observed how the animals' free-soul—probably in consequence of its independence in relation to its bearer—has taken over functions most nearly reminiscent of those belonging to a guardian spirit. It was mentioned, for example, that the Ojibway hunter gains control over the game by dominating its soul.[6] Still more interesting is the information that the individual animal soul watches over the hunter's treatment of the dead body, as our instances from the Kwakiutl and Iroquois have shown.[7] The most obvious examples of this activity of the surviving soul are to be got from a study of the hunting rites, especially the rites connected with the bear.[8] For it is frequently the case that the religio-magical ritual behaviour referred to with the term bear-cult is directed to the surviving spirit of the bear.[9] The belief in this spirit—which psychologically is identical with the conception of the free-soul—forms as it were the fundament of this type of animal cult.[10] "The greatest peril of life lies in the fact that human food consists entirely of souls", declared an Iglulik Eskimo to Knud Rasmussen. "All the creatures that we have to kill and eat, all those that we have to strike down and

[6] See above, p. 489.
[7] See above, pp. 486, 490.
[8] Concerning the bear-cult, see especially Hallowell 1926, Frazer 1925 II, 180 sqq., 222 sqq., Leach 1949 I, 124, and the references in Eliade 1951, 402 note 3. Circumpolar hunting rites are discussed also in e.g. Frazer's and Juel's investigations (Frazer 1949, Juel 1945).
[9] A good instance is given in McIlwraith 1948 I, 76. The bear-cult seems in the main to refer to the individual animal spirit, not to the guardian of the species. As a Mistassini Indian has expressed the matter: "every bear is a chief himself" (Speck 1935 a, 95). The distinction between the guardian of the species and the individual was made even by Charlevoix (Charlevoix 1744, 353).
[10] Cf. Lantis 1950, 327, Gunther 1928, 166.

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destroy to make clothes for ourselves, have souls, like we have, souls that do not perish with the body, and which must therefore be propitiated lest they should revenge themselves on us for taking away their bodies".[11]

The guardian spirit of the individual becomes the guardian spirit of the species when the borderline between the individual and the collective is smudged out. The animal soul here manifests a greater flexibility than man's soul, because the transition from individual to species characterizes far more the animal than it characterizes man. In the mythology of the creation the first man may appear as a prototype for the species, an Anthropos, a "corporate personality";[12] but in the everyday world of practical reality man enters into contact with peers of individual character and shape. He experiences the animals in a totally different way: the animal is felt not only as an individual, but also as a type for its species; Reynard the Fox is both an individual animal and a type, a representative for all foxes.[13] The same thing applies to the animal soul, the animal spirit when it has not owing to particular circumstances been regarded as firmly attached to a certain individual animal, as appears to be the case with the bear-spirit. In connection with the animal spirits of the Maricopa, Spier writes: "The question whether the spirits were single individuals or classes seems to have been of no consequence to the Maricopa, hence unresolved. Thus, whether Buzzard was a particular unitary being, or whether the genus buzzard supplied an unlimited number of spirits which functioned alike, was not made clear".[14] In North American mythology the animals appear consistently as types. The most well-known among them are culture heroes: the Hare, the Coyote, the Raven and the Eagle.[15] Their existence is, it is true, chiefly relegated to mythical times, but they still occur also as realities for practical belief.[16]

When the guardian soul of the animal becomes the guardian soul of the animal species, then the conception of the animal guardian is a reality. We shall now give a couple of North American instances of the evolution of the animal-guardian conception from the free-soul of the individual animal, with which to begin with it was identical. The instances are taken from the Eskimo and the Coyukon.

[11] Rasmussen 1929, 56, 58.
[12] Cf. Robinson 1925, 375 sqq.
[13] Cf. also Collinder 1949, 158, Radcliffe-Brown 1952, 131, Frazer 1925 II, 171 sq.
[14] Spier 1933, 249. Cf. also Spier 1930, 245 (the Klamath).
[15] See van Deursen 1931, especially pp. 361 sqq.
[16] This is the case among, for instance, the Wind River Shoshoni (Hultkrantz Ms).

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In the eastern part of the Eskimo area *inua* has entirely the character of species-soul, guardian. Thus in Angmagsalik every animal species had its genius or *inua*.[17] Nowhere on Greenland did *inua* signify the soul.[18] The case was otherwise among the Western Eskimo. Here, *inua* might occur both as individual surviving soul and as species-soul.[19] "We can conclude", writes Dr. Lantis, "that, no matter what its etymology or appearance, the *inua* is modelled on the human soul and functions much like one".[20] The evolution of the animal guardian from the free-soul is thus here definitely constated. The soul-belief of the Alaska Eskimo seems accordingly to be closer to the soul-belief of the primeval Eskimo than does the soul-belief of the Eskimo on Greenland.

Among the Coyukon, *yega* is the common designation for the free-soul of man, of the animals and of objects ."It would seem, however", writes Father Jetté, "that whereas each human individual has a *yega* of its own, in animals and things there is one *yega* for each species, but not for each individual".[21] This can only be understood to mean that the free-soul of the animal has here become the guardian of the animal species.

In the following we shall give a survey of the forms taken by the North American belief in the animal guardian, together with an account of the occurrence of the conception of the animal guardian in North America.[22]

The brief notes given above concerning the animal guardians of the Eskimo need to be supplemented if we are to understand the picture of these spirit-beings. Thalbitzer reports from Greenland that "*l'inua* de toute espèce d'animal peut entrer dans chaque animal et l'animer ou l'occuper, de sorte qu'il soit—bien que provisoirement—animé: alors on dit que l'animal s'est changé en homme et peut parler".[23] As a rule, however, the *inua* of the animal resembles the animal itself.[24]

[17] Thalbitzer 1930 b, 89.
[18] Thalbitzer, op.cit., 90; cf. op.cit., 87; Thalbitzer 1930 a, 138, 140; Birket-Smith 1924, 439.
[19] Cf. above, pp. 484 sq., and Lantis 1950, 321.
[20] Lantis, op.cit., loc.cit. Cf. also Nansen 1891, 200.
[21] Jetté 1911, 101.
[22] Unfortunately it is not always possible to identify the North American Indian tribes which according to older writers—French missionaries, English travellers—have in one form or another held the belief in animal guardians. Charlevoix, for instance, gives interesting information concerning Indians who were anxious to maintain good relations with the mice's guardian. But I do not know which Indians he is referring to (Charlevoix 1744, 443). Concerning Charlevoix, cf. Bros 1936, 146 sqq.
[23] Thalbitzer 1930 b, 90.
[24] Birket-Smith, op.cit., 439.

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it among the Montagnais: "They say that all animals, of every species, have an elder brother, who is, as it were, the source and origin of all individuals, and this elder brother is wonderfully great and powerful". Le Jeune dwells upon the alleged gigantic size of the animal guardian, its appearance as an omen of good luck in men's dreams and its abode outside the earth.[39] The animal guardians were sometimes also the guardian spirits of humans. A medicine-man declared to Father Mermet that his *manitou* was the buffalo, that is to say, the subterranean buffalo-spirit which animates all living buffaloes. Curiously enough, the same medicine-man asserted that human beings were also animated by a certain *manitou*.[40] He probably meant that we are protected by the life-god or the culture hero, whether the latter was referred to as the Great Hare, Messou or Tsekabec.

No American ethnologist has discussed in greater detail than Speck the subject with which we are dealing here.[41] In this connection we can only give a brief account of Speck's investigation of the conception of the animal guardian among the modern Naskapi-Montagnais. The caribou, he says, "compose a race living under the control of an overlord" who is their owner. The notion is well-developed among the Naskapi, whereas among the Montagnais it has been reinterpreted in an euhemeristic direction. The caribou-guardian of the Naskapi is of gigantic size, and decides which caribous he wishes to be killed by the hunters. He can assume another shape and vanish according as he pleases. He appears in the Indians' dreams when food is becoming short.[42]

"The patriarchal giant of the beaver race, the supreme lord and owner" is also described in detail. "It was he who governed the destinies of his race, their return to the world after death, and their allotment as game food to the hunters". If he leaves a district, he takes all the beavers with him.[43]

The fish, too, have a guardian, though the latter appears in a shape

[39] JR VI, 159 sq.

[40] JR LXVI, 237 sq.; cf. Lévy-Bruhl 1925, 180. As has been mentioned above, one never finds any species-soul for human beings. In this connection it is of interest to note Le Jeune's observation that the Indians called the body-soul the soul of the nation, "l'ame de leur Nation" (JR XVI, 193). It is probably not possible to find out what this peculiar designation refers to—perhaps to the circumstance that the great common grave of the tribe, as among the Huron, contains all the parts of the body to which the body-souls are attached ? Alexander's interpretation does not seem probable (Alexander 1920, 728).

[41] Speck 1935 a, 81—126.

[42] Speck, op.cit., 82 sqq.

[43] Speck, op.cit., 110 sqq.

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The Tsimshian and other coastal tribes in the north-west also believed in a salmon-guardian—a conception which is well integrated with the salmon-ceremony occurring along the whole of the North Pacific coast. Dr. Gunther summarizes as follows: "The salmon have a chief who leads them up the streams during the run. In performing the ceremony over the one actually caught first, they believe that they are honoring the chief of the salmon".[33] Also the coastal groups in north-western California have held corresponding conceptions. "In their formulae repeated at the salmon ceremony, the coming of the great salmon leader from the miraculous country across the ocean, is recounted".[34]

Among the Quinault "it was believed that for each species of animal there was one old male known as, e.g., 'the father of all the elk'. This individual was larger than any others of his kind and was distinguished by some special mark." Thus, "a man once killed a huge black elk. Its heart was covered with hair. It was the father of all the elk". Another time "the father of all the beaver" was killed. "There were five inches of fat on that beaver. He was so huge that they made two robes of his skin".[35]

In the Eastern Woodland the conception of the animal guardian was common. It is the guardian of the game which among the Algonquin and Iroquois sacrifices its "younger brothers" to the hunter's shot when the hunter is ritually pure and shows no cruelty to the slain animals.[36]

Most of the North American instances of animal guardians emanate from the Algonquin.

From David Thompson's notes on the religion of the Cree Cooper adduces the belief in "inferior Angels", who are "the guardians and guides of every genus of Birds and Beasts; each Manito has a separate command and care, as one has the Bison, another the Deer; and thus the whole animal creation is divided amongst them".[37] Cooper remarks that among the Tête de Boule Cree »supernatural chiefs of the main game and fur-bearing animal species are well developed".[38]

The Algonquin in New France, according to the testimony of the Jesuit Fathers, had a firm belief in animal guardians. Le Jeune mentions

[33] Gunther 1928, 150. Cf. e.g. the Cowichan (Boas 1894 b, 461).
[34] Gunther, op.cit., 152. Cf. Kroeber & Gifford 1949, 124.
[35] Olson 1936, 166 sq.
[36] Hewitt 1910 c, 794.
[37] Cooper 1933 b, 93; quotes Thompson 1916.
[38] Cooper, op.cit., 79.

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it among the Montagnais: "They say that all animals, of every species, have an elder brother, who is, as it were, the source and origin of all individuals, and this elder brother is wonderfully great and powerful". Le Jeune dwells upon the alleged gigantic size of the animal guardian, its appearance as an omen of good luck in men's dreams and its abode outside the earth.[39] The animal guardians were sometimes also the guardian spirits of humans. A medicine-man declared to Father Mermet that his *manitou* was the buffalo, that is to say, the subterranean buffalo-spirit which animates all living buffaloes. Curiously enough, the same medicine-man asserted that human beings were also animated by a certain *manitou*.[40] He probably meant that we are protected by the life-god or the culture hero, whether the latter was referred to as the Great Hare, Messou or Tsekabec.

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[42] Speck, op.cit., 82 sqq.

[43] Speck, op.cit., 110 sqq.

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different from that of the animal species, viz. in that of the moose-fly, *Tabanus affinis*. As the native name for this fly appears synonymously as the designation for the terrapin, which is the fish-guardian among the Mistassini, the conception possibly arose as the result of a confusion.[44]

The belief in animal guardians is also known to us from other Algonquin groups: the Delaware, Ojibway and Saulteaux,[45] Blackfoot and Cheyenne.

The Delaware Indians, according to Harrington, "seem to regard their mysterious animal helper not as the spirit or soul of any particular animal taken as an individual, but as a spirit representing the entire species as a whole and partaking of the nature of the species..." The guardian spirit in the shape of an animal is thus "independent of the life of any particular animal".[46]

The bear-guardian of the Blackfoot Indians is a gigantic grizzly endowed with supernatural powers, thanks to which he can draw wanderers to him; he can talk like a human being.[47] The Cheyenne Indian myth explaining the origin of the sun-dance gives vague indications of the belief in a lord of the buffaloes.[48]

From the Algonquin we may proceed to the tribes of the Iroquoian stock. We find instances of the belief in guardians among the Wyandot (the Huron), who have had conceptions of animal guardians right up to modern times,[49] but above all among the Iroquois proper and the Cherokee.

We have in the foregoing discussed the occurrence of an animal species-soul among the Iroquois.[50] Lafitau mentions this in his classical work. The Indians believe, he writes, "que chaque espece a dans le Ciel, ou dans le païs des Ames, le Type & le modele de toutes les autres, qui sont contenuës dans cette espece: ce qui revient aux idées de Platon".[51] Hewitt has given a clearer account of this belief. "It was a belief quite current among the Iroquois", writes Hewitt, "that every species of animals, birds, fish, and insects had in the spirit world a type or model for that species, which was many times larger and more perfect than any earthly member of that species, which was called

[44] Speck, op.cit., 117 sqq.
[45] Speck, op.cit., 110 note 20.
[46] Harrington 1921, 49 sq.
[47] McClintock 1910, 354 sqq.; McClintock 1923, 176 sqq.
[48] Dorsey 1905, 48. Cf. Speck, op.cit., 87.
[49] Barbeau 1915, 118.
[50] See above, p. 490.
[51] Lafitau 1724 I, 360 sq.

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the ancient or old one of that race of beings. This prototype was called the *oiä'ron'* of the species". This term, also written *oyaron,* signifies "the type or copy, the soul, the self".[52] *Oyaron* may also be man's guardian spirit.[53]

According to the Cherokee, every animal species has its own guardian. They distinguish between "the ordinary, everyday animals" and "their progenitors, who live in the upper world above the arch of the firmament"; it is to the latter that the hunters address their prayers.[54] These animal guardians "are the prototypes of our common animals and are far more considerable in size, power, swiftness, and all other qualities than their earthly successors. They can not be seen or heard, nor can their presence be felt by any of our senses; yet we know what they are like, and how they behave".[55] The animals live in communities of the same kind as those of human beings; every animal species represents a clan, and in the council of the clan, which meets from time to time, the guardian of the species presides.[56]

Among the Yuchi "the animals are all believed to have their protecting supernatural kinsmen as well as men, for that reason in hunting them their protecting spirits have to be overcome before one can hope to bring them down".[57]

Of the Sioux tribes, at least the Winnebago and the Dakota held the belief in animal guardians.

There exists, according to Radin, a "class of spirit characteristically developed among the Winnebago and kindred tribes, among the Ojibwa and Sauk and Fox, and among some of the Plains Indians, who is regarded as a spirit controlling the living species of animals. Among the Winnebago this spirit seems to possess no corporeality at all. He is a generalized, clarified animal. He, for example, it is who is the guardian spirit, not the specific animal. There is no doubt in my mind that this conception is largely, if not entirely, a shamanistic one. It plays an important part in Winnebago life, for it permits an individual to kill any animal without running the risk of killing either his guardian spirit or his clan animal".[58] When a Winnebago medicine-man offers tobacco to the grizzly bear he remarks that "at a place called Pointed

[52] Hewitt 1895, 115. Cf. also Lafitau, op.cit., II, 72, Smith 1883, 58, and the account of the Onondaga cosmogony in Hewitt 1903.
[53] Hewitt 1895, loc.cit., and Hewitt 1910 b.
[54] Mooney 1891, 342.
[55] Mooney & Olbrechts 1932, 25.
[56] Mooney 1891, 319 sqq.; Mooney 1900, 250 sqq.; Gilbert 1943, 301.
[57] Speck 1909 a, 109.
[58] Radin 1915, 283 sq.

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Hill lives a spirit who is in charge of a ceremonial lodge and to this all the other grizzly-bears belong".[59]

Lynd mentions "the general Dakota belief that each *class* of animals or objects of a like kind, possesses a peculiar guardian divinity, which is the mother archetype".[60] These animal guardians are able to assume human shape, for example the form of a beautiful young woman.[61] The buffalo-guardian of the Oglala, that "controls the chase and gives or withholds success to hunters", appears for the most part as "a great beast, but he may appear to mankind as a man".[62]

Among the Pawnee we find again the conception of the organization of animals in communities.[63] The Pawnee also have the conception of the species-guardian. In the narrative of "The Bear Medicine" we are told of a powerful bear: "he is the largest Bear in the country and has wonderful powers, given him by the Sun". The Bear himself declared "that he was the leader of all the Bears; that the Sun communicated with him directly, and that he was the son of the Sun".[64]

The data concerning the spiritual life of the Shoshone peoples are on the whole rather scanty. Only two Shoshone groups, the Wind River Shoshoni and the Paviotso, have been asked whether they believe in animal guardians. The former had never heard of them.[65] The latter, however, know that the otters have a chief, who is able to serve as a guardian spirit to the shamans.[66]

As we have seen, the belief in the salmon-guardian occurs among the Indians in north-west California.[67] It belongs—like the corresponding salmon-ceremony—to the systems of ideas of more northerly origin. Other animals than the salmon have no guardians: the older members of the species function in place of the guardian as the power watching over and guiding the animals.[68]

Farther south it is possible that the Maricopa were familiar with the conception of the animal guardian. Spier got the impression that "they thought of but a single spirit Buzzard, of whom the birds of everyday life were but tangible and earthly representatives".[69]

[59] Radin 1923, 273.
[60] Lynd 1889, 155; Dorsey 1894, 434.
[61] Dorsey 1906 a, 326 sqq.
[62] Walker 1917, 84.
[63] Alexander 1916, 122 sq.
[64] Dorsey 1906 b, 338 sq.
[65] Hultkrantz Ms.
[66] Park 1938, 16.
[67] See above, p. 503.
[68] Kroeber 1925, 68 (the Yurok).
[69] Spier 1933, 249.

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The Navajo, who together with the Apache constitute the Southern Athapascans deriving from Canada still have reminiscences of a belief in animal guardians as this existed among their kinsmen farthest north. Thus the buffaloes are believed to have a chief, Buffalo-who-never-dies, and other four-footed game are subordinated to Deer Owner, who is able to withhold the game from men.[70] The Apache addressed prayers to animal guardians, whom they tried to induce to send out the game, i.e. deer and antelopes.[71]

Finally, it may be mentioned that the Tarahumare offer up sacrifices to the fish-guardian, who is the oldest of all fishes.[72]

The data given in the foregoing should have shown that the North American animal guardian manifests the same qualities as its counterpart in the northern hunting cultures of the Old World: it protects the animals; it causes them to become or prevents them from becoming game for the hunter; it sees to it that the animals are treated ritually (so that they can be given new life); it avenges the wrongs done to them by man; in its powerful outer form and its remarkable gifts (capacity to change shape or become invisible, to perform miraculous actions) it shows that it is a spirit with supernatural power. In certain quarters, and especially along the north-west coast, where the clan-system and a class-stratified form of society have had a fruitful soil, the animal guardian appears as the mythical forefather of the animals and as their chief.

The notion of the animal guardian has a strikingly northerly distribution. It belongs chiefly to Canada and the north-eastern United States. The Indians south of the Northwest and Plateau cultures and west of the Rocky Mountains are only more sporadically familiar with the conception; it seems as it were to fade away in this great area. The conception of the animal as a type and representative for its species is here general, as is also the notion of propitiating the soul of the slain game or its living kin. But the conception of the guardian of the species occurs only rarely in mythology and religious beliefs.

In these circumstances it is natural that historical viewpoints should have been applied to the conception of the animal guardian, especially as it has in the main a continuous distribution. It is natural to wonder whether it possibly constitutes an element in the northern hunting

[70] Reichard 1950 II, 404, 429.
[71] Opler 1941, 285 sqq.; Bourke 1891, 438.
[72] Lumholtz 1902 I, 403. Cf. the Papago (Underhill 1946, 15 sq.).

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culture.[73] Birket-Smith writes: "Without entering upon any lengthy discussion about the priority of animatism or animism in general, it seems perfectly clear, however, that the specialized form of the former, connected with the idea of individual 'owners', is a later intrusion upon American soil than the idea of the soul".[74] This view of the chronological relation between the notion of the species-guardian and the soul-belief must be correct, for the simple reason that the former presupposes the latter.[75] But Birket-Smith's fixation of the notion of the guardian of the species as a "later intrusion upon American soil" is of doubtful value. In the first place there is naturally the possibility that it arose from the mentality and mental attitudes of a typical hunting culture on American soil; our instances from the Eskimo and Coyukon might be adduced in support of this interpretation. In the second place, it is very possible that the conception of the guardian of the species existed in a fully developed form when America was first settled by the Indians. In America and Asia the conception of the animal guardian has, it is true, its firmest footing among the sub-Arctic peoples and their neighbours, but it does also occur among more southerly peoples, without direct connection with more northerly cultures. Thus it occurs, as we have seen, among the Tarahumare, and it has also been instanced in South America.[76] If it is here not a matter of *independent invention*—which is, of course, possible—, but of a *common heritage*, then the conception must be very old indeed, as old, in fact, as the oldest American culture.[77]

The question as to the age of the conception has thus not been satisfactorily answered. I suggest, tentatively, the following dating: the belief in dual souls and animal guardians is of very ancient date in America, and was presumably introduced by the first immigrants. But the elementary conceptions in this belief have been constantly recrea-

[73] Cf. Speck 1935 a, 87.

[74] Birket-Smith & de Laguna 1938, 505.

[75] As to the justification for my above "evolutionistic" argument, see Lesser 1952. The idea of the guardian of the species has nothing to do with "animatism". I cannot endorse Birket-Smith's view that "the owner" is only an expression for the life of Nature (Birket-Smith 1943 II, 455 sq.; cf. Birket-Smith 1924, 430 sqq.).

[76] Cooper 1946, 299 note 52; Leach 1950 II, 688 sq. (Métraux).

[77] We might possibly get further points of reference for the dating of the animal-guardian complex by studying in detail its integration in different American cultures. Speck hints that the Naskapi conceive of several animal guardians for the same species; it is probably not out of the question that this has to do with the division of the territory into "family hunting grounds". In this case the age of the territorial division may prove a guide to the age of the idea of the animal guardian within a certain area. Cf. Steward 1936, 339.

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ted, especially farthest north-west, where cultural currents from Asia have possibly exerted an influence up to modern times (cf. § 31). The diffusion of the guardian-idea in northernmost America has run parallel with the diffusion of Circum-polar hunting rites.

Our investigation has led us to answer in the affirmative the questions posed at the beginning of this chapter.

In many places the North American Indians have believed in souls among animals, plants and inanimate objects, the human soul or souls serving, in this connection, as the prototype. The idea of the soul has nevertheless, it must be emphasized, not always been extended to all non-human entities. Many animals, for instance, have not in the same way as man occupied the foreground of interest. Still less has this been the case with plants and, above all, lifeless objects.[78] It has here frequently been impossible to draw a clear line of demarcation between the idea of the soul and animatistic conceptions.[79]

When the animal soul was conceived as an independent guardian spirit and was thought of as a type-soul, the animal guardian came into being. The belief in the free-soul is the natural basis of this conception. Many investigators—in America especially Jenness[80]—have wanted to derive the belief in the animal guardian from the conception of the supernatural power. The notion of power has of course been fundamental for the development. But it should be noted that there is a very close connection between this notion and the conception of the liberated soul. The power soul or guardian soul appears as a natural consequence of the distancing of the soul from its owner (§ 25). The soul-belief may, as Otto has pointed out, assume the character of a belief in beings with an awesome, supernaturally powerful colouring.[81] It is when this occurs that it merges from philosophy to religion. In the conceptions of the guardian soul and the animal guardian we have seen a primitive religion germinate from the conditions of the soul-belief.

[78] Wundt asserts that lifeless objects have for the most part a body-soul, whereas animals, clouds, winds and smoke are invested with a breath-soul, i.e.—according to Wundt—a free-soul (Wundt 1910, 257 sq.). This is a pure construction.

[79] The following Modoc instance is illustrative. We are told that a boy once plucked a blade of tula-grass, so that its spirit was injured. "You have broken my back", said the spirit (Curtin 1912, 366 sq.). James is of the opinion that natural phenomena do not possess souls in an animistic sense, but life in an animatistic sense (James 1948, 15, 67). The truth is, however, that both ways of conceiving the matter have as a rule existed side by side.

[80] Jenness 1932, 170.

[81] Otto 1927, 157.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AA	American Anthropologist. Washington, New York, Lancaster, Menasha.
AAOJ	American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal. Chicago.
AAPF	Annales de l'Association de la Propagation de la Foi. Paris.
AAR	Annual Archaeological Report. Toronto.
AJS	American Journal of Sociology. Chicago.
AMJ	American Museum Journal. New York.
AMNHHS	American Museum of Natural History, Handbook Series. New York.
ANA	Anthropology in North America, by Franz Boas et al. New York 1915.
APAM	Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History. New York.
AR	Anthropological Records. Berkeley.
ARBAE	Annual Reports of the Bureau of American Ethnology. Washington.
ARSI	Annual Reports of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution. Washington.
ARW	Archiv für Religionswissenschaft. Leipzig.
ASSF	Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae. Helsingfors.
BAAS	Reports of the Meetings of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. London, etc.
BAMNH	Bulletins of the American Museum of Natural History. New York.
BBAE	Bulletins of the Bureau of American Ethnology. Washington.
BCDM	Bulletins (and Annual Reports) of the Canada Department of Mines, National Museum of Canada. Ottawa.
BCIS	Bulletins of the Cranbrook Institute of Science. Bloomfield Hills, Mich.
BMJ	British Medical Journal. London.
BPMCM	Bulletins of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee. Milwaukee.
BVV	Beiträge zur Volks- und Völkerkunde. Weimar.
CE	The Catholic Encyclopedia. New York.
CED	Culture Element Distributions (Berkeley).
CIHR	Actes du Congrès International d'histoire des religions. Fifth Congress in Lund.
CIWP	Carnegie Institution of Washington, Publications. Washington.
CMAI	Contributions from the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation. New York.
CMHS	Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society. St. Paul.
CNAE	Contributions to North American Ethnology, U. S. Geographical and Geological Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region. Washington.
CUAS	Catholic University of America, Anthropological Series. Washington.

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CUCA	Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology. New York.
DLZ	Deutsche Literaturzeitung.
EAK	Essays in Anthropology Presented to A. L. Kroeber. Berkeley 1936.
ERE	Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics. Edinburgh.
FFC	FF Communications. Helsingfors.
FL	Folk-Lore. London.
FMAS	Field Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Series. Chicago.
FMDAL	Field Museum of Natural History, Department of Anthropology, Leaflets. Chicago.
GSA	General Series in Anthropology. Menasha.
HTR	Harvard Theological Review. Cambridge, Mass.
IA	Ibero-Americana. Berkeley.
IAE	Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie. Leiden.
ICA	Proceedings of the International Congress of Americanists. Paris etc.
IN	Indian Notes, Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation. New York.
INM	Indian Notes and Monographs, Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation. New York.
ISA	Institute of Social Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution, Publications. Washington.
JAFL	Journal of American Folk-Lore. Boston, New York.
JAI	Journal of the (Royal) Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. London.
JASP	Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology.
JGP	Journal of General Psychology.
JR	Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents. Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France 1610—1791, ed. by Reuben Gold Thwaites. Vols. I—LXXIII. Cleveland 1896—1901.
JSAP	Journal de la Société des Américanistes. Paris.
JWAS	Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences. Washington.
LAAL	Library of Aboriginal American Literature. Philadelphia.
LTK	Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche. 2nd ed. Freiburg im Breisgau.
MAAA	Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association. Lancaster, Menasha.
MAES	Monographs of the American Ethnological Society. New York.
MAFLS	Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society. Boston.
MAGW	Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft. Wien.
MAMNH	Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History. New York.
MCDM	Memoirs of the Canada Department of Mines, Geological Survey. Ottawa.
MG	Meddelelser om Grønland. Copenhagen.
MIJAL	Memoirs of the International Journal of American Linguistics. Baltimore.
MJ	Museum Journal, University of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia.
MMVH	Mitteilungen aus dem Museum für Völkerkunde in Hamburg. Hamburg.
MO	Le Monde Oriental. Uppsala.
NYSMB	New York State Museum Bulletin. Albany.
OAHQ	Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly. Columbus.

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OCMA	Occasional Contributions from the Museum of Anthropology of the University of Michigan. Ann Arbor.
PAAS	Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society. Worcester.
PAES	Publications of the American Ethnological Society. New York.
PAPS	Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society. Philadelphia.
PCI	Proceedings of the Canadian Institute. Toronto.
PCS	Publications of the Champlain Society. Toronto.
PHAPF	Publications of the F. W. Hodge Anniversary Publication Fund, Southwest Museum. Los Angeles.
PM	Primitive Man. Washington.
PMP	Peabody Museum Papers. Cambridge, Mass.
PPFA	Papers of the Robert S. Peabody Foundation for Archaeology. Andover, Mass.
PPHC	Publications of the Pennsylvania Historical Commission. Harrisburg.
PSM	Popular Science Monthly. New York.
RCAE	Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition. Ottawa.
RFTE	Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition. Copenhagen.
RGG	Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart. 2nd ed. Tübingen.
RHR	Revue de l'histoire des religions. Paris.
RLC	Race, Language and Culture, by Franz Boas. New York 1940.
ROB	Religion och Bibel. Nathan Söderblom-sällskapets årsbok. Uppsala.
RPM	Reports of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University. Cambridge, Mass.
RUSNM	Reports of the United States National Museum. Washington.
SCK	Smithsonian (Institution) Contributions to Knowledge. Washington.
SMC	Smithsonian (Institution) Miscellaneous Collections. Washington.
SP	Sherman Pamphlets. Riverside, Calif.
SWJ	Southwestern Journal of Anthropology. Albuquerque.
TAES	Transactions of the American Ethnological Society. New York.
TAPS	Transactions of the American Philosophical Society. Philadelphia.
UCP	University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology. Berkeley.
UNMB	University of New Mexico Bulletin, Anthropological Series. Albuquerque.
UNMPA	University of New Mexico Publications in Anthropology. Albuquerque.
UPMAP	University of Pennsylvania Museum Anthropological Publications. Philadelphia.
UWPA	University of Washington Publications in Anthropology. Seattle.
VKAW	Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeeling Letterkunde. Amsterdam.
YAS	Yale Anthropological Studies. New Haven.
YUPA	Yale University Publications in Anthropology. New Haven.
ZE	Zeitschrift für Ethnologie. Berlin.

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